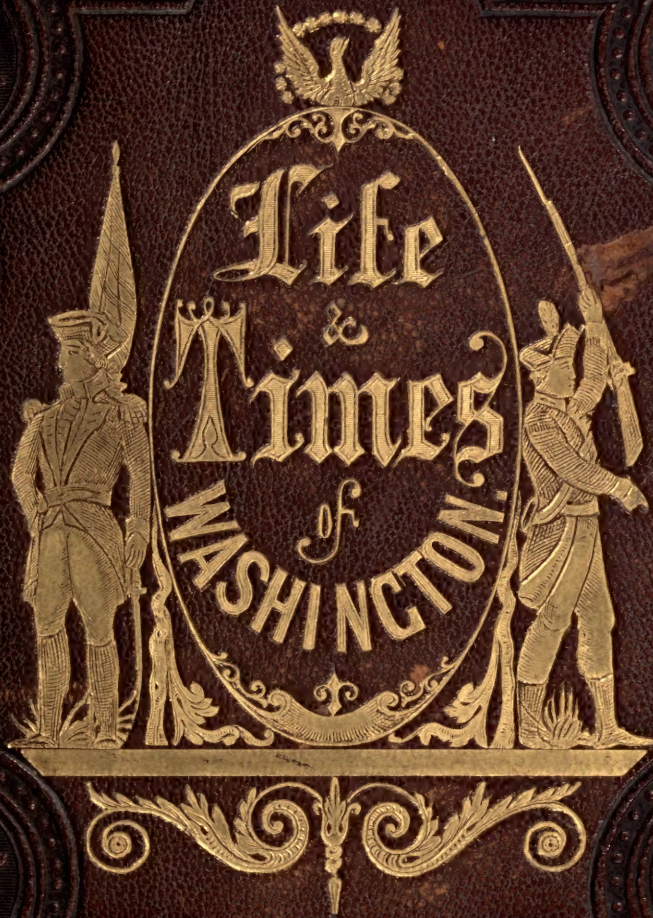


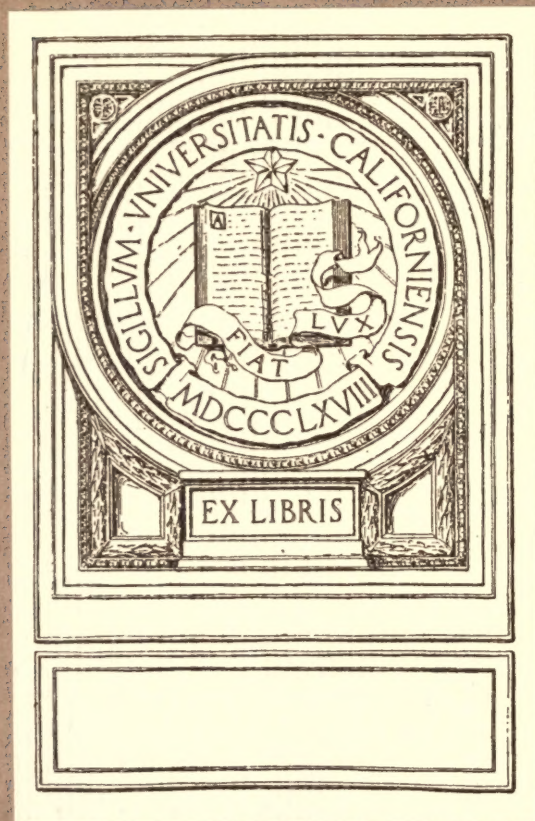
UC-NRLF



5C 16 500



























Univ. of  
California





WASHINGTON IN 1775.  
THE PERIOD OF HIS TAKING COMMAND OF THE ARMY

FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING BY J. C. COOPER



THE  
*MAXIMS*  
 OF  
 WASHINGTON

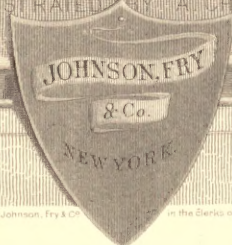


TRENTON



PRINCETON

BY  
 J. F. SCHROEDER, D.D.  
 AUTHOR OF MAXIMS OF WASHINGTON, ETC.  
 ILLUSTRATED BY A. CHAPPEL







TO VNU  
AMERICAN



LIFE AND TIMES  
OF  
WASHINGTON:

CONTAINING A  
PARTICULAR ACCOUNT  
OF  
NATIONAL PRINCIPLES AND EVENTS,  
AND OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS  
MEN OF THE REVOLUTION.

BY JOHN FREDERICK SCHROEDER, D.D.,  
AUTHOR OF "MAXIMS OF WASHINGTON, COLLECTED AND ARRANGED."

Illustrated with highly-finished Steel Engravings,  
FROM ORIGINAL DESIGNS OF HISTORICAL SCENES, AND FULL-LENGTH PORTRAITS.

BY ALONZO CHAPPEL.



VOL. I.

NEW YORK:  
JOHNSON, FRY, AND COMPANY,  
27 BEEKMAN-STREET.



50  
22

ENTERED according to Act of Congress, in the year 1857, by

JOHNSON, FRY & COMPANY,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York.

41918

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED  
JAN 10 1858



DEDICATED  
TO  
THE AMERICAN PEOPLE,  
AS A  
NATIONAL BOOK  
OF THE  
EVENTS AND PRINCIPLES  
ON WHICH ARE ESTABLISHED OUR  
FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE.



# Washington,

THE DEFENDER OF HIS COUNTRY, THE FOUNDER OF LIBERTY,  
THE FRIEND OF MAN.

HISTORY AND TRADITION ARE EXPLORED IN VAIN FOR A PARALLEL TO HIS CHARACTER  
IN THE ANNALS OF MODERN GREATNESS,

**HE STANDS ALONE,**

AND THE NOBLEST NAMES OF ANTIQUITY LOSE THEIR LUSTRE IN HIS PRESENCE.

BORN THE BENEFactor OF MANKIND,

HE UNITED ALL THE QUALITIES NECESSARY TO AN ILLUSTRIOUS CAREER.

NATURE MADE HIM GREAT;

HE MADE HIMSELF VIRTUOUS.

CALLED BY HIS COUNTRY TO THE DEFENCE OF HER LIBERTIES,

HE TRIUMPHANTLY VINDICATED THE RIGHTS OF HUMANITY, AND ON THE PILLARS OF  
NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

LAID THE FOUNDATIONS OF A GREAT REPUBLIC.

TWICE INVESTED WITH SUPREME MAGISTRACY

BY THE UNANIMOUS VOICE OF A FREE PEOPLE,

HE SURPASSED IN THE CABINET

**THE GLORIES OF THE FIELD,**

AND VOLUNTARILY RESIGNING THE SCEPTRE AND THE SWORD,

RETIRED TO THE SHADES OF PRIVATE LIFE.

A SPECTACLE SO NEW AND SO SUBLIME

WAS CONTEMPLATED WITH THE PROFOUNDTEST ADMIRATION;

AND THE NAME OF

## WASHINGTON,

ADDING NEW LUSTRE TO HUMANITY,

RESOUNDED TO THE REMOTEST REGIONS OF THE EARTH.

MAGNANIMOUS IN YOUTH,

GLORIOUS THROUGH LIFE,

**GREAT IN DEATH,**

HIS HIGHEST AMBITION THE HAPPINESS OF MANKIND,

HIS NOBLEST VICTORY THE CONQUEST OF HIMSELF.

BEQUEATHING TO POSTERITY THE INHERITANCE OF HIS NAME,

**AND BUILDING HIS MONUMENT IN THE HEARTS OF HIS COUNTRYMEN**

HE LIVED THE ORNAMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

AND DIED REGRETTED BY A MOURNING WORLD.



## INTRODUCTION.

---

OUR New World has awakened, for more than three centuries and a half, a continually increasing interest. The discovery of our continent, its settlement by Anglo-Saxon colonies, and its giving birth to a new and powerful nation, are among the most memorable epochs in the history of man, and cannot fail to exert a marked influence, in effecting the final development of human destiny.

To those parts of this great theme which relate to preparatory events, and to the history of the United States from the earliest period to the present time, a companion to this work has been devoted.\* But there attaches to the remarkable period of our government's organization, and of the events connected with the assertion and maintenance of our civil rights, a peculiar importance, which claims for it a separate and particular account.

This period comprises the life and times of the Father of his Country. Extending from the middle of the last century to its close, and clustering incidents of grave import and deep significance, it is associated with a remarkable climacteric in the progress of human affairs, and constitutes a distinct cycle in the world's history.

It is no ordinary distinction, to be recognized as one of the members of a civil community, the origin and institutions of which are associated with a name that commands the veneration of the whole family of man. But, to wear this badge without understanding its signification, is as unworthy as it is humiliating, especially at a time when a free press is scattering, with such prodigality of mu-

---

\* "*The History of the United States, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time,*" by J. A. SPENCER, D.D. *Splendidly illustrated with original portraits and historical scenes.* New York: Johnson, Fry, and Company.



nificence, the riches of social and political knowledge. As a citizen of the United States, entitled, by birth or naturalization, to speak of our Washington, and of the political institutions which he established, as our inheritance, every true American is conscious of an ennobling sentiment. And as indifference to the character and actions of Washington would necessarily imply, on the part of an individual, the dereliction of a title to the benefit of his achievements, and, on the part of the nation at large, a virtual surrender or a forfeiture of our goodly heritage, it is at once the honor and security, as it should ever be the delight, of every patriotic citizen of the United States, to cherish in his own mind, and in the minds of his children, an intelligent and profound admiration of the virtues and services of him who, in the pristine days of our republic, was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."\* We all share the glory of his valor, and the fruits of his wisdom; and it is our duty, as well as our prerogative, to contemplate his character, and perpetuate his principles.

That the institutions of our country secretly but powerfully act upon the institutions of European States, and may eventually lead to a political regeneration of the Old World, is discoverable already in the pulse of several of these States. And every year will no doubt continue to develop new evidences of the axiom, which has a political as well as a moral application, TRUTH IS GREAT AND WILL PREVAIL.

To the intelligent American it is not only instructive, but pleasing, to consider a subject, so important in view of its controlling families of nations, and moulding their fortunes and their final destiny.

The object of this work on the Life and Times of Washington, is to exhibit a faithful portraiture of his private virtues, and a comprehensive view and particular account of his public services, in their connection with the period when he lived, the contemporaries with whose names his name is historically associated, and the stirring events which led to our Revolutionary War and National Independence, and to the establishment of those free institutions which are our birth-right, and the palladium of our civil and social prosperity.

---

\* Major-General HENRY LEE'S "*Funeral Oration on the Death of Washington, delivered at the request of Congress,*" near the end.

LIFE AND TIMES  
OF  
WASHINGTON.

---

BOOK I.  
HIS ANCESTORS AND BOYHOOD.







## CHAPTER I.

1657—1739.

### HIS BIRTH AND ANCESTORS.

Interest and Importance of his Character and Destiny.—Tributes to him by Lord Brougham, and President John Adams.—Time of his Birth.—Contemporaneous Events in America, in England, and on the Continent of Europe.—His Baptism.—The State, county, and house where he was born.—Monumental Stone at his Birth-place.—Removal from Westmoreland to Suffolk.—His Ancestors in America, and in England.—His Letter to Sir Isaac Heard.—His Motive in an Inquiry respecting his Kindred.—Character of the Washingtons, in Ancient and Modern Times.

THE eventful times of Washington may well arrest the thoughts of every one who is interested in the origin and destiny of our republic. And the combination of causes which made this illustrious man the master-spirit of his day, and the very impersonation of the great principles which he asserted, is a pleasing indication of what may be regarded as not a merely fortuitous, but a divinely ordered, series of events, having for their ultimate object the general welfare of humanity.

Among leaders and rulers of nations there is not another, who has illustrated, in so happy a manner, the virtues and obligations both of private and public life; and who has afforded so suitable an example for imitation, in those virtues and obligations, on the part of every citizen, from the most secluded member of society to the most conspicuous man of mark in council or in the field.

VOL. I.—2

One of the most eminent living statesmen of England has said, "He was the greatest man of our own or any age; the only one upon whom an epithet so thoughtlessly lavished by men, to foster the crimes of their worst enemies, may be innocently and justly bestowed." "It will be the duty of the Historian and the Sage, in all ages, to let no occasion pass of commemorating this illustrious man; and, until time shall be no more, will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and in virtue, be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington."\* And one of the chief of our revolutionary worthies, who enjoyed every opportunity to form a proper estimate of the qualities which he commends, says: "If we look over the catalogue of the first magistrates of nations,

\* LORD BROUGHAM'S *Sketch of Washington*; in his "Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the Time of George III." Second Series: Vol. II., last Sketch.



whether they have been denominated Presidents or Consuls, Kings or Princes, where shall we find one, whose commanding talents and virtues, whose overruling good fortune, have so completely united all hearts and voices in his favor? who enjoyed the esteem and admiration of foreign nations, and fellow-citizens, with equal unanimity? Qualities so uncommon are no common blessings to the country that possesses them. By these great qualities, and their benign effects, has Providence marked out the Head of this nation, with a hand so distinctly visible, as to have been seen by all men, and mistaken by none." "His example is complete; and it will teach wisdom and virtue to Magistrates, Citizens, and Men, not only in the present age, but in future generations, as long as our history shall be read."\* Happy the nation, so long as it is actuated by such an influence; and, in dark and disheartening moments, when untoward events may for a time eclipse its glory, may it ever be able to revive and renew its pristine energies, in rekindling the spirit of Washington and of '76.

It was a happy hour for America, when, by the divine ordering of human affairs, she gave birth to the future "Father of his Country." He was born on the twenty-second† day of February; and citizens of the United States have good reason to celebrate, with

lively enthusiasm, every annual recurrence of the memorable day.

The period of his birth and boyhood was that during which occurred, as will appear in the sequel, some of the most extraordinary and oppressive of the proceedings of the British Parliament, in relation to the American colonies. And it is a reflection which cannot escape the notice of intelligent students of history, that, often, at the very time when oppression has been pushing its exactions to their climax, deliverance and a deliverer have been revealed.

In November of the very year when Washington was born, the benevolent and brave OGLETHORPE, with a hundred and twenty emigrants, 1732. was crossing the Atlantic, with his Charter to found the colony of Georgia, the future thirteenth State of the original American confederacy, destined, when the infant energies of Washington should be matured for the exploit, to take part in achieving our national independence.

It was when he was a child, that England imposed a tax on the importation of sugar into North 1733. America. Then, too, in the full exercise of the exclusive privilege‡ to import negro slaves from Africa into the Spanish colonies in America, she sent her Asiento ships to these colonies, until her abuse of her privileges led eventually to a war with Spain. And

\* JOHN ADAMS'S Speech to the Senate of the United States, April, 1789; and his "Special Message to the Senate, December, 23d, 1799."

† The day was the *eleventh*, (Old Style,) 1732.

‡ The Treaty for the exclusive right to import negroes, "*El Asiento de los Negros*," was made by England with Spain, in 1713, and was to continue thirty years.

it was during this war, the first war waged for colonial interests, that

**1739.** Porto Bello, the grand mart of Peruvian and Chilian commerce, was captured by the daring Admiral VERNON, whose name afterward became associated with the rural home of our great champion of civil, social, and religious liberty.

The state of civil affairs in England at this period was extraordinary.

The Prime Minister, SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, produced his Excise Scheme, which occasioned an intense feeling of repugnance throughout the realm. Not only was the offensive measure denounced in parliament, as a "plan of arbitrary power," but the people at large, in the provincial towns, as well as in the metropolis, bent on protecting their civil rights from what they deemed the grasp of tyranny, indulged in loud protestations against the principle of the Scheme, burnt the Minister in effigy, wore cockades with the motto, "Liberty, Property, and no Excise," and, by the power of the popular will, drove Walpole to relinquish his measure, with the memorable declaration, that "there would be an end of the liberty of England, if supplies were to be raised by the sword."

The European continent also was at this time greatly agitated by the War of the Polish Succession, in which France, Spain, Sardinia, and a majority of the people of Poland, maintained the claims of STANISLAUS LECZINSKI; and the Czarina Anne, of Russia, supported by Aus-

tria, occupied Poland with foreign troops, placed on the throne FREDERICK AUGUSTUS, in direct opposition to the proclaimed will of the nation, and reasserted what the infant Washington was destined, in less than fifty years, to condemn with greater eloquence than that of words, while he vindicated our natural and inalienable rights in opposition to the humiliating dogma, that popular privilege must yield to royal prerogative, and the voice of the people to the will of kings.

STANISLAUS II., Poniatowski, born but a few weeks before Washington, was the last king of Poland. The humiliating measures of the Jan. 17,  
1732. Czarina Catharine II., caused the kingdom rapidly to degenerate, until at length, during the presidency of Washington, Stanislaus was dethroned, and his country dismembered and partitioned by Russia, Austria, and Prussia. This bold illustration of monarchical tyranny, by which the political existence of an ancient kingdom was annihilated, was exhibited in the sight of all Europe, while Princes and Courts that had waged protracted wars to settle punctilios of state etiquette, were content to view the solemn spectacle, without indulging one generous impulse in behalf of ill-fated Poland.

Not many days after Washington's birth, his parents, devout members of the Church of England, which, at that time, was almost universal in Virginia, dedicated him to God in baptism, and provided for him two godfathers and a



godmother, according to the rubric in the baptismal office. The family Bible contains this record: "GEORGE WASHINGTON, Son of AUGUSTINE and MARY his Wife, was born, the 11th day of February, 1731-2, about 10 in the morning; and was baptized, the 5th of April following: Mr. BEVERLY WHITING and Captain CHRISTOPHER BROOKS, Godfathers; and Mrs. MILDRED GREGORY, Godmother."

This scrupulous conformity to sponsorship provisions, implies a decent regard also for the solemn vow, promise, and profession, made in the baptismal sacrament. And it may reasonably be inferred, that the nature of the solemn service was, in due time, explained, and its obligations set forth, by the parents and sponsors, to the child thus dedicated unto God.

Among what may be regarded as other proprieties of his life, is the fact of his being a son of Virginia, the "Mother of Presidents."\* The county of Westmoreland, his birth-place, in the eastern part of the State, and bordering on the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, is celebrated as the birth-place of many other distinguished men. President MONROE was born there; and also RICHARD HENRY LEE and THOMAS LIGHTFOOT LEE, Signers of the Declaration of Independence; THOMAS, FRANCIS, and ARTHUR LEE, brothers of Richard Henry; General HENRY LEE, who

was known during the Revolution as "Legion Harry;" and Judge BUSHROD WASHINGTON.

The house in which Washington was born, a single-story, low-pitched, frame building, is no longer standing. It was a ruin before the Revolutionary War. Its site, however, half a mile from the junction of Pope's Creek with the Potomac, in Washington parish, is indicated by a few remaining fragments, and by a clump of decayed fig-trees. A few vines and shrubs, and a few gentle flowers also, seem to delight in decorating, year after year, the hallowed spot, and in enlivening its desolation with pleasing and suggestive sentiments. The majestic river scenery of the Potomac, and the neighboring lawns with their velvet greensward, associated with the infancy of Washington, contribute their charm to enliven the patriot pilgrim, who mingles with his delight in these beauties of nature a predominant feeling, by which that majestic stream is converted into a lively expression of the prevailing emotion of his mind.

The site of the house, which was built by Washington's great-grandfather in the year 1657, when he emigrated to America, is now indicated by a Monumental Stone,† bearing the inscription, "HERE, THE 11TH of FEBRUARY, 1732, GEORGE WASHINGTON WAS BORN."

\* JEFFERSON, MADISON, MONROE, HARRISON, and TYLER, Presidents of the United States, were citizens or natives of Virginia.

† It is a slab of free-stone, lying horizontally; and it was placed there by GEORGE W. P. CUSTIS, Esquire, in June, 1815. There is an engraving of it, in LOSSING's "*Field Book of the Revolution*," vol. ii., p. 218; and another, in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, for January, 1854, p. 2.

Seven years after his birth, the family removed from Westmoreland, 1739. to a house which was the property of his father, on the Rappahannock River, nearly opposite Fredericksburg, in Suffolk county. Of this, too, nothing now remains except a few scattered pieces of brick, wood, and plaster. But the visitor of the spot is naturally prompted to fancy many interesting pictures of youthful sports, in and around the homestead.

It does not concern American citizens, as it does the subjects of European Princes, to trace a line of descent from ancestors who wore crowns or coronets, and were adorned with garters, stars, and other such badges of honorable eminence. It is rather a subject of self-gratulation, on our part, that a remote forefather was one of a band of untitled voluntary exiles, who fled from persecution to the rock-bound shore of a new country; or, one of the sturdy adventurers, or gallant cavaliers, who sought their fortunes among the early colonists of our southern country. Yet it is, in all cases, a legitimate object of inquiry with us, to ascertain the national origin of a family, and the time and circumstances of its emigration.

The first of Washington's paternal ancestors who came to America, was his great-grandfather, JOHN Washington. He and his brother LAWRENCE\* emigrated from England to the colony

of Virginia, in the year 1657, while the royalists, republicans, and fifth-monarchy men were in the melee of their opposition to the scheme of making Cromwell king, and while many loyal British subjects, eschewing the assumptions of the protectorate, were fleeing for refuge to other lands.

The brothers, JOHN and LAWRENCE, both purchased estates in Westmoreland county. John married, and had several children, one of whom, Lawrence, was the grandfather of our Washington. This LAWRENCE had several children; and his second son, AUGUSTINE, was our Washington's father, who married twice. His first wife, JANE BUTLER, was the mother of four children, two of whom were LAWRENCE and AUGUSTINE; and his second wife, MARY BALL, celebrated for her beauty, was the mother of six children, of whom our Washington was the first-born.†

The two brothers who emigrated to America, John and Lawrence, could trace their family, through several generations, to WILLIAM DE HERTBURN, a powerful and noble knight, who lived a century after the time of William the Conqueror, and who purchased, in the year 1183, the manor and village of Wessyngton, in the diocese of Durham. From that period, the de Hertburn

---

*Table'' of the family, and from Washington's Letter to SIR ISAAC HEARD.*

† There were three other sons, SAMUEL, JOHN AUGUSTINE, and CHARLES; and there were two daughters, MILDRED, who died in infancy, and BETTY, who married FIELDING LEWIS, Esq., afterwards a devoted patriot of the revolutionary times.

---

\* The name of this brother was ANDREW, according to IRVING, in his "*Life of Washington*," vol. i., p. 16; but, this is an error, as appears from BAKER's "*Genealogical*



family took, as then was usual, the name of the estate, and was called DE WESSYNGTON. The orthography of the name, passing through various modifications,\* eventually attained its familiar modern form.

So little interest did our Washington himself evince, in relation to his pedigree, that he never gave it his serious attention, until he received, after his elevation to the Presidency, a letter on the subject from SIR ISAAC HEARD, then Garter King at Arms in London, who was, from his office, naturally led to inquire into the ancestry of the illustrious American, who was at that time the observed of all observers. Washington's reply to Sir Isaac's letter is a characteristic effusion.

PHILADELPHIA, 2 *May*, 1792.

"SIR,—Your letter of the 7th of December was put into my hands by Mr. Thornton, and I must request that you will accept my acknowledgments, as well for the polite manner in which you express your wishes for my happiness, as for the trouble you have taken in making genealogical collections relative to the family of Washington.

"This is a subject to which, I confess, I have paid very little attention. My time has been so much occupied in the busy and active scenes of life, from an early period of it, that but a small portion could have been devoted to researches of this nature, even if my in-

clination or particular circumstances should have prompted to the inquiry. I am therefore apprehensive, that it will not be in my power, circumstanced as I am at present, to furnish you with materials to fill up the sketch which you have sent me, in so accurate a manner as you could wish. We have no office of record in this country, in which exact genealogical documents are preserved; and very few cases, I believe, occur, where a recurrence to pedigree, for any considerable distance back, has been found necessary to establish such points as may frequently arise in older countries.

"On comparing the tables, which you sent, with such documents as are in my possession, and which I could readily obtain from another branch of the family with whom I am in the habit of correspondence, I find it to be just. I have often heard others of the family, older than myself, say, that our ancestor who first settled in this country came from some one of the northern counties of England; but whether from Lancashire, Yorkshire, or one still more northerly, I do not precisely remember.†

"The arms inclosed in your letter, are the same that are held by the family here; though I have also seen, and have used, as you may perceive by the seal to this packet, a flying griffin for the crest.‡

\* Among these modifications are Wessington, Washington, Weschington, and Wasshington.

† The ancestor referred to, JOHN WASHINGTON, resided, before he came to America, on an estate of his at South Cave, in the East Riding of Yorkshire.

‡ The Washington coat of arms, in the families of Buckinghamshire, Kent, Warwickshire, and Northamp-

"If you can derive any information from the inclosed lineage, which will enable you to complete your table, I shall be well pleased in having been the means of assisting you in those researches, which you have had the politeness to undertake; and shall be glad to be informed of the result, and of the ancient pedigree of the family, some of whom I find intermixed with that of Ferrers.

"LAWRENCE Washington, from whose will you inclosed an abstract, was my grandfather. The other abstracts which you sent do not, I believe, relate to the family of Washington in Virginia; but, of this I cannot speak positively.

"With due consideration, I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

In this letter were inclosed PARTICULARS respecting the family. "In the year 1657, or thereabouts, and during the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, JOHN and LAWRENCE Washington, brothers, emigrated from the north of England, and settled at Bridge's Creek, on the Potomac river, in the county of Westmoreland. But from whom they descended, the subscriber is possessed of no document to ascertain." Then follows an account of JOHN, who was Washington's great-grandfather, and of his descendants in America.

tonshire, and in the Virginia families, is argent, two bars gules in chief, three mullets of the second. Crest, a raven with wings indorsed proper, issuing out of a ducal coronet or. In EDMONDSON'S *Heraldry*, are given other arms, for other branches of the family.

While he heeded not the suggestions by which pride and ambition allure so many to genealogical records, Washington did, however, obey the promptings of benevolence, when, on making his will, he desired that a list should be furnished of his blood-relations, both in Europe and America, with a view to his bestowing upon each one of them a gift or souvenir.

To such inquirers as may be curious, on the subject of the remote English ancestors of our Washington's first American progenitor, JOHN, of Virginia, it may be interesting to know, that he descended lineally from John, of Whitfield, in the county of Lancaster, whose son John, also of Whitfield, was father of John, of Warton, in the same county; and the eldest son of this John, of Warton, LAWRENCE, was mayor of Northampton, and had a grant of the manor of Sulgrave, with other valuable lands there, after Henry the Eighth's dissolution of the priories.\* This LAWRENCE, of Northampton, was the great-grandfather of the first American Washington; his son ROBERT, of Sulgrave, being the father of LAWRENCE, of Sulgrave, of whom JOHN, of Virginia, was the second son.

Among the many reflections awakened by these genealogical memoranda, one of the most interesting is, that they are a key to what is far more worthy of attention than the mere branches, withered or budding, of a family tree. Among the Washingtons are found

\* In 30 Henry VIII., 1538-9.



many persons of note in the learned professions, in council, and in the field of war; men who won the fame of scholars, the honors of knighthood, the rewards of skill and industry, and the praise of virtue, valor, and high resolve.

Among the English Washingtons were the noble knight WILLIAM DE HERTBURN, a conspicuous chevalier in the train of the princely Count Palatinate, the Bishop of Durham; WILLIAM Weshington, a loyal defender of Henry III., in the wars of the barons; SIR STEPHEN de Wessington, one of the chevaliers of Edward III.; SIR WILLIAM, of the Privy Council of Durham; JOHN, the learned\* and energetic Prior of the Benedictines; Lieutenant-colonel JAMES Washington, one of the loyal subjects of Charles I., in whose cause he was slain at the siege of Pontefract; JOSEPH, an eminent lawyer, who translated one of Milton's political treatises;† and SIR HENRY, famous for his daring achievement at the storming of Bristol, and for his devoted loyal constancy at the siege of Worcester. Referring to Sir Henry's exploit at Bristol, Lord Clarendon says, "On Prince Rupert's side, it was assaulted with equal courage; for, though that division led on by the Lord Grandison, Colonel-general of the foot, was beaten

off, the Lord Grandison himself being hurt, and the other, led by Colonel Bellasis, likewise had no better fortune; yet Colonel WASHINGTON, with a less party finding a place in the curtain (between the places assaulted by the other two) weaker than the rest, entered, and quickly made room for the horse to follow."‡

The military qualities of the European ancestors, were perpetuated by their American descendants, from the very first who emigrated to this country,—JOHN Washington. Tradition says, that this American progenitor, before his migration to Virginia, held military rank. After his arrival in Virginia, he certainly wore the name and performed the duties of a military officer; his will is endorsed "The will of Lieutenant-colonel Washington;" and when the shores of the Potomac were threatened with an incursion of hostile Indians of the Seneca tribe, Colonel JOHN Washington led the Virginia forces which combined with those of Maryland in repelling the savages. He was also a successful and wealthy planter, a magistrate and a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses; and the parish in which he resided received, in honor of him, and still retains, his name.

Colonel WILLIAM AUGUSTINE Washington, son of BAILY, of Stafford county, Virginia, was commander of a celebrated regiment of cavalry in the Rev-

\* Author of "*De Juribus et Possessionibus Ecclesie Dunelm.*"

† The "*Defensio pro Populo Anglicano.*" He wrote also a translation of part of "*Lucian's Dialogues*;" "*Observations upon the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Kings of England*;" an "*Abridgment of the Statutes*," to 1687; and the first volume of "*Modern Reports.*"

‡ LORD CLARENDON'S "*History of the Rebellion*," Book VII.; vol. iv., p. 134. Oxf., 1839.

olutionary War, and achieved such remarkable exploits of valor, that Congress awarded to him, after the battle of Cowpens, a silver medal; and he was familiarly known, as "The modern Marcellus," and "The Sword of his Country."

From the conquest of Britain, in the

twelfth century, to the independence of its American colonies, seven centuries after that epoch, a martial spirit, associated with energy, endurance, resolution, constancy, and valor, appears to have been the prevailing family characteristic of the Washingtons.

## CHAPTER II.

1739—1748.

### EARLY DAYS OF WASHINGTON.

Removal to Suffolk.—His Early History.—His Father's Character.—His Home Education, by his Father.—His Father's Death and Character.—His Mother's Character.—Her Lessons of Wisdom.—Her family use of Hale's Contemplations.—Extracts from the Contemplations.—Discourses on the Common Prayer.—His Filial Piety.—State of Education in the Colonies.—His Schoolmasters, Mr. Hobby and Mr. Williams.—Character of his brother Lawrence.—His arrangements to enter the British Navy, as a Midshipman.—His Mother's Objections.—His dutiful Conduct.—He resumes his Studies.—He leaves School.—His Military Predilections.—His Recreations.—His favorite Studies, and his Habits.—His early Manuscripts, now extant.—His Rules of Behavior.—His Selections in Verse.—Is unacquainted with Latin and Greek, and with foreign Modern Languages.—Prefers Mathematics to Belles-lettres.—His tender affection for Miss Grimes.—His Mother's Tribute to him, as a Good Boy.

It was while Washington was a boy, of about seven years of age, that his father removed from the old  
1739. homestead. His estate which he now occupied was in Stafford county, on the Rappahannock, and in a region remarkable for its salubrity. The new house was very pleasantly situated; and it commanded an extensive land and water prospect. At this rural home, several years of young Washington's boyhood were spent in study and in sports, from his seventh to his eleventh year.

As an infant and as a youth, he possessed unusual bodily health and vigor. He was ever active, hardy, and adven-

turous, fond of open-air employments and recreations, of athletic exercises, and of the horse, the gun, and the chase.

His father, who was a good man, and deeply interested in his children's moral and religious education, employed, among other means, several ingenious methods to engage the feelings of his son GEORGE, so as to kindle in his mind generous and liberal sentiments, a love of truth, and an habitual and influential recognition of the existence and the providence of God.\*

\* Anecdotes illustrating this may be found in the second chapter of the *Life of Washington*, by the Rev. M. L. WEEMS, formerly rector of Mount Vernon parish.



When George would commit a fault, and, being detected, would not meanly shrink from confessing it, but would at once tell the honest truth, his father would warmly and affectionately commend him for his magnanimity and integrity.

He would point out to him the riches of God's bounty, in the abundant fruits of the earth, and from this copious text inculcate precepts of ungrudging liberality.

On a certain occasion, he planted seeds in one of his garden-beds, so disposed as to exhibit, when they sprung up, the words *GEORGE WASHINGTON*. The first discovery of a spectacle so novel, and to him utterly unaccountable and marvellous, naturally awakened in George's mind profound astonishment. He repaired to his father, told him of the strange sight, and conducted him to the spot where the wonder might be seen. The father now availed himself of the absorbing incident, to lead his little son to trace the phenomenon to an intelligent cause. He told the secret of his being himself the agent in producing it. And he then explained, in a striking and impressive manner, the pervading indications of contrivance and design in the whole visible creation, and the wonderful and convincing proofs of an intelligent and benevolent Great First Cause.

This paternal care and discipline was destined, however, to be of short continuance. The son, when about eleven years of age, was on a visit at Cho-

tanck, where he was enjoying the Easter holydays with *LAWRENCE* and *ROBERT Washington*, whom he calls, in his will, "the acquaintances and friends of my juvenile years;" when he was hastily summoned from the happy home of these cousins, to change the joys of a holyday with them, for the sorrows of a last look in the chamber of death, where lay his expiring father, prostrated by a sudden and fatal attack of gout in the stomach. It was also his lot, to reach home too late to hear him utter a blessing or a farewell, or to receive any expression of his love, except what affection could fondly associate with a feeble glance of recognition.\*

*AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON* was a Virginia planter, of the best class. He brought with him from England the characteristic qualities of an English gentleman, and an intelligent and devout attachment to the English church. In person, he was remarkably tall and manly. He was also a man of strong mind, with great energy of purpose; and his thoughts and feelings were habitually under the control of practical religion. In common with the Virginia planters of his day, he delighted in field sports. His long heavy gun, still preserved, suggests the thought of a huntsman of extraordinary size of body and power of arm; and warrants the reports which tradition has handed down to us, respecting the large frame and great muscular strength,

\* He died April 12th, 1743, at the age of forty-nine years.

which his distinguished son inherited.

One who knew him personally, Mr. WITHERS, of Stafford county, has described him as a man of uncommon height, noble appearance, manly proportions, and extraordinary muscular power. At the Principio Iron Works on the Rappahannock, he once lifted and placed in a wagon, "a mass of iron which two ordinary men could barely raise from the ground." Yet this gigantic might of muscle never tempted him to take any part in the frequent combats which occurred in Virginia in his day, except to stay savage violence, by separating combatants. And such was his character for magnanimity, justice, and moral worth, that he commanded, wherever he appeared, and in whatever he engaged, universal and unhesitating deference.

His disposition was mild, his manners were courteous, and his private character was without reproach. And as he lay on his death-bed, he uttered a declaration that does honor to his memory. "I thank God," said he, "that in all my life I never struck a man in anger; for if I had, I am sure that, from my remarkable muscular powers, I should have killed my antagonist, and then his blood, at this awful moment, would have lain heavily upon my soul. As it is, I die at peace with all mankind."\*

\* Letter from GEORGE W. P. CUSTIS to CHARLES BROWN, of Boston, April 24th, 1851, reprinted in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, January, 1857.

The success with which he accumulated property and added field to field, until he could provide plantations for his sons, and an independent maintenance for his surviving daughter, illustrates his exemplary diligence and industry, so conspicuous also in the character of his son George.

Upon the widowed mother now devolved the care of her five children. The eldest, GEORGE, was 1743. eleven years of age; and the youngest, CHARLES, was five. But she was eminently qualified, by nature and religion, to fulfil all her duties to her family. A lady "of the old school," possessed of a strong mind and sound judgment, she united, with great simplicity of manners, energy, honesty, and truthfulness. Her house, the home of hospitality, was also the home of order, neatness, economy, and domestic industry. She was a strict disciplinarian; and, by her decision and consistency of character, she obtained over her children and dependants an uncompromising, but benign, control.

Tradition tells, that she was deeply interested in forming the minds and hearts of her children, according to the teachings of the Gospel, and that she daily read to them select parts of SIR MATTHEW HALE'S *Contemplations*,† a

† "*Contemplations, Moral and Divine*, by SIR MATTHEW HALE, Knight; late Chief Justice of the King's Bench."

Bishop PORTEUS, speaking of these *Contemplations*, says: "They are of great use to all who would both inform and quicken their minds."—*Life of Sir Matthew Hale, Knt.*

Bishop JEBB calls them "wonderfully plain and simple, but exquisitely Christian."—*Introd. to Burnet's Lives, Characters, and Address to Posterity.*



work which abounds in golden maxims of sound wisdom and pure piety. The very volume which she used, and which has her name in it, "MARY WASHINGTON," written by herself, is still preserved among the family relics. And the precepts contained in those portions of the work which appear to have been read most frequently, were so admirably, as well as faithfully, exemplified by her son George, throughout his life, that one might almost think that they were written at the close of his career, and were designed as a delineation of his character and a record of his principles.

Several portions of the work, it is evident, were the familiar lessons of the family; and so happily do these represent Washington's marked moral lineaments, that they may be regarded as a striking portrait of him.

In the portion entitled "The Great Audit," the good steward is represented as giving his account to God. And he says:

"As to all the *blessings and talents* wherewith thou hast intrusted me, I have looked up to thee with a thankful heart, as the only Author and Giver of them. I have looked upon myself as unworthy of them. I have looked upon them as committed to my trust and stewardship, to manage them for the ends that they were given, the honor of my Lord and Master. I have therefore been watchful and sober in the use and exercise of them, lest I should be unfaithful in them. If I have at any

time, through weakness, or inadvertence, or temptation, misemployed any of them, I have been restless, till I have in some measure rectified my miscarriage, by repentance and amendment.

"As touching my CONSCIENCE, and the light thou hast given me in it,—it has been my care to improve that natural light and to furnish it with the best principles I could. Before I had the knowledge of thy Word, I got as much furniture as I could from the writings of the best moralists, and the examples of the best men; after I had the light of thy Word, I furnished it with those pure and unerring principles that I found in it.

"I have been very jealous either of wounding, or grieving, or discouraging, or deadening my Conscience. I have therefore chosen, rather to forbear that which seemed but indifferent, lest there might be somewhat in it that might be unlawful; and would rather gratify my conscience with being too scrupulous, than displease, disquiet, or flat it by being too venturous: I have still chosen rather to forbear what might be probably lawful, than to do that which might be possibly unlawful; because, could I not err in the former, I might in the latter. If things were disputable whether they might be done, I rather chose to forbear, because the lawfulness of my forbearance was unquestionable.

"Concerning my SPEECH, I have always been careful that I offend not with my tongue; my words have been

few, unless necessity or thine honor required more speech than ordinary. My words have been true, representing things as they were ; and sincere, bearing conformity to my heart and mind."

"I have esteemed it the most natural and excellent use of my tongue, to set forth thy glory, goodness, power, wisdom, and truth ; to instruct others, as I had opportunity, in the knowledge of thee, in their duty to thee, to themselves, and others ; to reprove vice and sin, to encourage virtue and good living ; to convince of errors ; to maintain the truth ; to call upon thy name, and, by vocal prayers, to sanctify my tongue, and to fix my thoughts to the duty about which I was ; to persuade to peace and charity and good works."

"Concerning HUMAN PRUDENCE, and understanding in affairs, and dexterity in the managing of them,—I have been always careful to mingle justice and honesty with my prudence ; and have always esteemed Prudence, actuated by injustice and falsity, the arrantest and most devilish practice in the world ; because it prostitutes thy gift to the service of hell, and mingles a beam of thy Divine Excellence with an extract of the devil's furnishing, making a man so much the worse by how much he is wiser than others.

"I always thought that wisdom which, in a tradesman and in a politician, was mingled with deceit, falsity, and injustice, and deserved the same name ; only, the latter is so much the worse, because it was of the more pub-

lic and general concernment. Yet, because I have often observed great employments, especially in public affairs, are sometimes under great temptations of mingling too much craft and prudence, and then miscall it Policy, I have, as much as may be, avoided such temptations, and if I have met with them, I have resolutely rejected them.

"I have always observed, that HONESTY and PLAIN-DEALING in transactions, as well public as private, is the best and soundest prudence and policy ; and commonly, at the long run, overmatcheth craft and subtlety, Job xii. 16 ; for, the deceived and deceiver are thine, and thou art privy to the subtlety of the one, and the simplicity of the other ; and thou, as the great Moderator and Observer of men, dost dispense success and disappointments accordingly.

"As Human Prudence is abused, if mingled with falsity and deceit, though the end be ever so good, so it is much more debased, if directed to a bad end ; to the dishonor of thy name, the oppression of thy people, the corrupting of thy worship or truth, or to execute any injustice towards any person.

"It hath been my care, as not to err in the manner, so neither in the end, of the exercising of my Prudence. I have ever esteemed my prudence then best employed, when it was exercised in the preservation and support of thy truth, in the upholding of thy faithful ministers, in countermining, discovering, and disappointing the designs of evil and treacherous men, in delivering the op-



pressed, in righting the injured, in preventing of wars and discords, in preserving the public peace and tranquillity of the people where I live, in faithful advising of my prince; and in all those offices incumbent upon me, by thy Providence, under every relation.

"When my *End* was most unquestionably good, I ever then took most heed that the *Means* were suitable and justifiable. 1. Because, the better the end was, the more easily are we cozened into the use of ill means to effect it. We are too apt to dispense with ourselves in the practice of what is amiss, in order to the accomplishing of an end that is good; we are apt, while with great intention of mind we gaze upon the end, not to take care what course we take so we attain it; and we are apt to think that God will dispense with, or at least overlook, the miscarriages in our attempts, if the end be good.

"2. Because many times, if not most times, thy name and honor do more suffer by attempting *a good end by bad means*, than by attempting both a bad end and also by bad means; for, bad ends are suitable to bad means; they are alike; and it doth not immediately, as such, concern thy honor. But every thing that is good hath somewhat of thee in it; thy name and thy nature and thy honor is written upon it; and the blemish that is cast upon it is, in some measure, cast upon thee; and the evil and scandal and infamy and ugliness that is in the means, is cast upon

the end, and doth disparage and blemish it; and consequently it dishonors thee. To rob for burnt-offerings and to lie for God, is a greater disservice to thy majesty, than to rob for rapine or to lie for advantage."

"Touching my eminence of PLACE or POWER, in this world, this is my account. I never sought or desired it, and that for these reasons: 1. Because I easily saw, that it was rather a burden than a privilege. It made my charge and my accounts the greater, my contentment and rest the less. I found enough in it to make me decline it in respect of myself, but not any thing that could invite me to seek or desire it.

"2. The external glory and splendor also that attended it, I esteemed as vain and frivolous in itself, a bait to allure vain and inconsiderate persons to affect and delight, not valuable enough to invite a considerate judgment to desire or undertake it. I esteemed them as the gilt that covers a bitter pill, and I looked through this dress and outside, and easily saw that it covered a state obnoxious to danger, solicitude, care, trouble, envy, discontent, inquietness, temptation, and vexation.

"I esteemed it a condition which, if there were any distempers abroad, they would infallibly be hunting and pushing at it, and if it found any corruptions within, either of pride, vain-glory, insolence, vindictiveness, or the like, it would be sure to draw them out and set them to work." "And if they pre-

vailed, it made my power and greatness not only my burden but my sin; if they prevailed not, yet it required a most watchful, assiduous, and severely vigilant labor and industry, to suppress them.

“When I undertook any place of power or eminence,—*First*, I looked to my call thereunto to be such as I might discern to be thy call, not my own ambition. *Second*, that the place were such as might be answered by suitable abilities in some measure to perform. *Third*, that my end in it might not be the satisfaction of any pride, ambition, or vanity in myself, but to serve thy Providence and my generation, honestly and faithfully. In all which, my undertaking was not an act of my choice, but of my duty.

“3. In the holding or exercising of these places, I kept *my heart humble*; I valued not myself one rush the more for it. *First*, because I easily found that that base affection of pride, which commonly is the fly that haunts such employments, would render me dishonorable to thy Majesty, or disserviceable in the employment. *Second*, because I easily saw great places were slippery places, the mark of envy. It was, therefore, always my care so to behave myself in them, as I might be in a capacity to leave them, and so to leave them, that, when I had left them, I might have no scars and blemishes stick upon me. I carried, therefore, the same evenness of temper in holding them, as might become me if I were without them.

*Third*, I found enough, in great employments, to make me sensible of the danger, troubles, and cares of it; enough to make me humble, but not enough to make me proud and haughty.

“4. I never made use of my power or greatness, to *serve my own turns*; either to heap up riches, or to oppress my neighbor, or to revenge injuries, or to uphold or bolster out injustice. For, though others thought me great, I knew myself to be still the same; and in all things, besides the due execution of my place, my deportment was just the same as if I had been no such man; for, first, I knew that I was but thy steward and minister, and placed there to serve thee and those ends which thou proposedst in my preferment, and not to serve myself, much less my passions or corruptions. And, further, I very well and practically knew, that place and honor and preferment are things extrinsical, and have no ingredience into the man. His value and estimate, before, and under, and after his greatness, is still the same in itself; as the counter that now stands for a penny, anon for sixpence, and then for twelve-pence, is still the same counter, though its place and extrinsical denomination be changed.

“5. I improved the opportunity of my place, eminence, and greatness, to *serve thee and my country* in it, with all vigilance, diligence, and fidelity. I protected, countenanced, and encouraged thy worship, name, day, and people. I did faithfully execute justice, according to that station I had. I rescued the



oppressed from the cruelty, malice, and insolence of their oppressors. I cleared the innocent from unjust calumnies and reproaches. I was instrumental to place those in offices, places, and employments of trust and consequence, that were honest and faithful. I removed those that were dishonest, irreligious, false, or unjust."

"Touching my REPUTATION and CREDIT,—1. I never affected the reputation of being rich, great, crafty, or politic; but I esteemed much a deserved reputation of *justice, honesty, integrity, virtue, and piety.*

"2. I never thought that reputation was the thing primarily to be looked after in the exercise of virtue; for, that were to affect the substance for the sake of the shadow, which had been a kind of levity and impotence of mind; but I looked at virtue, and the worth of it, as that which was the first desirable, and reputation as a handsome and useful accession to it.

"3. The reputation of justice and honesty I was always careful to keep untainted, upon these grounds. *First*, because a blemish in my reputation would be dishonorable to thee. *Second*, it would be an abuse of a talent which thou hadst committed to me. *Third*, it would be a weakening of an instrument which thou hadst put into my hands, upon the strength whereof much good might be done by me.

"Though I have loved my reputation, and have been vigilant not to lose or impair it, by my own default or

neglect, yet I have looked upon it as a brittle thing,—a thing that the devil aims to hit in a special manner,—a thing that is much in the power of a false report, a mistake, a misapprehension, to wound and hurt; and, notwithstanding all my care, I am at the mercy of others, without God's wonderful overruling providence. And as my reputation is the esteem that others have of me; so, that esteem may be blemished without my default. I have, therefore, always taken this care, not to set my heart upon my reputation.

"I will use all fidelity and honesty, and take care it shall not be lost by any default of mine; *and if, notwithstanding all this, my reputation be soiled, by evil or envious men or angels, I will patiently bear it, and content myself with the serenity of my own conscience. Hic murus aheneus esto.*

"When THY HONOR OR THE GOOD OF MY COUNTRY was concerned, I then thought it was a seasonable time to lay out my reputation for the advantage of either; and to act, it, and by and upon it, to the highest, in the use of all lawful means. And upon such an occasion, the counsel of Mordecai to Esther was my encouragement, Esther iv. 14.—Who knoweth whether God hath not given thee this reputation and esteem for such a time as this?"

Would American mothers more generally follow the example of the mother of Washington, and, instead of gratifying their children's morbid appetite for popular light literature, cultivate a taste

for the teachings of such devout philosophers as SIR MATTHEW HALE, full many a youthful mind, now sacrificed to sinful folly, might be moulded to virtue, piety, and wisdom, and bless our country and mankind.

Another interesting volume of the Washington family-library is still preserved,\* and may have exerted a wholesome influence upon the mind of Washington in childhood. It is entitled, "Short Discourses upon the Whole Common Prayer; abridged to inform the Judgment and excite the Devotion of such as daily use the same." Its title-page bears the autograph of AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON; and upon the cover leaves of the volume this name of the father is written again and again, by his son George, in the bold and marked style of his chirography.

It was the lot of Washington to receive from his father, as well as from his mother, the advantages of a sound religious education; but, in common with many worthies who have adorned our race, he points the world to the chief earthly source of his successes,—HOME INFLUENCE, DIRECTED BY A MOTHER.

It was a precept of classical mythology, that all who are earth-born are bound to make, on every suitable occasion, an offering to Earth, their good mother, as a tribute of gratitude for her manifold gifts. Beautiful exhibition of filial duty! And it is recorded of Washington, that, in the spirit of this precept, and actuated by a sacred

domestic feeling of love and reverence, he ever remembered his obligations to his "honored" mother, as he habitually entitled her in his letters and in conversation, and that he delighted to associate his regard for her with his life's most eventful epochs, and with its chief honors and successes,—with the wreath upon his brow and the flowers strewed along his path.†

On returning from the battle of the Monongahela, he addressed an affectionate letter to her. Before receiving his commission as commander-in-chief of the armies of Virginia, he informed her, by letter, of his probable elevation to that rank. And just before his departure for New York, to be inaugurated president of the United States, he repaired to Fredericksburg to take leave of his "aged mother." It was their last interview. She died, a few months after.‡

The planters of Virginia being, at that period, without colleges and academies, were compelled to employ private tutors for their children, or to content themselves with the very meagre instruction to be obtained at common country-schools. The masters of these schools, moreover, possessing, not unfrequently, the smallest supposable modicum of qualifications, had little more capital than self-assurance, a rod, and a ferule. And unable to subsist upon the pittance afforded by their school-duties,

† His Letters to Major-general Knox, Feb. 20th, 1784; and June 17th, 1788.

‡ August, 1789, at the age of eighty-three years.



they would add to their *literary offices* others which sometimes were singularly incongruous.

A rural pedagogue, of this motley class, Washington's first preceptor, a tenant of his father's, when the family was residing in Westmoreland, was Mr. HOBBY, a pretentious, jovial wight, who kept what was called "the old field school;" and who, in the comprehensive range of his employments, was busied both with the minds and the bodies of his neighbors, combining the functions of schoolmaster, parish sexton, and undertaker. It was his joy to see his most honored pupil rise to the greatest height of his renown; and he would often boast, as he recounted anecdotes of *the old field school*,—"It was I who laid the foundation of his greatness!"

Soon after his father's death, Washington was sent from the family residence in Suffolk, to the old homestead in Westmoreland county, the house in which he was born, and which was then occupied by his half-brother AUGUSTINE. The object had in view, was to provide for him a schoolmaster of a higher grade than he who "laid the foundation of his greatness." He was accordingly placed under the care of Mr. WILLIAMS, an excellent teacher of the usual branches of an English education, and, in particular, of geography, book-keeping, and surveying.

Under the guidance of this competent master and worthy man, our young pupil vigorously pursued his studies,

until his fourteenth year, when an incident occurred, worthy of especial notice, from its important bearing on the future of his history. 1746.

This was, his purpose to obtain a midshipman's warrant in the British navy. His half-brother LAWRENCE, who was, at that time, a man of consideration in Virginia, being a member of the House of Burgesses, and adjutant-general of his district, had served under Admiral VERNON, and General WENTWORTH, in the West Indies. As captain in the American regiment under command of Colonel ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD, raised expressly for the West India service, and for co-operating with the British troops in Vernon's expedition, he was with Wentworth, when he undertook, in the year 1741, the disastrous siege of Carthage.<sup>\*</sup>

A midshipman's warrant, obtained through the influence of this half-brother, was put into the hands of our young naval aspirant, greatly to his delight. He made immediate arrangements to embark on board a man-of-war, then riding in the Potomac. His baggage was on the ship. All that remained to be done before his departure, was to receive his mother's approbation and her blessing. But, she had doubts of the advantage of the project. She looked at the many evils associated with scenes of naval service; and she dwelt upon the thought of a separation by which her son, so young in years

<sup>\*</sup> SMOLLETT's *History of England*, chap. iv., at the beginning; and his *Roderick Random*.







and in experience, would be taken away forever from the family manse, and from the shrine of its sacred home influences. She refused her consent to his separation from her. And maternal solicitude and filial affection soon blended in deciding that the proposed measure should be relinquished.

The dutiful son's un murmuring acquiescence, and his surrender, in such circumstances, of his heart's joy, are a beautiful comment on his mental and moral discipline. And his filial obedience was in harmony with a divine intention. The Unseen was present, in the sympathies of that domestic incident. He who controls the fates of men and nations, had a higher service than that of a midshipman, in reserve for this noble boy.

He resumed his studies at the school of Mr. Williams. And he continued to pursue them, two years longer, until he had almost attained to his sixteenth year. This was an early season for his leaving school; but it was the limit of his opportunities. The school-boy and the college-student, of our day, who bask in the broad light afforded by thoroughly furnished educators and the latest and most improved text-books, too seldom think, how few and fitful were the rays which glimmered on the path of our youthful countrymen in the middle of the last century. Yet, a compensation for the want of modern artificial helps to learning, was afforded by a prevailing stalwart vigor and powerful grasp of thought. And there was

then a freedom from the influence of our literary luxuries, which are so tempting to a relaxation of industry in the pursuit of truth.

At the early period of his school-days, Washington afforded one of the numerous illustrations of a fact which gives such interest to the history of the childhood of great men. With all due allowance for the propensity of imagination to color with bright tints its pictures of early genius, it must be admitted that, in many cases, the mind does, in its first developments, disclose the secret of its leading bent. At the beginning of life's spring, incipient tendrils indicate the nature of a plant formed to climb.

Among his playmates, our school-boy was their umpire and their leader. He won their confidence by his native ingenuousness and his strict regard for truth. He was generous and just; he was proverbially a peacemaker; and his word of honor was a bond. His military predilections also now appeared, not only in his delighting, when eleven years of age, as boys so generally do, to "play soldiers," but in his being the master-spirit, in many a mimic battle between "the English" and "the French."

He was conspicuous, moreover, in their sports, on account of his feats of strength and agility. Among his favorite recreations, in which he was almost without a rival, were lifting and throwing heavy weights, jumping with a pole, and wrestling. He was cele-



brated, too, for fleetness, like the swift-footed hero of the Iliad; and in racing with his school-fellows, he surpassed them all. And so great was the power of his arm in youth, that he would often throw a stone across the Rappahannock, at the lower ferry of Fredericksburg,—a feat, which few men were able to perform.

“More than fifty years ago,” says Mr. CUSTIS,\* “I became acquainted with two aged and highly estimable gentlemen, LAWRENCE and ROBIN Washington, who were distantly related to, and had been companions of, the Chief in his juvenile days. They spoke of the fine manly youth; and of his gallant demeanor and daring exploits in horsemanship, and the athletic exercises of that remote period.”

But the manly exercise in which he most excelled, was horsemanship. When a boy of but twelve years of age, he resolved to ride a spirited unbroken colt of his mother's,—her favorite sorrel,—which had hitherto successfully resisted all attempts of “horse-tamers.” He informed his playmates of his purpose; and, accordingly, a party of them assembled soon after sunrise on the appointed day, to see the sport. With great difficulty they penned the mettlesome and fiery animal, and, after many unsuccessful efforts, at length bridled him. The youthful horseman then seized the reins, and with a single effort, vaulted on the colt's back. Then followed a desperate

struggle between horse and rider. The colt could not and would not brook restraint. He had prevailed hitherto, and he would prevail again. In all the freedom of his noble nature he had at pleasure ranged the field, snuffed the wind, and thrown off, by a bound or leap, his waste exuberance. He now reared and sprang. He started, violently and suddenly, from side to side. He used every instinctive contortion, with a view to throw his rider, and to regain liberty. It was in vain; his efforts became frantic when he found his master unmoved from his seat; and with a violent, convulsive, furious plunge, he fell down dead.

Conscious of the pain which this result would cause his mother, Washington frankly told her the story of his conduct; and she, in her characteristic manner, said in reply, “I regret the loss of my favorite, but I rejoice in my son, who always speaks the truth.”

As proofs of his diligence and industry at school, manuscripts written by him in boyhood, and filling several quires of paper, exhibit records of his studies in geometry, trigonometry, and surveying; and evince the same regard to neatness and method, and the same care and accuracy, which were afterwards so conspicuous in his letters, his plans of military operations, and his official documents. There are extant also specimens of his ornamental penmanship, and of his fancy pen-sketch creations of heads half-human, and of nondescript birds, and “gorgons dire.”

\* Letter to CHARLES BROWN, April 24th, 1851, quoted in p. 19.

In a manuscript book which he wrote at the age of thirteen years, are copies of notes of hand, bills of exchange, receipts, bonds, indentures, bills of sale, land-warrants, leases, deeds and wills, designed to familiarize him with proper forms for transacting business.

He seems, however, to have devoted himself, in boyhood, not merely to intellectual acquirements. He collected, and copied out, in one of his manuscripts, "Rules of Behavior in Company and Conversation." And the general character of these rules by which he sought to regulate his demeanor, affords the best evidence of his desire to cultivate the elegant courtesies, and to practise the moral duties, which give refined society its peculiar charm.

Among his rules are the following:—

"1. Read no letters, books or papers, in company; but, when there is a necessity for doing it, you must ask leave. Come not near the books or writings of any one so as to read them, unless desired; nor give your opinion of them unasked. Also, look not nigh, when another is writing a letter.

2. Show not yourself glad at the misfortune of another, though he were your enemy.

3. When you meet with one of greater quality than yourself, stop and retire, especially if it be at a door or any strait place, to give way for him to pass.

4. Let your discourse with men of business be short and comprehensive.

5. In writing or speaking give to every person his due title, according

to his degree, and the custom of the place.

6. Wherein you reprove another, be unblamable yourself; for example is more prevalent than precepts.

7. Be not hasty to believe flying reports to the disparagement of any.

8. In your apparel, be modest; and endeavor to accommodate nature, rather than to procure admiration.

9. Associate yourself with men of good quality, if you esteem your own reputation; for, it is better to be alone, than in bad company.

10. Deride no man's misfortune, though there seem to be some cause.

11. Whisper not in the company of others.

12. Be not apt to relate news, if you know not the truth thereof.

13. Be not curious to know the affairs of others; neither approach to those that speak in private.

14. Undertake not what you cannot perform; but be careful to keep your promise.

15. Speak not evil of the absent, for it is unjust.

16. Be not angry at table, whatever happens; and, if you have reason to be so, show it not. Put on a cheerful countenance, especially if there be strangers; for, good humor makes one dish of meat a feast.

17. When you speak of God, or his attributes, let it be seriously, in reverence.

18. Honor and obey your natural parents, though they be poor.



19. Let your recreations be manful, not sinful.

20. Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire, called Conscience."

These, and similar memoranda of the conventionalities of elegant, social intercourse, enabled him to control himself by a well-provided formulary, instead of trusting to the hazard of mere impromptu impulses. They were the trellis-work that secured an order, regularity, and beauty, which imparted a remarkable propriety and decorum to his conduct, at all times, and in all circumstances.

There are also extant certain Selections in Verse, chiefly of a religious character, made by him at this dawning period of his life. They are of little merit, as exhibitions of genius in their author, or of poetic taste in their compiler; yet, they are indicative of what may be regarded as not less desirable in an intelligent and ingenuous lad of thirteen years of age, an interest in devout sentiments.

He did not enjoy the advantages of a classical education. And not only was he unable to read either Greek or Latin, but he could neither speak nor write in any modern foreign language. While in daily intercourse with French officers, at one period of the Revolution, he was compelled, in interchanging opinions with them, to rely, in general, upon the aid of an interpreter.

His decided predilection was for mathematics. The exactness, order,

and certainty of its processes, always were more congenial to the nature of his mind, than any of the charms of belles-lettres.

The only occasion of his being beguiled to compose poetic strains, was when, about two years before leaving school, and when the down upon his cheek and chin gave its first distinct hints of his adolescence, he felt some throbbings of the tender passion. In one of his early manuscripts are found plaintive breathings, of this nature, uttered for the relief of his "poor restless heart."

The object of his attachment, it is said, was Miss Grimes, of Westmoreland, whom he calls his "lowland beauty," and who, afterwards, as Mrs. LEE, was the mother of General HENRY LEE, so famous in the Revolutionary War as "Legion Harry," and always regarded by Washington with particular favor. But his "young love" was not declared, although it occasioned, for more than two years, the inquietude and depression of spirits usual in such cases.

Writing to a young companion whom he calls his "dear friend Robin," he remarks, that female society tended to keep alive his passion, whereas, says he, by living "more retired from young women," "I might, in some measure, alleviate my sorrows, by burying that chaste and troublesome passion in the grave of oblivion."

This natural and venial indulgence in youthful romancing,—although rather precocious in a boy of fourteen years,

—would not, perhaps, deserve to be mentioned, did it not show that Washington's mind, even at that period of his deepest interest in his studies, was not so absorbed in theorems and computations, as to be unconscious of nature's gentlest sympathies, and insensible to impressions associated with life's purest and most refined delights. His mind was sturdy; but his heart was ever gentle and susceptible.

In the estimate we form of the illustrious and the great, we are apt to be misled by the supposition, that, in the range of their passions and emotions, they are not as other men. And the dazzling halo of this illusion often imparts to them vague and mysterious associations, by which their example is often greatly diminished in its influence. It is pleasing, therefore, to record, in the history of Washington, that he was no ideal and unreal creation; that he had, as we have, a heart as well as a head; that he, as all other children, in their development of man-

hood, passed through the metamorphoses of child, little man, boy soldier lad, youth, lover; and that he is to be regarded not as an inimitable paragon, to excite wonder and admiration, but as a beautiful model, for all young persons who would practise filial obedience, truth, and honesty, diligence in study, decorum in behavior, and whatever else is commendable, in a lad or young man, at home and at school, in sports among playmates, and in amusements and recreations of the social circle.

They who would emulate the achievements of his manhood, should study and imitate the virtues of his early youth. When, at the close of the Revolutionary War, LA FAYETTE, about to depart for France, paid a farewell visit to the mother of Washington, and mingled with his adieus a glowing encomium on her illustrious son, she replied, in her characteristic manner, and in memorable words, "I am not surprised at what George has done, for he was always a GOOD BOY."



## CHAPTER III.

1748—1752.

### INCIDENTS OF HIS YOUTH.

He is an inmate in the family of his brother Lawrence, at Mount Vernon.—Lawrence's Character, his Attachment to his brother George, and his Marriage.—Account of William Fairfax and his family, and of Lord Fairfax.—His lordship's estates in Virginia.—Washington in the society of the family of William Fairfax.—Is the Hunting Companion of Lord Fairfax.—Is Surveyor of his lordship's lands.—His tour, with George William Fairfax, to the Alleghanies, and the South Branch of the Potomac.—His Journal of his Tour.—The river Shenandoah.—Lord Fairfax's Quarter.—Sugar trees.—The Richness of the Land.—Captain Hite's.—Soil and Products of the region.—An uncomfortable bed.—Berwick's.—The Potomac river.—The Warm Springs.—Crossing the Potomac.—Colonel Cresap's.—Bad state of the Roads.—A party of Indians.—War-dance.—Patterson's Creek.—Solomon Hedge's.—South Branch.—Wild turkeys.—Narrow escape from Fire.—Dutch Rabble.—Tent abandoned.—Cassey's.—Vanmeter's.—The Trough.—Camping in the Woods.—Caddy's.—Arrives at Mount Vernon.—Is appointed Public Surveyor.—His Experience of Life in the Woods.—Effects of his Forest Discipline.—He resorts to his mother's, and to his brother Lawrence's.—Advantages derived from his intercourse with Lawrence.—His Inheritance.

1718. Soon after leaving school, Washington became, for a time, an inmate in the family of his eldest half-brother, LAWRENCE, on his large patrimonial estate, which then comprised twenty-five hundred acres, and which he called MOUNT VERNON, in compliment to the admiral under whom he served in the West Indies.

This half-brother, whom his father sent to England for his education, had enjoyed what were at that time uncommon advantages, social and intellectual; and his improvement of them appeared, in his mental acquirements, his cultivated manners and his elegant accomplishments. He was very affectionately attached to his half-brother George; and it was his ambition and delight, to aid and counsel him in all his studies, and

to contribute, in every way, to his welfare and advancement, while he now prosecuted his mathematical studies, and prepared himself for the duties of a scientific practical surveyor. The daily conversation and the countless little hints and suggestions of such a Mentor as his highly educated brother Lawrence, were to our ingenuous young student, then in his seventeenth year, heaven's special provision suited to his case, as refreshing fertilizing dew to the surrounding green pastures.

Three years before this time, LAWRENCE married ANN FAIRFAX, eldest daughter of the Honorable WILLIAM FAIRFAX, of Fairfax county, Virginia, who had served in the British army in Spain, the East Indies, and New Providence. He had been also governor of

New Providence, chief-justice of the Bahamas, and president of his majesty's Council in Virginia.

The alliance of Lawrence Washington with a daughter of such a person, opened the way for his brother George's acquaintance with the Fairfax family, and, eventually, for his intimate friendship with the most prominent member of the family, THOMAS, the sixth Lord Fairfax, who was a man of education and of great moral worth. He was a graduate of Oxford University, and the contributor, it is said, of some of the papers in Addison's *Spectator*. He held a commission also in a regiment of horse.

Descended from an ancient baronial family, and inheriting a large fortune, his lordship had moved in the best circles of English society. It was his lot, however, to be grievously disappointed in an affair of the heart. He sought seclusion from the gay world. On visiting his American estates in Virginia, which he inherited from his mother, he was charmed with the people, the country, and the climate; and he resolved to bid adieu to old associates and to settle in the New World.

His mother was CATHARINE, daughter of THOMAS, Lord CULPEPPER; and the estates in Virginia, which he inherited from her, comprehended, according to the original grant which Lord Culpepper received from Charles II., all the lands between the Potomac and Rapahannock rivers. These lands, it was estimated, contained five millions seven

hundred thousand acres.\* They included a tract of country comprising about a seventh part of the present area of Virginia, and are now divided into twenty-one counties.† For several years, William Fairfax, as his lordship's agent, superintended these estates.

LORD THOMAS, as he was called, was a man of remarkable appearance. He was tall, muscular, and swarthy, with prominent features, and of an uncommonly large frame. He took up his permanent residence on a domain which he named "Greenway Court," thirteen miles southeast of Winchester, capital of Frederick county. There he lived upon his rents, paying little attention to the cultivation of his grounds, for he preferred the wildness of primeval forest scenery. He led the life of a bachelor, and occupied a single clapboard story-and-a-half house. From the abundance of his pecuniary means, he dispensed his hospitalities and benefactions, especially among the middle and lower classes of the community, in so liberal a manner and in so noble a spirit, that he won for himself universal admiration and esteem. He became the principal magistrate of Frederick county, and presided at the Winchester provincial

\* BARNABY'S *Travels through the Middle Settlements in America, in the years 1759 and 1760, with Observations upon the State of the Colonies*, p. 159. The whole State comprises thirty-nine millions two hundred and sixty-five thousand acres.

† The counties of Lancaster, Northumberland, Richmond, Westmoreland, Stafford, King George, Prince William, Fairfax, Loudon, Fauquier, Culpepper, Clarke, Madison, Page, Shenandoah, Hardy, Hampshire, Morgan, Berkeley, Jefferson, and Frederick.



courts; and, in the French and Indian war, he led the troops of his county to the aid of Washington, then commander-in-chief of the colonial army of Virginia.

During the War for Independence, however, he had no sympathy with his gallant young friend; for he continued to the last hour of his long life,—having attained to the age of ninety-two,—a loyal subject of Great Britain.

His death occurred soon after the capture of Cornwallis, and, it is said, was hastened by the effect produced upon his mind by that event. He had scarcely heard the tidings, when he said to his body-servant, "Come, Joe, carry me to my bed; for I'm sure 'tis high time for me to die."

He gave the land on which was erected, at Winchester, the first Episcopal church built in the Valley of Virginia. Under the chancel of that church his body was deposited, in a coffin mounted with massive silver; and when the old church was taken down and replaced by the new one, his remains were removed, and honored with a renewal of the special mark of distinction previously bestowed on them. A monumental slab was also erected to his memory.

When first he met the future Chief, he had just come to America, at the age of fifty-seven years, to reside on his domain. He was, at this time, an inmate at Belvoir, the residence of his kinsman and agent, a short distance from Mount Vernon. There, in addi-

tion to other sons and daughters in the family, was the highly educated eldest son of William Fairfax, GEORGE WILLIAM, then about twenty-two years of age, with his bride and her sister, accomplished daughters of Colonel CAREY, of Virginia.

In the almost daily society of such persons, young Washington enjoyed rare opportunities for intellectual and social culture. His character was appreciated by them. He won their esteem, by his sterling integrity, his ingenuousness, and his sound good sense. And Lord Thomas was particularly attached to him.

His lordship, fond of hunting, kept his horses and his hounds. And his young American friend, also greatly delighting in the chase, became the companion of the old nobleman, in his favorite sport, and shared with him many of his adventures "by field and flood."

When his lordship, soon after, resolved to reclaim large portions of the choicest of his lands, from settlers who occupied them without right or title, it was an essential prerequisite, that the property should be surveyed and divided into lots. Washington's exercises, from time to time, in the practical use of his surveyor's instruments, on his brother's grounds, not only were observed with interest by the families at Mount Vernon and Belvoir, but led Lord Fairfax to entertain a very favorable opinion of his young friend's acquirements. To him, therefore, he con-

fided the proposed important and laborious service.

Washington was then just entering his seventeenth year. But he **March, 1748.** was remarkable for his knowledge and skill as a practical surveyor; and not less for other qualifications, personal and moral, just as necessary for the due performance of his task.

It was, on many accounts, an arduous and perilous undertaking. But our youthful adventurer, accompanied by the Honorable William Fairfax's son, GEORGE WILLIAM, set out for the Alleghany mountains and the South Branch of the Potomac, on his hazardous expedition, the privations and fatigues of which are recorded in a Journal written by him at the time. The entries are often very brief and general; but they afford striking pictures of the scenes through which he passed, and give many interesting details of his experiences in border life, and in the hardships of the backwoodsman.

#### JOURNAL.

*"March 13th.*—Rode to his lordship's quarter. About four miles higher up the river Shenandoah, we **1748.** went through most beautiful groves of sugar-trees, and spent the best part of the day in admiring the trees, and the richness of the land.

*"14th.*—We sent our baggage to Captain Hite's, near Fredericktown, and went ourselves down the river, about sixteen miles,—the land exceed-

ingly rich all the way, producing abundance of grain, hemp, and tobacco,—in order to lay off some land on Cate's Marsh and Long Marsh.

*"15th.*—Worked hard till night, and then returned. After supper we were lighted into a room; and I, not being so good a woodsman as the rest, stripped myself very orderly and went into the bed, as they called it, when, to my surprise, I found it to be nothing but a little straw matted together, without sheet or any thing else but only one threadbare blanket, with double its weight of vermin. I was glad to get up and put on my clothes, and lie as my companions did. Had we not been very tired, I am sure we should not have slept much that night. I made a promise to sleep so no more, choosing rather to sleep in the open air before a fire.

*"18th.*—We travelled to Thomas Berwick's, on the Potomac, where we found the river exceedingly high by reason of the great rains that had fallen among the Alleghanies. They told us it would not be fordable for several days, it being now six feet higher than usual, and rising. We agreed to stay till Monday. We this day called to see the famed Warm Springs.\* We camped out in the field this night.

*"20th.*—Finding the river not much abated, we in the evening swam our horses over to the Maryland side.

*"21st.*—We went over in a canoe, and travelled up the Maryland side all

---

\* In Bath county, in the central part of Virginia.



day, in a continued rain, to Col. Cresap's, over against the mouth of the South Branch, about forty miles from our place of starting in the morning, and over the worst road, I believe, that ever was trod by man or beast.

"23d.—Rained till about two o'clock, and then cleared up, when we were agreeably surprised at the sight of more than thirty Indians coming from war, with only one scalp. We had some liquor with us, of which we gave them a part. This, elevating their spirits, put them in the humor of dancing. We then had a war-dance. After clearing a large space and making a great fire in the middle, the men seated themselves around it, and the speaker made a grand speech, telling them in what manner they were to dance. After he had finished, the best dancer jumped up as one awaked from sleep, and ran and jumped about the ring in a most comical manner. He was followed by the rest. Then began their music, which was performed with a pot half full of water and a deerskin stretched tight over it, and a gourd with some shot in it to rattle, and a piece of horse's tail tied to it to make it look fine. One person kept rattling and another drumming, all the while they were dancing.

"25th.—Left Cresap's, and went up to the mouth of Patterson's Creek. There we swam our horses over the Potomac, and went over ourselves in a canoe, and travelled fifteen miles, where we camped.

"26th.—Travelled up to SOLOMON HEDGE's, *Esquire*, one of *his Majesty's Justices of the Peace* in the county of Frederick, where we camped. When we came to supper, there was neither a knife on the table nor a fork, to eat with; but, as good luck would have it, we had knives of our own.

"28th.—Travelled up the South Branch,—having come to that river yesterday,—about thirty miles to Mr. J. R.'s (horse-jockey), and about seventy miles from the mouth of the river.

"29th.—This morning, went out and surveyed five hundred acres of land. Shot two wild turkeys.

"30th.—Began our intended business of laying off lots.

"*April 2d.*—A blowing, rainy night. Our straw, upon which we were lying, took fire; but I was luckily preserved by one of our men's awaking when it was in a flame. We have run off four lots this day.

"4th.—This morning, Mr. Fairfax left us, with the intention to go down to the mouth of the river. We surveyed two lots, and were attended with a great company of people,—men, women, and children,—who followed us through the woods, showing their antic tricks. They seem to be as ignorant a set of people as the Indians. They would never speak English; but when spoken to, they all spoke Dutch. This day our tent was blown down by the violence of the wind.

"6th.—The last night was so intolerably smoky, that we were obliged to

leave our tent to the mercy of the wind and fire. Attended this day by the aforesaid company.

"7th.—This day one of our men killed a wild turkey, that weighed twenty pounds. We surveyed fifteen hundred acres of land, and returned to Vanmeter's about one o'clock. I took my horse, and went up to see Mr. Fairfax. We slept in Cassey's house, which was the first night I had slept in a house since we came to the Branch.

"8th.—We breakfasted at Cassey's, and rode down to Vanmeter's to get our company together, which, when we had accomplished, we rode down below the *Trough*, to lay off lots there. The *Trough* is a couple of ledges of mountains, impassable, running side by side for seven or eight miles, and the river between them. You must ride round the back of the mountains to get below them. We camped in the woods, and after we had pitched our tent and made a large fire, we pulled out our knapsack to recruit ourselves. Every one was his own cook. Our spits were forked sticks; our plates were large chips. As for dishes, we had none.

"10th.—We took our farewell of the Branch, and travelled over hills and mountains to Cuddy's, on Great Cacapehon, about forty miles.

"12th.—Mr. Fairfax got safe home; and I, to my brother's house at Mount Vernon; which concludes my journal."

---

He received, the year after the time

of this excursion, the appointment of public surveyor. And he prosecuted the duties of this office with diligence, traversing wild lands between the Potomac and the Rappahannock.

The original record of his appointment is still extant in one of the books in the county clerk's office, at the town of Fairfax, the county-seat of Culpeper. It is in these words:

"20th *July*, 1749, (o. s.) GEORGE WASHINGTON, Gent., produced a commission from the president and master of William and Mary College, appointing him to be surveyor of this county, which was read, and thereupon he took the usual oaths to his Majesty's person and government, and took and subscribed the abjuration oath and test, and then took the oath of surveyor according to law."

The privations and rough fare of his life in the woods continued for three years. Writing to a friend, he says: "Since you received my letter in October last, I have not slept above three or four nights in a bed; but, after walking a good deal all day, I have lain down before the fire upon a little hay, straw, fodder, or a bear's-skin, whichever was to be had, with man, wife, and children, like dogs and cats; and happy is he who gets the berth nearest the fire. Nothing would make it pass off tolerably but a good reward. A doubloon is my constant gain every day that the weather will permit my going out, and sometimes six pistoles



The coldness of the weather will not allow of my making a long stay, as the lodging is rather too cold for the time of year. I have never had my clothes off, but have lain and slept in them, except the few nights I have been in Fredericktown."\*

These experiences in the wilderness essentially served important purposes, which were to be accomplished in the future ordering of events; and in which America and humanity at large were interested.

They established his reputation as a young man of energy, diligence, ability, and integrity. He might have lingered, without reproach, among the pleasures of Mount Vernon and of Belvoir; for, his society ever was the delight of his brother Lawrence, and at the hospitable mansion and in the elegant society of the Fairfaxes, he would always have received a hearty welcome. But it was his manly choice, faithfully to fulfil the duties of his chosen occupation as a land-surveyor, although required by them to brave the dangers and endure the hardships and privations of life in the woods. None that knew him needed any further proofs of his title to their esteem and confidence.

Another important result of his forest discipline, was the development of his naturally vigorous frame. He was required to ride for days together on horseback through wild regions, or to

traverse them afoot, continually encountering difficulties which put to a severe test his agility and strength, and thus so exercised his physical powers, that, while he was yet in youth, he had the aspect, the port, and the muscle of maturity.

The nature of his occupation contributed also to his ability, when casting his eye over an extensive region, to form at a glance a correct estimate of distances, which, to any one who was inexpert, seemed marvellous. And he learned, by long practice, to discover in the dim distance and identify objects which no common eye could see.

In his forest experience he made yet another valuable acquisition. This was his familiar acquaintance with the habits and opinions of backwoodsmen. He met them in their rambles, took part with them in their hunting excursions, camped with them in the woods, sat with them in their log-cabins, partook of their coarse fare; and formed, from his own observation, a just estimate of their true character, so that afterwards, when they became soldiers of his armies, he thoroughly understood the secret of commanding and directing their best energies.

And he enjoyed, in his surveying expeditions and in his intercourse with borderers and red-men, very favorable opportunities for gaining a knowledge of Indian life in its best and its worst phases. He heard from the lips of the backwoodsman, his spirit-stirring tales of the savage cruelties and of the cun-

\* Manuscript letter appended to his journal, and addressed to a friend whom he calls "Dear Richard." It is evidently a rough draft of what he sent to his friend.

ning and the treachery, which made the word Indian a signal of alarm. He ascertained, also, by means of his personal intercourse with these wild men, that there were combined with their worst traits some of a far less repugnant nature. A knowledge of their social habits, their opinions, their prejudices, predilections, and superstitions, their artifices in war, and the best modes of conciliating and controlling, or of contending with and overpowering them, he acquired in the very regions where they made their haunts.

There was, moreover, an important mental influence derived from his frequenting primeval forests, and moving among the sights and sounds associated with them. Such sights and sounds do not affect only the poetic and imaginative. They find a ready response in every ingenuous and susceptible mind. The very silence of the deep woods is significant. And when night shuts out all that the eye finds in them that is of interest, their solemn gloom, broken only by the glare of the camp-fire or by the light of the pale moon and twinkling stars, awakens thoughts and emotions which produce a deep and durable impression on the soul. A familiarity with Nature, especially in the wild grandeur of her mountain and forest scenery, ever has exerted a powerful influence upon the human mind and heart.

While making his surveys, Washington was frequently led to visit Greenway Court; and he would sometimes

tarry there for a few days. On these occasions he indulged with his lordship in his favorite field sports, availed himself of the rare advantages afforded by his well-selected library, and enjoyed the benefit of his edifying and instructive conversation. It appears from the young surveyor's diary, and it is a significant record, that instead of light literature, he now devoted his hours for reading chiefly to Addison's *Spectator* and the *History of England*.

During occasional intermissions of severe duty, he resorted either to his loved home at his mother's, or to the delightful residence of his brother LAWRENCE, at Mount Vernon. His attachment to this brother was always ardent and devoted. Lawrence was not only an accomplished gentleman, possessed of those qualities which command deference, excite regard, and kindle affection, but he had the practical experience of a soldier's life; and, as an active member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, he was familiarly acquainted with political affairs. From intercourse with him, his brother George continued to gather stores of valuable knowledge.

His employment as a surveyor, kept him busily, usefully, and profitably occupied. And he relied upon this employment for his support, not anticipating by loans the revenues to be derived from his patrimonial inheritance.

His father had bequeathed to the eldest son, Lawrence, the estate afterwards called Mount Vernon. To Au-



gustine, the second son, he had given the old homestead in Westmoreland county. And George, at the age of twenty-one years, was to inherit the house and lands in Suffolk county. As yet, however, he derived no benefit from this landed property. But his industry and diligence in his laborious occupation supplied him with abundant pecuniary means. His habits of life were simple and economical; he indulged in no gay and expensive pleasures; in early youth a good boy, he had now become an industrious young

man; and he was maturing his discipline for a step yet higher.

When, in due course of time, he received his inheritance, unimpaired and unencumbered, and in addition to it the large estate of Mount Vernon, bequeathed to him by his brother Lawrence, and also of valuable lands in Berkeley county, he was intellectually and morally qualified to enter upon the duties, fulfil the obligations, and dispense the hospitalities and bounties of an opulent planter; intelligent, honorable, and every way exemplary.

## CHAPTER IV.

1751, 1752.

### HIS VOYAGE TO BARBADOES.

Lawrence Washington's declining Health.—His Voyage to Barbadoes.—Is accompanied by his brother George.—George's return to Virginia.—Lawrence goes to the Bermudas.—His return to Virginia.—His Death.—Bequest of Mount Vernon to his brother George.—At Barbadoes George contracts the Small-pox.—His Journal.—Major Clarke's.—Dr. Hilary.—Scenery of the Island.—The Surveyor-general and the Judges.—Captain Croftan.—Judge Maynard.—Club Dinner.—Table Fruits of the Island.—Hospitality.—The play of "George Barnwell."—Dr. Lanahan.—Trial of Colonel C.—Sails for Virginia.—Account of the Governor of Barbadoes.—Description of the Island.—Its Soil and Products.—Its Social Condition.—Its Militia, and Military Works.

THE health of LAWRENCE Washington awakened, at this time, saddening apprehensions. A deeply-seated lung affection, from which he long suffered, had induced him to take a voyage to England. This gave no relief. He then resorted, but in vain, to the Bath Springs of Virginia. And now, at the

instance of his medical advisers,  
1751. he proposed to sail for Barbadoes, which was deemed at that time

the healthiest island in the West Indian archipelago.

He sailed, September the twenty-eighth, accompanied by his brother GEORGE; and reached the island on the third day of November. But the experiment of a few weeks' residence proved utterly unavailing. It was determined, therefore, to  
Feb. 1752. try the delightful climate of the Bermudas. George was in the

mean time to repair to Virginia, and to return with Lawrence's wife, that she might join her husband in the spring.

Lawrence accordingly sailed to the Bermudas. Before the lapse of **March, 1752.** many days after his arrival, however, he wrote discouragingly: "I have now got to my last refuge, where I must receive my final sentence." "If I grow worse, I shall hurry home to my grave." Soon convinced that he should no longer listen to the flattery of hope, he did not tarry at the Bermudas for his wife and brother, but he informed them of his intention to return home without delay. This he happily accomplished. But it was only to linger for a little while; and then, at the early age of thirty-four years, to be removed **July 26, 1752.** by death from his wife and his only child, an infant daughter.

To this daughter he bequeathed Mount Vernon. But she died at an early age; and the estate, according to provisions of the bequest in that event, descended to the favorite brother, George. Their father, AUGUSTINE Washington, had expressed a desire in his will, that should Lawrence die without issue, George might inherit this estate. Such a parental preference was calculated to throw around it a sacred interest. And it thus became forever associated with the august name of the Father of his Country. It was his happy home, his calm retreat from life's cares and trials, and his place of sepulture.

VOL. I.—6

While at Barbadoes with his brother, he contracted the small-pox, from which he suffered severely. He bore with him through life, some of the familiar marks usually left by that disease. But his voyage to the island, his short residence there and his voyage home, left far more pleasing reminiscences.

In the exercise, both of his habitual intelligent observation of men and things and of his characteristic diligence and industry, he kept a journal in which he entered, while at sea, a daily copy of the ship's log-book, together with his own remarks; and, while on land, a brief notice of every thing that arrested his attention.

At Barbadoes he took notes of the state of civil and military affairs; of agriculture, commerce, and social life; and many of his observations are indicative of qualities and attainments rarely to be met with in a young man of but nineteen years of age.

The following are among his records at the island:

"*November 4th, 1751.*—This morning received a card from Major CLARKE, welcoming us to Barbadoes with an invitation to breakfast and dine with him. We went; myself with some reluctance, as the small-pox was in the family. We were received in the most kind and friendly manner by him. Mrs. Clarke was much indisposed; insomuch, that we had not the pleasure of her company. But in her place officiated Miss ROBERTS, her niece, and an agreeable young lady. After drinking tea, we



were again invited to Mr. CARTER's, and were desired to make his house ours till we could provide lodgings agreeable to our wishes; which offer we accepted.

"5th.—Early this morning came Dr. HILARY, an eminent physician, recommended by Major CLARKE, to pass his opinion on my brother's disorder; which he did in a favorable light, giving great assurances that it was not so fixed but that a cure might be effectually made. In the cool of evening we rode out, accompanied by Mr. CARTER, to seek lodgings in the country as the Doctor advised; and we were perfectly enraptured with the beautiful prospects which every side presented to our view,—the fields of cane, corn, fruit-trees, &c., in a delightful green. We returned without accomplishing our intentions.

"7th.—Dined with Major CLARKE, and by him was introduced to the surveyor-general and the judges, who likewise dined there. In the evening, they complaisantly accompanied us in another excursion into the country to choose lodgings. We pitched on the house of Captain CROFTAN, commander of James's Fort. He was desired to come to town next day, to propose terms. We returned by the way of Needham's Fort.

"8th.—Came Capt. CROFTAN with his proposals, which, though extravagantly dear, my brother was obliged to accept. Fifteen pounds a month were his terms, exclusive of liquor and wash-

ing, which we find. In the evening, we removed some of our things up, and went ourselves. It is very pleasantly situated near the sea, and about a mile from town. The prospect is extensive by land and pleasant by sea, as we command a view of Carlyle Bay and the shipping.

"9th.—Received a card from Major CLARKE, inviting us to dine with him at Judge MAYNARD's, to-morrow. He had a right to ask, being a member of a club called 'The Beef-steak and Tripe,' instituted by himself.

"10th.—We were genteelly received by Judge MAYNARD and his lady, and agreeably entertained by the company. They have a meeting every Saturday,—this being Judge Maynard's day. After dinner there was the greatest collection of fruits set on the table that I have yet seen,—the granadilla, sapa-dilla, pomegranate, sweet orange, watermelon, forbidden fruit, apples, guavas, &c., &c. We received invitations from every gentleman there. Mr. WARREN desired Major CLARKE to show us the way to his house. Mr. HACKET insisted on our coming, Saturday next, to his, it being his day to treat with beef-steak and tripe. But, above all, the invitation of Mr. Maynard was most kind and friendly. He desired, and even insisted, as well as his lady, on our coming to spend some weeks with him; and promised that nothing should be wanting to render our stay agreeable. My brother promised he would accept the invitation as soon as he

should be a little disengaged from the doctors.

"15th.—Was treated with a ticket to see the play of 'George Barnwell' acted. The characters of Barnwell and several others, were said to be well performed. There was music adapted and regularly conducted.

"17th.—Was strongly attacked with the small-pox. Sent for Dr. LANAHAN, whose attendance was very constant till my recovery and going out,—which was not till Thursday, the twelfth of December.

"*December* 12th.—Went to town and called on Major CLARKE's family, who had kindly visited me in my illness, and contributed all they could in sending me the necessaries which the disorder required. On Monday last began the Grand Session; and, this day, was brought on the trial of Colonel C., a man of opulence and of infamous character. He was brought in guiltless and saved by a single evidence, who was generally reckoned to have been suborned.

"22d.—Took leave of my brother, Major CLARKE, and others, and embarked on board the 'Industry' for Virginia. Weighed anchor and got out of Carlyle Bay about twelve o'clock.

"The governor of Barbadoes seems to keep a proper state, lives very retired and at little expense, and is a gentleman of good sense. As he avoids the error of his predecessor, he gives no handle for complaint; but, at the same time, by declining much familiarity, he is not over-zealously beloved.

"There are several singular risings in this island, one above another, so that scarcely any part is deprived of a beautiful prospect, both of sea and land; and, what is contrary to observation in other countries, each elevation is better than the next below.

"There are many delicious fruits; but, as they are particularly described by Mr. HUGHES, in his Natural History of the island, I shall say nothing further than that the China orange is good. The avagavo pear is generally much admired, though none pleases my taste so well as the pine.

"The earth in most parts is extremely rich, and as black as our richest marsh-meadows. The common produce of the cane is from forty to seventy polls of sugar, each poll valued at twenty shillings, out of which a third is deducted for expenses. Many acres last year produced, in value, from one hundred and forty to one hundred and seventy pounds, as I was informed by credible authority; though that was in ginger, and a very extraordinary year for the sale of that article.

"How wonderful that such a people should be in debt, and not be able to indulge themselves in all the luxuries as well as necessaries of life! Yet so it happens. Estates are often alienated for debts. How persons, coming to estates of two, three, or four hundred acres,—which are the largest,—can want, is to me most wonderful. One third of their land, or nearly that portion, is generally in train for harvest.



The rest is in young cane, Guinea-corn, —which greatly supports their negroes, —yams, plantains, potatoes, and the like; and some part is left waste for stock. Provisions are generally very indifferent, but much better than the same quantity of pasturage would afford in Virginia. The very grass that grows among their corn is not lost, but carefully gathered for provender for their stock.

“Hospitality and a genteel behavior are shown to every gentleman stranger by the gentlemen inhabitants. Taverns they have none, except in the towns; so that travellers are obliged to go to private houses. The people are said to live to a great age where they are not intemperate. They are, however, very unhappy in regard to their officers’ fees, which are not paid by any law. They complain particularly of the provost-marshal or sheriff-general of the island, patented at home, and rented at eight hundred pounds a year. Every other officer is exorbitant in his demands.

“There are few who may be called middling people. They are very rich or very poor; for, by a law of the island, every gentleman is obliged to keep a white person for every ten acres, capable of acting in the militia; and, consequently, the persons so kept cannot but be very poor. They are well disciplined, and appointed to their several stations, so that, in any alarm, every man may be at his post in less than two hours. They have large intrenchments cast up wherever it is possible to land;

and, as nature has greatly assisted, the island may not improperly be said to be one entire fortification.”

Among the illustrations of character afforded by these minutes may be particularly noted, a lively sense of generous and kind hospitalities, a practical interest in agricultural pursuits, a soldier’s observation of military works, and sagacious views of the moral and political state of society. It may be remarked, also, that the journalist’s usual calmness of mind is at once changed to a glow of emotion, by the charms of natural scenery, so that he could indite, “We were *perfectly enraptured* with the beautiful prospects which every side presented to our view.” And we have here, in striking contrast to this, an instance of his characteristic slight regard to personal inconvenience and discomfort, by his mentioning in brief and general terms, the fact of his being assailed by a malignant and deforming contagion: “Was strongly attacked with the small-pox. Sent for Dr. LANAHAN, whose attendance was very constant till my recovery and going out.”

In all this there are discoverable in embryo, those very qualities of sound good sense and refined emotion, which, ever after, were prominent in him, as the gentleman, the soldier, and the planter; and, especially, a concern for the welfare of others, and a reserve in what related to self, in all his public, social, and domestic occupations, and, eventually, in his rural retirement at the close of his career.

LIFE AND TIMES  
OF  
WASHINGTON.

---

BOOK II.  
HIS MILITARY APPOINTMENTS.





## CHAPTER I.

1751—1754.

### WASHINGTON A MAJOR

The time and occasion of his first Military Appointment.—Hereditary Feuds of England and France.—Policy of Great Britain in America.—Policy of France.—De Callières.—King William's War.—Queen Anne's War.—King George's War.—Spottiswoode's representations.—Virginia divided into Districts.—Washington, as Adjutant-general with the rank of Major, intrusted with one of these Districts.—Instructed in the Art of War.—Major Washington appointed for the Northern Division of Virginia.—His diligence in duty.—Remarkable Synchronism.—French line of Posts.—Excitement in Virginia respecting this.—Major Washington envoy to the French.—Anecdote of the Governor and the young Major.—The Major's instructions, credentials, and attendants.—His Journal.—Rain and snow.—Frazier's.—His Remarks on the Fork of the Ohio.—Shingiss.—Monacatocha.—French Deserters.—The Half-King.—Council.—Washington's Speech.—The Half-King's Reply.—Venango.—M. Joncaire.—French Claims, Forces, and Forts.—M. La Force.—Rain and snow.—M. Reparti.—Washington delivers the Governor's Letter to M. St. Pierre.—Describes the French Fort.—Answer to the Governor's Letter.—Efforts of the French to detain Washington's Indian attendants.—Remarkable Incidents of his return.—Murdering Town.—Shannopin's.—Dangerous attempt to cross the River on a raft.—Intensity of the cold.—Frazier's.—Indian Warriors.—Youghiogeny River.—Queen Aliquippa.—Mr. Gist's.—Wills Creek.—Belvoir.—Williamsburg.—Waits on the Governor.—Approval of the Major's conduct.—Anecdote of him and the Speaker of the House of Burgesses.—New Measures of the Governor and Council.—Lord Fairfax's co-operation.—Washington's Letter to Mr. Corbin.—Colonel Fry.—Is appointed Lieutenant-colonel.—Proceeds to Wills Creek.—Joined by Captain Stephen.—Captain Contrecoeur expels Captain Trent from the Ohio.—French and Indian War begins.

It was in the year 1751, that Washington received his first military appointment. This was occasioned by preparations in Virginia, to meet an emergency created by French claims to a great part of the British territories in America.

At the time when EDWARD THE THIRD of England asserted his right to the French throne, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, a spirit of implacable alienation was engendered between the two rival powers; and, fostered by their rancorous altercations and sanguinary wars, it at length reached the climax of their settled national antipathy.

Four hundred years had now elapsed. During this period America was discovered, and colonies of the two nations settled on its soil. The British occupied the Atlantic coast and the mouths of rivers, and were in possession of all the harbors of the continent. The French settlements were on the banks of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi.

Had it been the policy of both nations simply to promote the welfare of their respective colonies, the time would have been far distant, when national rancor could devise the pretext for a bloody conflict. But while the policy of Great Britain was to strengthen her settlements along the seaboard, that of



France was to make acquisitions of regions in the interior, and eventually to limit her rival's western progress by the natural cordon of the Alleghanies.

So unscrupulous was the ambition of France in the adoption of measures to attain her object, that, finding herself excluded from all the harbors, it was seriously proposed,—and that, too, at a time when the rival nations were in comparative amity,—to make conquest of the city of New York. It was unhesitatingly admitted that this would be a flagrant outrage of the law of nations; but, said DE CALLIÈRES, who recommended the measure to his countrymen, It has the sanction of necessity.\* Thus the contest was, in reality, between social progress and territorial aggrandizement.

On three occasions, between the middle of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the parent countries were in arms against each other, their respective colonists in America were tempted to engage in bloody conflict.

The bigoted and arbitrary JAMES II. of England, driven from his throne by his indignant subjects, and supplanted, according to their wish, by WILLIAM, prince of Orange, and his queen, MARY, James's Protestant daughter, found a refuge at the court of Louis XIV. of France, who not only sympathized with him as a Roman Catholic, but espoused his cause in a seven years' contest, known as "King William's

1689.

War." During this period the tragic deeds perpetrated by the French and Indians in America, were marked with great ferocity and cruelty. And the retaliation which these deeds provoked was, although far less abhorrent, fearfully desolating. Port Royal in Acadie was captured and twice plundered. Vigorous measures were adopted also, for the conquest of all the French possessions in Canada. At length, however, the Treaty of Ryswick stayed for a time the malignant strife, in which both parties had associated with themselves hordes of fierce, merciless savages. 1697.

The death of James II. gave occasion for another rupture between France and England. The claim to the British throne inherited by James's son, JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD, prince of Wales, was maintained by Louis XIV., who desired that Queen ANNE, who was James's daughter and England's choice, should be supplanted by the Prince, commonly known as the "Pretender." Now began "Queen Anne's War," which continued for eleven years to embroil the colonists. The sanguinary scenes of the preceding war were reenacted by the French and Indians. And the English colonists once more engaged in a successful expedition against Port Royal, which had been restored to France. But peace once more was proclaimed after the Treaty of Utrecht; and now, for almost half a century, British colonists were relieved from the visitation of calami-

1702.

1713.

\* *Légitime par la nécessité.*

ties such as once had desolated their happy homes.

But a new disagreement arrayed England and France against each other, and their colonies in America partook of the evils of another war. The powers of Europe had formally stipu-

lated, in the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction, to secure the

1744. Austrian succession to the Archduchess MARIA THERESA, queen of Hungary. GEORGE II. strictly kept the pledge given by Great Britain. LOUIS XIV., of France, disregarded it. And, moreover, he covertly abetted Spain in a war with England respecting certain rights of commerce; and also encouraged and assisted the young Pretender, Prince CHARLES EDWARD, grandson of James II., in asserting his father the elder Pretender's claim to the British sceptre. Hence the two great nations were involved once more in war; and their subjects in America were soon again committing hostilities which constituted what is known among us as "King George's War." The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle brought this

1748. to a close, and restored to France Louisburg and the island of Cape Breton; important acquisitions made by the British-American colonists three years before.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was, however, as ineffectual as all others made to arrest and quench the hereditary feuds which set at irreconcilable variance nations, whose opinions, predilections, and religious doctrines and

worship, as well as their habitual antipathies, conspired to make them natural enemies.

As early as the year 1715, Colonel SPOTTISWOODE, then governor of Virginia, urged, with great earnestness, upon the British government the absolute necessity of making vigorous resistance to the aggressive policy of France. But his representations, deemed extravagant, were then unheeded. In the year 1751, however, such was the progress of the adventurous intruders, that it was found advisable in Virginia to take precautionary measures of defence. The colony was, with a view to this, divided into districts, in each of which there was an adjutant-general or military inspector with the rank of major, who was to keep the militia in constant readiness for action.

One of these military districts was intrusted to Washington. He was then but nineteen years of age; yet, his early predilections had induced him to study some of the best popular treatises on the art of war. His brother LAWRENCE, Adjutant MUSE, of Westmoreland, who was a comrade of Lawrence's in the West Indies, JACOB VANBRAAM, a skilful fencer, and other soldiers of experience, had already imparted to him a knowledge of tactics, of the manual exercise, and of the use of the sword; and he was recognized as a well-educated officer.

He entered with great zeal upon his duties. When ROBERT DINWIDDIE, the next year became lieutenant-governor



of Virginia, the colony was divided into four military districts. Major Washington's conduct had already won for him a good report. He was appointed for the northern division. The counties comprehended in this division he promptly and statedly traversed; and he soon effected the thorough discipline of their militia for warlike operations.

It was amid the various and peculiar duties required by this position, that his characteristic qualities first had free exercise. His natural dignity commanded a ready tribute of respect; his ability was universally acknowledged with deference; and his integrity, industry, and devotion to the duties of his office, exerted that magic and authoritative influence, which is accorded to an honored leader, whom, it was now manifest, a high destiny awaited. And his present military discipline proved to be the very schooling for the great exploits, by which he was to be qualified to act as chief defender of the cause of the united colonies, and to protect them from the terrific bolts of vengeance with which they were to be assailed. By a remarkable synchronism, Dr. FRANKLIN this very year made his memorable experiments in electricity, by which he discovered that, in the ordering of Providence, means are provided to divest the thunder-cloud of its destructive power, and to render its frowns and threats harmless.\*

When Major Washington had for

two years been busily occupied in his office, the lieutenant-governor and his council were informed of new and formidable operations of the French; of their preparation to establish posts and erect fortifications on the western border; of their troops having crossed the northern lakes on their way to the Ohio, and having ascended the Mississippi from New Orleans; and of their bold and avowed purpose to adopt all necessary measures to possess themselves of the whole extent of territory from Louisiana to Canada.

The hearts of the people of the Old Dominion throbbed with an intense feeling. The lieutenant-governor, who had received orders from the Right Honorable EARL of HOLDERNESSE and instructions from the king, resolved to depute at once a special commissioner to the commandant of the French on the Ohio, for the purpose of learning from him his intentions and ascertaining his authority.

It was an expedition of more than five hundred miles, chiefly through an inhospitable wilderness, and among savages. The difficulty and the danger to be encountered required great caution in selecting the person to whom the commission was to be intrusted. The lieutenant-governor did not hesitate, however, to appoint Major Washington, who cheerfully consented to perform, to the best of his ability, the arduous services required. He was now but twenty-one years of age. Yet his discipline as a surveyor of wild

\* Dr. FRANKLIN's experiments were made in June, 1752. See his *Works*, vol. v. p. 177. Boston, 1844.



lands and his military experience as an adjutant, eminently fitted him for this particular duty. The governor, who was a Scotchman, facetiously said on the occasion, when he observed the alacrity of the young major: "Ye're a braw lad; and gin you play your cards weel, my boy, ye shall hae nae cause to rue your bargain."

His INSTRUCTIONS to the major explain the nature of the commission, and comprehensively set forth the existing state of things:

"Whereas I have received information of a body of French forces being assembled in a hostile manner on the river Ohio, intending by force of arms to erect certain forts on the said river, within this territory and contrary to the dignity and peace of our sovereign, the King of Great Britain:

"These are, therefore, to require and direct you, the said George Washington, forthwith to repair to Logstown on the said river Ohio; and, having there informed yourself where the said French forces have posted themselves, thereupon to proceed to such place; and being there arrived, to present your credentials together with my letter to the chief commanding officer, and in the name of his Britannic majesty to demand an answer thereto.

"On your arrival at Logstown you are to address yourself to the Half-king, to MANACATOOCHA, and other the sachems of the Six Nations; acquainting them with your orders to visit and deliver my letter to the French com-

manding officer, and desiring the said chiefs to appoint you a sufficient number of their warriors to be your safeguard as near the French as you may desire, and to wait your further direction.

"You are diligently to inquire into the numbers and force of the French on the Ohio and the adjacent country; how they are likely to be assisted from Canada; and what are the difficulties and conveniences of that communication, and the time required for it.

"You are to take care to be truly informed what forts the French have erected, and where; how they are garrisoned and appointed, and what is their distance from each other, and from Logstown; and, from the best intelligence you can procure, you are to learn what gave occasion to this expedition of the French; how they are likely to be supported, and what their pretensions are.

"When the French commandant has given you the required and necessary dispatches, you are to desire of him a proper guard to protect you, as far on your return as you judge for your safety, against any straggling Indians or hunters that may be ignorant of your character and molest you.

"Wishing you good success in your negotiation, and a safe and speedy return, I am, &c.

"ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

"WILLIAMSBURG, 30th October.

The governor furnished him at the

same time with credentials, in which he speaks of "reposing especial trust and confidence" in his "ability, conduct, and fidelity." And he furnished also a passport, commanding all his majesty's subjects, and requiring "all in alliance and amity with the crown of Great Britain," "to be aiding and assisting as a safeguard" to his express messenger.

Only twenty-four hours for preparation had elapsed, when the "braw lad" set out on the last day of October, 1753.

His attendants at first were his **1753.** old fencing-master, Vanbraam, and two servants. Vanbraam, acquainted with the French language, was to be interpreter. They were afterwards joined by an interpreter of Indian languages, JOHN DAVIDSON; by an experienced backwoodsman, CHRISTOPHER GIST, as guide; and by four other persons hired as "servitors."

Major Washington's journal of his tour on this occasion, brief as it is, is a document of great and general interest. It tells, in terms pleasingly characteristic, his experience and observations in his important mission.

The subjoined extracts, while they illustrate the course of our narrative, afford specimens of his unpretending but significant daily records.

#### TOUR OVER THE ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS.

"I was commissioned and appointed by the Honorable ROBERT DINWIDDIE, Esq., governor of Virginia, to visit and deliver a letter to the commandant of

the French forces on the Ohio, and set out on the intended journey on the same day. The next, I arrived at Fredericksburg, and engaged Mr. JACOB VANBRAAM to be my French interpreter, and proceeded with him to Alexandria, where we provided necessities. From thence we went to Winchester and got baggage, horses, &c.; and from thence we pursued the new road to Wills Creek, where we arrived on the fourteenth of November. \* \* \*

"The excessive rains and vast quantity of snow which had fallen, prevented our reaching Mr. Frazier's, an Indian trader, at the mouth of Turtle Creek, on the Monongahela River, until Thursday the twenty-second. \* \* \*

"The waters were quite impassable without swimming our horses, which obliged us to get the loan of a canoe from Frazier, and to send Barnaby Currin and Henry Steward\* down the Monongahela with our baggage, to meet us at the fork of the Ohio, about ten miles; there to cross the Alleghany.

"As I got down before the canoe, I spent some time in viewing the rivers and the land in the fork, which I think extremely well situated for a fort, as it has the absolute command of both rivers. The land at the point is twenty or twenty-five feet above the common surface of the water; and a considerable bottom of flat, well-timbered land around it, very convenient for building. The rivers are each a quar-

\* These persons were two of the four hired "servitors." Barnaby Currin was an Indian trader.









ter of a mile or more across, and run here very nearly at right angles; Alleghany bearing northeast, and Monongahela southeast. The former of these two is a very rapid and swift-running water; the other, deep and still, without any perceptible fall.

"About two miles from this, on the southeast side of the river, at the place where the Ohio Company intended to erect a fort, lives SHINGISS, king of the Delawares. We called upon him to invite him to council at Logstown.

"As I had taken a good deal of notice yesterday of the situation at the Fork, my curiosity led me to examine this more particularly; and I think it greatly inferior, either for defence or advantages—especially the latter. For a fort at the Fork would be equally well situated on the Ohio, and have the entire command of the Monongahela, which runs up our settlement, and is extremely well designed for water-carriage, as it is of a deep, still nature. Besides, a fort at the Fork\* might be built at much less expense than at the other places. \* \* \*

"Shingiss attended us to the Logstown, where we arrived between sunset and dark, the twenty-fifth day after I left Williamsburg. \* \* \*

"As soon as I came into town, I went to MONACATOOCHA (as the Half-King was out at his hunting-cabin on Little Beaver Creek, about fifteen miles off), and informed him, by John Davidson,

my Indian interpreter, that I was sent a messenger to the French general; and was ordered to call upon the sachems of the Six Nations, to acquaint them with it. I gave him a string of wampum and a twist of tobacco, and desired him to send for the Half-King (which he promised to do, by a runner, in the morning), and for other sachems. I invited him and the other great men present to my tent, where they stayed about an hour and returned. \* \* \*

"*Nov.* 25th.—Came to town four of ten Frenchmen, who had deserted from a company at the Kuskuskas, which lies at the mouth of this river. \* \* \*

"I inquired into the situation of the French on the Mississippi, their numbers, and what forts they had built. They informed me, that there were four small forts between New Orleans and the Black Islands, garrisoned with about thirty or forty men, and a few small pieces in each; that at New Orleans, which is near the mouth of the Mississippi, there are thirty-five companies of forty men each, with a pretty strong fort mounting eight carriage-guns; and at the Black Islands there are several companies, and a fort with six guns.

"The Black Islands are about a hundred and thirty leagues above the mouth of the Ohio, which is about three hundred and fifty above New Orleans. They also acquainted me, that there was a small palisadoed fort on the Ohio at the mouth of the Obaish, about sixty leagues from the Mississip-

\* The spot here designated is the site of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

pi. The Obaish heads near the west end of Lake Erie, and affords the communication between the French on the Mississippi and those on the lakes. The deserters came up from the lower Shannoah town with one Brown, an Indian trader, and were going to Philadelphia.

"About three o'clock this evening the Half-King came to town. \* \* \* He told me he was received in a very stern manner by the late [French] commander.

"26th.—We met in council at the long-house about nine o'clock, where I spoke to them as follows :

"BROTHERS,—I have called you together in council by order of your brother, the governor of Virginia, to acquaint you that I am sent with all possible dispatch, to visit and deliver a letter to the French commandant, of very great importance to your brothers, the English, and I dare say to you, their friends and allies.

"I was desired, brothers, by your brother, the governor, to call upon you, the sachems of the nations, to inform you of it, and to ask your advice and assistance to proceed the nearest and best road to the French. You see, brothers, I have gotten thus far on my journey.

"His Honor likewise desired me to apply to you for some of your young men to conduct and provide provisions for us on our way, and be a safeguard against those French Indians who have taken up the hatchet against us. I have spoken thus particularly to you,

brothers, because his Honor, our governor, treats you as good friends and allies, and holds you in great esteem. To confirm what I have said, I give you this string of wampum.'

"After they had considered for some time on the above discourse, the Half-King got up, and spoke :

"Now, my brother, in regard to what my brother, the governor, had desired of me, I return you this answer :

"I rely upon you as a brother ought to do, as you say we are brothers and one people. We shall put heart in hand and speak to our fathers, the French, concerning the speech they made to me, and you may depend that we will endeavor to be your guard.

"Brother, as you have asked my advice, I hope you will be ruled by it, and stay until I can provide a company to go with you. The French speech-belt is not here ; I have to go for it to my hunting-cabin. Likewise, the people whom I have ordered in are not yet come, and cannot until the third night from this ; until which time, brother, I must beg you to stay.

"I intend to send the guard of Mingoes, Shannoahs, and Delawares, that our brothers may see the love and loyalty we bear them.'

"As I had orders to make all possible dispatch, and waiting here was very contrary to my inclination, I thanked him in the most suitable manner I could, and told him that my business required the greatest expedition, and would not admit of that delay. \* \*



"30th.—We set out about nine o'clock, with the Half-King, JESKAKATKE, WHITE THUNDER, and the HUNTER, and travelled on the road to Venango, where we arrived on the fourth of December, without any thing remarkable happening but a continued series of bad weather.

"This is an old Indian town, situated at the mouth of French Creek, on the Ohio; and lies near north, about sixty miles from the Logstown, but more than seventy the way we were obliged to go.

"We found the French colors hoisted at a house from which they had driven Mr. JOHN FRAZIER, an English subject. I immediately repaired to it to know where the commander resided. There were three officers, one of whom, Captain JONCAIRE, informed me that he had the command on the Ohio; but that there was a general officer at the near fort, where he advised me to apply for an answer. He invited us to sup with them, and treated us with the greatest complaisance.

"The wine, as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the restraint which at first appeared in their conversation, and gave a license to their tongues to reveal their sentiments more freely.

"They told me, that it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio, and by G—d they would do it; for, that although they were sensible the English could raise two men for their one, they knew their motions

were too slow and dilatory to prevent any undertaking of theirs.

"They pretend to have an undoubted right to the river, from a discovery made by one La Salle sixty years ago; and the rise of this expedition is to prevent our settling on the river or waters of it, as they heard of some families moving out in order thereto.

"From the best intelligence I could get, there have been fifteen hundred men on this side of Ontario Lake. But upon the death of the general all were recalled, to about six or seven hundred, who were left to garrison four forts, one hundred and fifty, or thereabout, in each. The first of them is on French Creek, near a small lake, about sixty miles from Venango, near north-north-west; the next lies on Lake Erie, where the greater part of their stores is kept, about fifteen miles from the other. From this, it is one hundred and twenty miles to the carrying-place at the Falls of Lake Erie, where there is a small fort at which they lodge their goods in bringing them from Montreal, the place from which all their stores are brought.

"The next fort lies about twenty miles from this, on Ontario Lake. Between this fort and Montreal there are three others, the first of which is nearly opposite to the English fort Oswego. From the fort on Lake Erie to Montreal is about six hundred miles, which, they say, requires no more (if good weather) than four weeks' voyage, if they go in barks or large vessels so



that they may cross the lake ; but if they come in canoes, it will require five or six weeks, for they are obliged to keep under the shore. \* \* \*

"*December 7th.*—Monsieur LA FORCE, commissary of the French stores, and three other soldiers, came over to accompany us up. We found it extremely difficult to get the Indians off to-day, as every stratagem had been used to prevent their going up with me. \* \* \*

"At twelve o'clock we set out for the fort, and were prevented arriving there until the eleventh by excessive rains, snows, and bad travelling through many mires and swamps. \* \* \*

"12th.—I prepared early to wait upon the commander, and was received and conducted to him by the second officer in command. I acquainted him with my business, and offered my commission and letter ; both of which he desired me to keep, until the arrival of Monsieur REPARTI, captain at the next fort, who was sent for and expected every hour.

"This commander is a knight of the military order of St. Louis, and named LEGARDEUR DE ST. PIERRE. He is an elderly gentleman, and has much the air of a soldier. He was sent over to take the command immediately upon the death of the late general, and arrived here about seven days before me.

"At two o'clock the gentleman who was sent for arrived, when I offered the letter, &c., again, which they received, and adjourned into a private apartment for the captain to translate, who un-

derstood a little English. After he had done it, the commander desired I would walk in, and bring my interpreter, to peruse and correct it, which I did.

"13th.—The chief officers retired to hold a council of war, which gave me an opportunity of taking the dimensions of the fort, and making what observations I could.

"It is situated on the south or west fork of French Creek, near the water ; and is almost surrounded by the creek and a small branch of it, which form a kind of island. Four houses compose the sides. The bastions are made of piles driven in the ground, standing more than twelve feet above it, and sharp at top, with port-holes cut for cannon, and loop-holes for the small arms to fire through. There are eight six-pound pieces mounted in each bastion, and one piece of four pound before the gate. In the bastions are a guard-house, chapel, doctor's lodging, and the commander's private store, round which are laid platforms for the cannon and men to stand on. There are several barracks without the fort for the soldiers' dwellings, covered, some with bark and some with boards, made chiefly of logs. There are also several other houses, such as stables, smith's shop, &c.

"I could get no certain account of the number of men here ; but, according to the best judgment I could form, there are a hundred, exclusive of officers, of whom there are many. \* \* \*

"14th.—As the snow increased very fast, and our horses daily became weaker, I sent them off unloaded, \* \* \* intending, myself, to go down by water. \* \* \*

"I was inquiring of the commander, by what authority he had made prisoners of several of our English subjects: he told me that the country belonged to them; that no Englishman had a right to trade upon those waters; and that he had orders to make every person prisoner, who attempted it on the Ohio or the waters of it. \* \* \*

"This evening I received an answer to his Honor the Governor's letter, from the commandant.

"15th.—The commandant ordered a plentiful store of liquor and provisions to be put on board our canoes, and appeared to be extremely complaisant, though he was exerting every artifice that he could invent to set our Indians at variance with us, and prevent their going until after our departure; presents, rewards, and every thing that could be suggested by him or his officers.

"I cannot say that ever in my life I suffered so much anxiety as I did in this affair. I saw that every stratagem which the most fruitful brain could invent, was practised to win the Half-King to their interest. \* \* \*

"16th.—We had a tedious and very fatiguing passage down the Creek. Several times we had like to have been staved against rocks; and many times were obliged, all hands, to get

out and remain in the water half an hour or more, getting over the shoals. At one place the ice had lodged, and made it impassable by water; we were, therefore, obliged to carry our canoe across the neck of land, a quarter of a mile over. We did not reach Venango until the twenty-second, where we met with our horses. \* \* \*

"23d.—Our horses were now so weak and feeble, and the baggage so heavy (as we were obliged to provide all the necessaries which the journey would require), that we doubted much their performing it. Therefore, myself and others, except the drivers, who were obliged to ride, gave up our horses for packs, to assist along with the baggage.

"I put myself in an Indian walking-dress and continued with them three days, until I found there was no probability of their getting home in any reasonable time. The horses became less able to travel every day; the cold increased very fast, and the roads were becoming much worse by a deep snow continually freezing; therefore, as I was uneasy to get back to make report of my proceedings to his Honor the Governor, I determined to prosecute my journey, the nearest way through the woods, on foot.

"Accordingly, I left Mr. VANBRAAM in charge of our baggage, with money and directions to provide necessaries, from place to place, for themselves and horses, and to make the most convenient dispatch in travelling.

"I took my necessary papers, pulled



off my clothes, and tied myself up in a matchcoat. Then, with gun in hand and pack on my back, in which were my papers and provisions, I set out with Mr. Gist, fitted in the same manner, on Wednesday the twenty-sixth.

"The day following, just after we had passed a place called Murdering Town (where we intended to quit the path and steer across the country for Shannopin's Town), we fell in with a party of French Indians, who had lain in wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. Gist or me, not fifteen steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this fellow into custody, and kept him until about nine o'clock at night; then let him go, and walked all the remaining part of the night without making any stop, that we might get the start so far as to be out of the reach of their pursuit the next day; since we were well assured they would follow our track as soon as it was light.

"The next day we continued traveling until quite dark, and got to the river, about two miles above Shannopin's. We expected to find the river frozen; but it was not, only about fifty yards from each shore. The ice, I suppose, had broken up above, for it was driving in vast quantities.

"There was no way for getting over but on a raft, which we set about with but one poor hatchet, and finished just after sunset. This was a whole day's work; we next got it launched, then went on board of it and set off. But, before we were half way over, we

were jammed in the ice in such a manner, that we expected every moment our raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put out my setting-pole to try to stop the raft, that the ice might pass by, when the rapidity of the stream threw it with so much violence against the pole, that it jerked me out into ten feet water; but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the raft-logs. Notwithstanding all our efforts, we could not get to either shore, but were obliged, as we were near an island, to quit our raft and make to it.

"The cold was so extremely severe, that Mr. Gist had all his fingers and some of his toes frozen; and the water was shut up so hard, that we found no difficulty in getting off the island on the ice in the morning, and went to Mr. Frazier's. We met here with twenty warriors, who were going to the southward to war; but, coming to a place on the head of the Great Kenhawa, where they found seven people killed and scalped (all, but one woman, with very light hair), they turned about and ran back, for fear the inhabitants should rise and take them as the authors of the murder. They report, that the bodies were lying about the house, and some of them much torn and eaten by the hogs. By the marks which were left, they say they were French Indians, of the Ottawa nation, who did it.

"As we intended to take horses here, and it required some time to find them, I went up about three miles to the



mouth of the Youghiogheny to visit QUEEN ALIQUIPPA, who had expressed great concern that we passed her in going to the fort. I made her a present of a matchcoat and a bottle of rum, which latter was thought much the better present of the two.

"Tuesday, the 1st of January, we left Mr. Frazier's house, and arrived <sup>1751.</sup> at Mr. Gist's, at Monongahela, the 2d, where I bought a horse and saddle. The 6th, we met seventeen horses, loaded with materials and stores for a fort at the Fork of the Ohio; and, the day after, some families going out to settle. This day we arrived at Wills Creek, after as fatiguing a journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad weather.

"From the first day of December to the fifteenth, there was but one day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly; and throughout the whole journey we met with nothing but one continued series of cold, wet weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable lodgings, especially after we had quitted our tent, which was some screen from the inclemency of it.

"On the 11th, I got to Belvoir, where I stopped one day to take necessary rest, and then set out and arrived in Williamsburg the 16th, when I waited upon his Honor the Governor, with the letter I had brought from the French commandant, and to give an account of the success of my proceedings."

Captain GIST also kept a journal of

this expedition.\* And some passages of it afford an interesting commentary on what Washington has more briefly recorded:

"*Wednesday*, 26th.—The major desired me to set out on foot and leave our company, as the creeks were frozen and our horses could make but little way. Indeed, I was unwilling he should undertake such a travel, who had never been used to walking before this time. But as he insisted on it, we set out with our packs, like Indians, and travelled eighteen miles. That night we lodged at an Indian cabin, and the major was much fatigued. It was very cold. All the small runs were frozen, so that we could hardly get water to drink.

"*Thursday*, 27th.—We rose early in the morning, and set out about two o'clock. Got to Murdering Town, on the southeast Fork of Beaver Creek. Here we met with an Indian, whom I thought I had seen at Joncaire's, at Venango, when on our journey up to the French fort. This fellow called me by my Indian name, and pretended to be glad to see me. He asked us several questions, as, how we came to travel on foot, when we left Venango, where we parted with our horses, and when they would be there. Major Washington insisted on travelling the nearest way to the forks of the Alleghany. We asked the Indian if he could go with us, and show us the nearest way. The

\* Published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, Third Series, vol. v.

Indian seemed very glad and ready to go with us. Upon which, we set out, and the Indian took the major's pack. We travelled very briskly for eight or ten miles, when the major's feet grew sore, and he very weary; and the Indian steered too much northeastwardly.

"The major desired to encamp, on which the Indian asked to carry his gun. But he refused that, and then the Indian grew churlish, and pressed us to keep on, telling us that there were Ottawa Indians in these woods, and that they would scalp us if we lay out; but to go to his cabin, and we should be safe. I thought very ill of the fellow, but did not care to let the major know I mistrusted him. But soon he mistrusted him as much as I. He said he could hear a gun to his cabin, and steered us more northwardly. We grew uneasy; and then he said that two whoops might be heard to his cabin. We went two miles further. Then the major said he would stay at the next water, and we desired the Indian to stop at the next water. But before we came to water, we came to a clear meadow. It was very light, and there was snow on the ground. The Indian made a stop, and turned about. The major saw him point his gun towards us and fire. Said the major, 'Are you shot?' 'No,' said I. Upon this, the Indian ran forward to a big standing white oak, and went to loading his gun; but we were soon with him. I would have killed him, but the major would not suffer me to kill him.

"We let him charge his gun. We found he put in a ball. Then we took care of him. The major or I always stood by the guns. We made the Indian make a fire for us by a little run, as if we intended to sleep there. I said to the major, 'As you will not have him killed, we must get him away, and then we must travel all night.' Upon this, I said to the Indian, 'I suppose you were lost, and fired your gun.' He said that he knew the way to his cabin, and that it was but a little way. 'Well,' said I, 'do you go home; and, as we are much tired, we will follow your track in the morning; and here is a cake of bread for you, and you must give us meat in the morning.' He was glad to get away. I followed him, and listened until he was fairly out of the way. Then we set out about half a mile, when we made a fire, set our compass and fixed our course, and travelled all night. In the morning we were at the head of Piney Creek.

"*Friday*, 28th.—We travelled all the next day down the said creek; and, just at night, we found some tracks, where Indians had been hunting. We parted and appointed a place, a distance off, where to meet, it being then dark. We encamped, and thought ourselves safe enough to sleep.

"*Saturday*, 29th.—We set out early, got to Alleghany, made a raft, and, with much difficulty, got over to an island, a little above Shannopin's Town. The major having fallen in from off the raft, and my fingers being frost-bitten,



and the sun down, and it being very cold, we contented ourselves to encamp upon the island. It was deep water between us and the shore ; but the cold did us some service, for in the morning it was frozen hard enough for us to pass over on the ice."

Thus was this expedition accomplished, through rain and snow, in mid-winter, in intensely cold weather, and amid sufferings and perils that required the constant exercise of extraordinary resolution, fortitude, and endurance.

The future chief, habited like an Indian, with his gun in his hand and his pack on his back,—traversing the trackless wilderness,—attended by only one companion,—making his way through "many mires and swamps,"—fording streams,—struggling for his life in the rapid current of a river,—sometimes carrying his canoe, and "many times obliged to remain in the water half an hour or more, getting over shoals,"—camping out in the woods and fields,—encompassed by hostile savages,—amid hardships almost beyond the power of his iron constitution to endure,—and exposed to the danger of instant death by the rifle of his treacherous Indian guide ! Who can fail to recognize here the Divine Hand that preserved him amid all his sufferings and dangers, and that turned aside the deadly ball aimed at him ? And who can fail to admire, in his treatment of a murderous savage, his noble generosity of soul ?

Washington's JOURNAL was submit-

ted to Governor Dinwiddie. The conduct of the young major met with his Excellency's entire approval, and created also a general sentiment of admiration.

The intentions of France were palpable ; and her encroachments were, at once, to be repelled with vigor and determination.

By order of the governor and council, two companies of a hundred men each, were raised in the northern counties, and Major Washington was intrusted with the chief command of them. His journal was published by order of the governor, was widely circulated in Virginia and other colonies, and was reprinted in England, at the instance of the British government, as an unmasking of the secret and unwarrantable designs of France.

A martial spirit was kindled in the Old Dominion. LORD FAIRFAX, as county-lieutenant, with the control of the militia of his county, rendered, at this crisis, important services to his former hunting-companion and surveyor. The governor appealed to the other American colonies, and urged them to a prompt and energetic co-operation with him. Messengers were dispatched to friendly Indian tribes, for the purpose of enlisting them also in the cause. And the Assembly voted ten thousand pounds, for "the encouragement and protection of settlers on the Mississippi."

Supplied with this appropriation, the governor increased the number of com-

panies to six, of fifty men each. Major Washington was spoken of as the most suitable leader of the proposed enterprise, in which these companies were to be engaged; but, in a manner worthy of his character, he declined the post.

In a letter to RICHARD COR-  
March, 1754. BIN, a member of the governor's council, he says:

"In a conversation with you at Green Spring, you gave me some room to hope for a commission above that of major, and to be ranked among the chief officers of this expedition. *The command of the whole forces* is what I neither look for, expect, nor desire; for, I must be impartial enough to confess, it is a charge too great for my youth and inexperience to be intrusted with.

"Knowing this, I have too sincere a love for my country to undertake that which may tend to the prejudice of it. But, if I could entertain hopes, that you thought me worthy of the post of lieutenant-colonel, and would favor me so far as to mention it at the appointment of officers, I could not but entertain a true sense of the kindness.

"I flatter myself that, under a skilful commander, or man of sense,—whom I most sincerely wish to serve under,—with my own application and diligent study of my duty, I shall be able to conduct my steps, without censure, and, in time, render myself worthy of the promotion that I shall be favored with now."

The newly raised companies were

placed under Colonel JOSIUA FRY, and Lieutenant-colonel Washington.

Large grants of land on the Ohio River were promised, as a bounty, to the troops. The British ministry, also, authorized the governor to summon two companies from New York, and one from South Carolina; and North Carolina voted supplies and troops.

Lieutenant-colonel Washington, having collected at Alexandria by enlistment two companies, set out with them on the second day of April; and at Wills Creek he was joined, on the twentieth, by Captain STE-  
April 20, 1754. PHEN, with another company.

But soon, intelligence of a daring outrage committed by the French, was conveyed to him. They had descended the river from Venango, with a military force said to be "upwards of a thousand men," with eighteen pieces of cannon, sixty bateaux, and three hundred canoes, under command of Captain CONTRECEUR; and had expelled from their post a party acting under the direction of the *Ohio Company*.

This company, an association of Virginia and Maryland planters and London merchants, who proposed to settle lands on the Ohio, had received from the king, in the year 1749, a grant of six hundred acres, with the exclusive right of trade with the neighboring Indians; and had sent out a party of thirty men to build a fort at or near the Fork of the Ohio.

Captain TRENT, also, was occupied there in enlisting men from among the



traders, to form a company that should co-operate with the troops under Major Washington. But, at the time when Captain CONTRECŒUR appeared, Captain Trent and his lieutenant, Frazier, were absent, and Ensign WARD was in command. He had with him no more than forty-one men, including the Ohio Company's party. The rash thought of resistance, he could not entertain. At the threatening as well as peremptory summons of the French captain, who allowed him but an hour for consideration, he capitulated. On the next day he proceed-

ed with his men to the mouth of Redstone Creek.

The French now seized the post thus vacated; they completed the unfinished work; and they named it, in honor of the governor-general of Canada, "Fort Duquesne."

This flagrant act, the warrant and the signal for a decided opposition, was the commencement of hostilities which continued for seven years, and which constitute what is known as the SEVEN YEARS' WAR, or the FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, an important period in our ante-revolutionary annals.

## CHAPTER II.

1754.

### WASHINGTON'S FIRST BATTLE.

Captain Contrecoeur in possession of Captain Trent's post at the Fork of the Ohio.—Major Washington writes to the Governors of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland for Reinforcements.—Repairs to Redstone Creek.—Marches towards Wills Creek.—Reaches the Youghiogheny River.—Is unable to carry his Troops across.—Explores the river.—His Account of his Exploration of it.—Is informed by the Half-King of the approach of the French.—Makes an Intrenchment at the Great Meadows.—M. La Force, with fifty men, traced to a spot five miles distant.—A detachment sent by Washington in pursuit, cannot find them.—The Half King and his Warriors six miles off.—Washington hastens to him.—A Council is held.—They agree to unite in an Attack.—They surprise the French in their lurking-place.—An Engagement.—Defeat and Capture of the French.—Death of M. de Jumonville.—Misrepresentations respecting his death.—Washington censured by French writers.—His vindication.

CAPTAIN CONTRECŒUR and his troops were now in full possession of the military work commenced by Cap-  
1754. tain TRENT, whom they had driven from this post at the Fork of the Ohio.

With but three companies, consisting of a hundred and fifty men, Colonel Washington could not prudently pro-

ceed to the fort, to attack a force so very greatly superior to his own in numbers and equipment. He wrote, therefore, to the governors of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, and asked for additions to his little band.

He resolved to march on, however, while the proposed enlistment was in progress; to repair to the mouth of

Redstone Creek, which was thirty-seven miles from the captured post; to erect a fort there; and to wait for reinforcements; but,—in the event of their not reaching him in time,—to be prepared for a retreat.

On the first day of May he set out for Wills Creek. His march was, however, very tedious. Many and great difficulties were encountered in his course through woods and marshes, and among rocks, with an inadequate supply of provisions for his men. Having, on the twentieth day of May, reached the Youghiogheny, a branch of the Monongahela, he found it impossible to convey his troops across but by the tardy process of building a bridge. His effort to avoid this resort, he has himself described. And his account affords a new and happy illustration of his characteristic qualities:

“On the twentieth of May, I embarked in a canoe, with Lieutenant WEST, three soldiers, and an Indian. Having followed the river for about half a mile we were obliged to go ashore, where we found a trader who seemed to discourage my attempt to seek a passage by water, which caused me to change my intention of having canoes made.

“I ordered the troops to wade the river, as the waters had now sufficiently subsided. I continued to descend the river, but finding our canoe too small for six persons, we stopped to construct a bark, with which and the canoe we reached Turkey Foot just as the night

began. Eight or ten miles further onward, we encountered several difficulties which were of little consequence. At this point we stopped some time to examine the position, and found it well suited for a fort, being at the mouth of three branches or small rivers, and having a gravelly foundation.

“We went down about two miles to examine the course of the river, which is straight, with many currents, and full of rocks and rapids. We crossed it, though the water was high, which induced me to believe the canoes would easily pass, but this was not effected without difficulty.

“Besides these rapids we met with others, but the water being more shallow and the current smoother, we passed them easily. We then found the water very deep, and mountains rising on both sides. After proceeding ten miles, we came to a fall in the river, which arrested our progress and compelled us to go ashore, and desist from any further attempt.”\*

On returning to his men, he learned from friendly Indians, sent to him by his ally, the Half-King, TANACHARISON, that the French, rapidly marching towards him and now near <sup>May 21,</sup> at hand, <sup>1754.</sup> were resolved on an encounter. He took a favorable position at a level spot, in a glade, near a creek, and amid gently rising hills.

\* This extract is from a journal of Washington's, which was taken by the French at the battle of the Monongahela; and parts of which were published at Paris, in 1756.



The glade was known as "The Great Meadows." "I hurried to this place," says he, "as a convenient spot. We have, with nature's assistance, made a good intrenchment, and, by clearing the bushes out of these meadows, prepared a charming field for an encounter."<sup>\*</sup>

Mr. GIST, who now visited the camp, reported, that the day before, at **May 27, 1754.** his plantation, thirteen miles distant, he had seen M. LA FORCE, a French officer, with fifty men, whose footsteps he traced to a spot five miles from the Great Meadows. Seventy-five of Washington's men were sent in pursuit, but could not find the French roving party.

TANACHARISON, together with a number of his warriors, was but six miles from the spot. He also sent, after eight o'clock on the night of the same day, intelligence of a French detachment's being near. With forty of his men, Colonel Washington, at once, before ten o'clock, hastened to the Indian camp, regardless of a heavy rain and a night of intense darkness, and of obstacles offered by an almost impenetrable forest. "We were," says he, "frequently tumbled one over another, and often so lost that fifteen or twenty minutes' search would not find the path again."<sup>†</sup>

At early dawn, he met in council with his Indian ally. It was agreed to

unite in an attack upon the enemy; Washington to be on the right, and Tanacharison on the left.

The French were soon traced to a secluded nook, among rocks, half a mile distant from the common road. They were surprised in their lurking-place. They were attacked. And in the skirmish which ensued, and which lasted about fifteen minutes, **May 28, 1754.** the French party was defeated, eleven of their number being killed, and one wounded. Twenty-one were captured. Of Washington's party, only one was killed, and two or three were wounded. The Indians sustained no loss, as the enemy's fire was aimed exclusively at the band led by Washington. The prisoners were forthwith sent to Governor DINWIDDIE.

Of the slain among the French, one was their commander, M. DE JUMONVILLE. And as the alleged particulars of his death have given cause to an unfortunate and false representation of the fact, and as French writers have, in works of history, biography, and poetry,<sup>‡</sup> put on record sentiments which would detract from the fair fame of Washington, it is proper that the means should be furnished for his vindication.

It has been said, that Jumonville, having been surprised and twice fired upon by the English, "made a sign that he was the bearer of a letter from his

<sup>\*</sup> Letter to Governor DINWIDDIE, from Great Meadows, May 27th, 1754.

<sup>†</sup> Letter to Governor DINWIDDIE, May 29th, 1754.

VOL. I.—9

<sup>‡</sup> M. THOMAS composed and published in 1759, a poem on the subject, remarkable for its extravagance, entitled, "*L'Assassinat de M. de Jumonville, en Amérique, et la Vengeance de ce Meurtre.*"

commandant ;” and that “he caused the summons to be read, but the reading was not finished when the English repeated their fire, and killed him.”\* It has been said, that “the English, ranged in a circle round him, listened to the representations which he came to make.” “They assassinated Jumonville and immolated eight soldiers, who fell bleeding by the side of their chief.” “The detachment of the English who committed this atrocity, was commanded by Washington. This officer, who afterwards displayed the purest virtues of the warrior, the citizen, and the sage, was then no more than twenty-two years old. He could not restrain the wild and undisciplined troops who marched under his orders.”† Many other French writers have reiterated this representation, and have indulged in strictures marked with great severity. But eloquence and poetry have, on this occasion, been expended upon a fictitious scene.

The origin of the false picture may be traced to a Canadian, MOUCEAU, one of Jumonville’s party, who escaped from the scene of the engagement, and to some savages, who said that they were present with the French. But no savages whatever were seen with Jumonville at the time ; and Mouceau’s account has no confirmation from any source.

\* M. FLASSAN’S *Histoire de la Diplom. Française*. Tom. vi. p. 28. Paris, 1811.

† M. LACRETELLE’S *Hist. de France*. Tom. ii. p. 234. Paris, 1809.

When Washington first heard of the allegation, he wrote a letter to Governor Dinwiddie, and declared that the report was “absolutely false.” “These officers,” says he, alluding to Major DROUILLON and M. LA FORCE, who were among the captives on the occasion, “pretend they were coming on an embassy ; but the absurdity of this pretext is too glaring, as you will see by the instructions and summons inclosed. Their instructions were, to reconnoitre the country, roads, creeks, and the like, as far as the Potomac, which they were about to do.

“These enterprising men were purposely chosen out, to procure intelligence which they were to send back by some brisk dispatches, with the mention of the day that they were to serve the summons, which could be with no other view, than to get a sufficient reinforcement to fall upon us, immediately after. This, with several other reasons, induced all the officers to believe firmly, that they were sent as spies rather than any thing else, and has occasioned my detaining them as prisoners, though they expected, or at least had some faint hope, that they should be continued as ambassadors.

“They, finding that we were encamped, instead of coming up in a public manner, sought out one of the most secret retirements, fitter for a deserter than an ambassador to encamp in, and stayed there two or three days, sending spies to reconnoitre our camp, as we are told, though they deny it.



Their whole body moved back near two miles; and they sent off two runners to acquaint Contrecoeur with our strength, and where we were encamped. Now, thirty-six men would almost have been a retinue for a princely ambassador, instead of a *petit*.

"Why did they, if their designs were open, stay so long within five miles of us, without delivering their message or acquainting me with it? Their waiting could be with no other design, than to get detachments to enforce the summons as soon as it was given.

"They had no occasion to send out spies, for the name of an ambassador is sacred among all nations; but it was by the track of those spies that they were discovered, and that we got intelligence of them. They would not have retired two miles back without delivering the summons, and sought a skulking-place (which, to do them justice, was done with great judgment), but for some special reason. Besides, the summons is so insolent, and savors so much of gasconade, that if two men only had come to deliver it openly, it would have been too great an indulgence to send them back."\*

In two other letters to the governor, he refers to the subject. "I have heard," says he, "since they went away, that they should say they called to us not to fire; but that I know to be false, for I was the first man that approached them, and the first whom they saw;

and immediately upon it, they ran to their arms, and fired briskly till they were defeated." "These deserters corroborate what the others said and we suspected. La Force's party were sent out as spies, and were to show that summons if discovered or overpowered by a superior party of ours."†

In his journal which was taken by the French, and published at Paris, he says: "They pretend that they called to us, as soon as we were discovered, which is absolutely false; for I was at the head of the party in approaching them, and I can affirm, that, as soon as they saw us, they ran to their arms, without calling, which I should have heard, had they done so."‡

The Half-King, expressing his opinion of the real intentions of Jumonville and his party, said, that they had "bad hearts," and that they "never designed to come but in a hostile manner."

The fate of Jumonville surely cannot, in the face of Washington's arguments and averment, be termed an "assassination," without an utter disregard both of the import of the word, and of the claims of truth. And it is incumbent upon grave historians and biographers of France, to cease from reiterating and perpetuating so flagrant a falsehood, calculated to tarnish the character of one whose name History has enrolled among those of the wisest and the best that have adorned humanity.

\* Letter to Governor DINWIDDIE, from the camp at the Great Meadows, May 29th, 1754.

† Letter to Governor DINWIDDIE, without date; and a letter to him, dated Great Meadows, June 10th, 1754.

‡ See note on page 64.

## CHAPTER III.

1754.

### WASHINGTON'S CAPITULATION OF FORT NECESSITY.

Washington at the Great Meadows.—Death of Colonel Fry.—Prayers in the camp at Fort Necessity.—Letter on the subject, from William Fairfax to Washington.—Dissatisfaction among the officers at the Fort.—Embarrassments occasioned by Royal Commissions.—Rank of Lieutenant-colonel Washington and Captain Mackay.—Washington proceeds to the Monongahela.—French Spies.—Captain Mackay joins Washington.—Retreat to the Great Meadows.—Fort Necessity attacked by the French and Indians.—Washington capitulates.—Terms of the Capitulation.—Artifice of M. de Villiers.—Washington withdraws to Wills Creek.—Encounters Indian allies of the French.—Proceeds, with Captain Mackay, to the Governor.—Approval of his conduct.—The Governor's new Expedition.—The Expedition abandoned.—The Governor's Independent Companies.—Washington resigns his Commission.—Governor Sharpe, commander-in-chief.—Colonel Fitzhugh's Letter, requesting Washington to return to the Army.—Washington's spirited Reply.—The King's Order respecting Rank.—Effects produced by this Order.

WASHINGTON was now encamped at the Great Meadows. Colonel  
1754. FRY, who had long been prevented by sickness from joining him, died at Wills Creek on the last day of May; and Lieutenant-colonel Washington, next to him in rank, succeeded in command.

A pleasing moral and religious association with Washington and his men at their Fort Necessity, is "his custom to have prayers in the camp." His affectionate friend, the Honorable WILLIAM FAIRFAX, of Belvoir, wrote to him, while at the Great Meadows, "I will not doubt your having public prayers in the camp, especially when the Indian families are your guests; that they, seeing your plain manner of worship, may have their curiosity excited to be in-

formed why we do not use the ceremonies of the French, which, being well explained to their understanding, will more and more dispose them to receive our baptism, and unite in strict bonds of cordial friendship."

As to religious influences upon the red men, which may have been exerted in this manner, we are not informed, but the fact of there being stated religious services at the camp, is well known. A public recognition of the providence of God, and of the duty of prayer to him, was the rule of Washington throughout his military career.

A trial of his principles, and a severe test of his fortitude and prudence, occurred at this time.

The brave officers of his little band, while they were encountering the pe-



culiar trials of wilderness warfare, were so very poorly compensated, in comparison with officers of the king's troops, that dissatisfaction, murmurings, and, at length, loud complaints ensued. Then followed, as a natural consequence, irrepressible emotions of jealousy, and threats of abruptly abandoning the service. It was a crisis which called for the exercise of great tact and talent. But the emergency served to exemplify the sterling qualities of the future father of his country. In letters to the governor, he set forth, with great earnestness and in explicit terms, the fact, the causes, and the only effectual remedy of the discontent. And, at the same time, he quieted, in a good measure, the prevailing turbulence, by skilfully touching those chords in the hearts of his comrades, which, he well knew, would respond to sentiments of honor, patriotism, and loyalty.

Another incident occurred soon after, which he controlled with the consummate skill of an experienced master in the management of human passions.

It was a rule, adopted by the British ministry, in ordering military affairs in the colonies, that officers with royal commissions should take precedence of all others. The operation, however, of the principle involved in this, always tended to provoke jealousy and create discord.

When an independent company of a hundred men, under command of Captain MACKAY, who had a royal commission, went from South Carolina to the

Great Meadows, a case presented itself which was exceedingly embarrassing. According to the established rule, he took rank of Colonel Washington, who, as a colonial officer, had received his commission from Governor Dinwiddie. The captain, although on terms of perfect harmony with Washington, could not consistently receive orders from him as a superior officer. The encampment, also, of the king's captain and his company, was quite apart from that of the troops under the colonial colonel. In the event of a conflict with the enemy,—and one was constantly expected,—this point of rank might be the cause of serious evils.

The colonel wrote to the governor, asking him promptly to decide the matter. The governor expressed doubts. The embarrassment increased. The colonel's officers and men could not brook the thought of their commander's deposition from his grade; and they cherished angry party feelings, which must have led to ruinous results, had they not been immediately and judiciously controlled.

In these circumstances, Washington, with a bold hand, cut what could not be untied. After enlarging and strengthening his Fort Necessity, he resolved to leave Captain Mackay and his men in charge of it, and to proceed with his regiment to the Monongahela.

He accordingly set out, and advanced thirteen miles to Gist's plantation. But, before he reached this spot, he met with unexpected formidable difficulties, in

making a road for his artillery, and in quieting the noisy cupidity and eluding the sly artifices of pretended Indian allies, who proved to be French spies. He advised with his officers; he concluded, instead of marching further, to wait there for the enemy; and he prepared for an encounter, as he learned that the French might be expected very soon.

At his request, Captain MACKAY, joined him with his company. Credible accounts of the enemy's reinforcement and great strength, it was agreed, however, rendered a retreat advisable. The troops, too, were quite exhausted with fatigue, having borne on their backs heavy burdens, and having dragged over rough roads nine swivels. So poorly, moreover, were they supplied with horses, that the colonel himself, having dismounted and having laded his war-steed with public stores, went on foot, sharing the hardships of the common soldiers.

The troops succeeded, with great difficulty, in reaching the Great Meadows, after two days' march. They  
**July 1,**  
**1754.** were compelled to halt there.

For eight days they had eaten no bread, and had taken little of any other food. They could retreat no further. Here, then, it was resolved to make a stand. Trees were felled, and a log breastwork was raised at the fort.

Two days elapsed; and then, early in the morning, a sentinel, wound-  
**July 3,**  
**1754.** ed by the enemy, gave the signal of their approach. Before

noon, distant firing was heard; and the enemy, consisting of French troops and of Indians, reached a wood, the third of a mile from Fort Necessity. Washington drew up his regiment of three hundred and five men, including officers, and waited for an assault.

For nine hours,—the rain, without intermission, pouring down in torrents,—both parties kept up a desultory fire of small-arms. By that time, the French had killed all the horses and the cattle at the fort; the rain had filled all the trenches; the firearms of many of the Virginia troops were out of order; twelve men of these troops were killed, and forty-three wounded.

At eight o'clock, the French proposed a parley. Washington declined they urged; and Captain Vanbraam was then deputed to them. Very soon he brought with him from M. DE VILLIERS, the French commander, proposed articles of capitulation.

The overpowering number of the enemy induced Washington to come to terms. He consented, after a modification of the proposed articles, to leave his fort the next morning; but he was to leave it with the  
**July 4,**  
**1754.** honors of war, and with the understanding that he should surrender nothing but his artillery. The prisoners, of Jumonville's party, it was stipulated, should be returned; and, for a year's time, no fort should be built at this post, or anywhere beyond the Alleghanies on lands belonging to France.



The articles of capitulation, written in the French language, were professedly interpreted by Vanbraam. But they were read by him hastily, at night, in the open air, by the flickering light of a candle, during a violent rain. The transaction was, altogether, a confused and hurried one. And so bungling and blind was Vanbraam's English oral interpretation,—the interpretation made by a Dutchman, imperfectly acquainted with either English or French,—that, not perhaps through any treachery of his, but rather through the vindictive feelings and artful contrivance of M. de Villiers, brother of Jumonville,—Washington and his officers were betrayed into a pledge which they would never have consented to give, and an act of moral suicide which they could never have deliberately committed. They understood, from Vanbraam's interpretation, that no fort was to be built beyond the mountains, *on lands belonging to the king of France*; but the terms of the articles are, "neither in this place, nor beyond the mountains."\* They understood, from Vanbraam's interpretation, that the prisoners were to be returned, who had been taken at the time of the *death* of Jumonville; but the terms of the articles are, "*prisoners taken at Jumonville's assassination*."†

The terms in which M. de Villiers afterwards boasted of his diplomacy on

the occasion, are at once an exposure of his artifice, and a vindication of the character of those whom he attempted to confound with self-condemnation.

When the account which de Villiers gave of the battle was communicated to Washington, he made these comments upon it:

"It is very extraordinary, and not less erroneous than inconsistent. He says the French received the first fire. It is well known, that we received it at six hundred paces' distance. He also says, our fears obliged us to retreat in a most disorderly manner, after the capitulation. How is this consistent with his other account? He acknowledges that we sustained the attack warmly, from ten in the morning until dark, and that he called first to parley, which strongly indicates that we were not totally absorbed in fear. If the gentleman, in his account, had adhered to the truth, he must have confessed that we looked upon his offer to parley as an artifice to get into and examine our trenches, and refused on that account; until they desired an officer might be sent to them, and gave their parole for his return. He might, also, if he had been as great a lover of truth as he was of vainglory, have said, that we absolutely refused their first and second proposals, and would consent to capitulate on no other terms than such as we obtained.

"That we were, wilfully or ignorantly, deceived by our interpreter in regard to the word 'assassination,' I do

\* Dans ce lieu-ci, ni deçà de la hauteur des terres.

† Les prisonniers fait dans l'assassinat du Sieur de Jumonville.

aver, and will to my dying moment ; so will every officer who was present. The interpreter was a Dutchman, little acquainted with the English tongue, and therefore might not advert to the tone and meaning of the word in English ; but, whatever his motives were for so doing, certain it is he called it the 'death,' or the 'loss,' of the *Sieur Jumonville*. So we received, and so we understood it, until, to our great surprise and mortification, we found it otherwise in a literal translation."<sup>\*</sup>

On the morning after the signing of the articles of capitulation, Washington, amid the beating of his **July 4,** drums, and with his colors fly- **1754.** ing, set out for Wills Creek. He had, however, scarcely left the Meadows, when he encountered a hundred Indians, allies of the French, who greatly annoyed him with their hostile purposes and their rapacity.

On reaching Wills Creek, he hastened with Captain Mackay to the governor at Williamsburg, whom they particularly informed of the events of their expedition. Both the governor and council highly approved of the conduct of the commander, officers, and men. The House of Burgesses voted thanks to them for their bravery ; and a pistole,—a Spanish gold coin, worth about three dollars and a half,—was presented, as a gratuity, to every soldier.

The governor, glowing with intense

feelings of loyalty, but quite uneducated in the art of war, projected a new expedition against the French intruders. Colonel Washington was to complete the companies in his regiment, and to hasten, then, as fast as possible, to Colonel INNES, at Wills Creek ; and, there uniting his forces with the troops from North Carolina and New York, to cross the mountains and capture Fort Duquesne.

This project Washington earnestly opposed, and it was abandoned.

Among the many striking pictures in the gallery which illustrates his life and character, there is not another more expressive of his distinguishing traits. His letter on the subject of the expedition, addressed to the Honorable WILLIAM FAIRFAX, then a member of the council, is a remarkable production. His manner is respectful, but his reasoning severe. He sets forth the governor's scheme as unadvisable and impracticable.

As he was then little more than twenty-two years of age, his firm opposition to the will of his superiors might seem presumptuous ; but, so proper was the conduct of his procedure, and so cogent and conclusive were his reasonings, that the governor and council yielded to the control of his master-spirit.

Yet the fire of the governor's flaming zeal was not extinguished. As the British government granted to him ten thousand pounds sterling, with the promise of an additional grant of the

**August,**  
**1754.**

\* Writings of WASHINGTON, vol. ii. pp. 463, 464



same amount, and two thousand stand of arms; and as the Burgesses voted twenty thousand pounds for the public exigencies, his determination led him to form yet another scheme.

He resolved to raise an army, consisting of ten independent companies of a hundred men each. No officer of the late Virginia regiment was to hold rank higher than a captain; and, in addition to this injudicious and unjust provision, every colonial captain was to yield precedence to a captain royally commissioned. By this scheme, Washington was to rank but as the captain of a company, and was to be the inferior of certain officers who had been under his command. With due regard to self-respect, he could not thus do violence to his sentiments as a man and a soldier. He resigned his commission.

With a view to prosecute the war, the king soon after appointed Governor SHARPE, of Maryland, his commander-in-chief; and Colonel FITZHUGH, at General Sharpe's instance, earnestly requested Washington to return to the army. "I am confident," said Colonel Fitzhugh, "that the general has a very great regard for you, and will, by every circumstance in his power, make you happy. For my part, I shall be extremely fond of your continuing in the service, and would advise you by no means to quit it. In regard to the independent companies, they will in no shape interfere with you, as you will hold your post during their continuance here, and, when the

regiment is reduced, will have a separate duty."

In reply to this, Washington wrote, with great respect, but in a tone of deep emotion and in terms memorably emphatic: "You make mention," said he, "of my continuing in the service, and retaining my colonel's commission. The idea has filled me with surprise; for, if you think me capable of holding a commission that has neither rank nor emolument annexed to it, you must entertain a very contemptible opinion of my weakness, and believe me to be more empty than the commission itself. Besides, sir, if I had time, I could enumerate many good reasons that forbid all thoughts of my returning; and which, to you or any other person, would, upon the strictest scrutiny, appear to be well founded."\*

So fully was he aware of disingenuousness and unfair dealing, in the concocting of the governor's extraordinary scheme of independent companies, by which colonial superior officers were to be set aside, regardless of the services which they had rendered, and of all conventionalities of military life, that he added, in the same letter to Colonel Fitzhugh, "The information I have received shall not sleep in silence, that those *peremptory orders from home*, which, you say, could not be dispensed with, for reducing the regiment into independent companies, were *generated and hatched at Wills Creek*. Ingenuous

\* Letter to Colonel WILLIAM FITZHUGH, November 15th, 1754.

treatment and plain dealing I at least expected."<sup>\*</sup>

The step which Washington took in resigning his commission, is by no means to be regarded as an impulse of extreme sensitiveness, or of wounded pride. In the measure adopted by the governor, there was involved a principle, which could not be practically sanctioned by the colonies, without a dereliction of self-respect, as well as a humiliating indifference to the claims of common justice and of honor.

Washington's suspicion of unfairness was also the more manifest, as the king's order did not arrive until the following spring. But the language of this order exhibited then, in a stronger light than ever, the odiousness as well as unreasonableness of the required humiliation. "All troops," says the order, "serving by commission signed by us, or by our general commanding in chief in North America, shall take rank before all troops which may serve by commission from any of the governors, lieutenant or deputy governors, or president for the time being. And it is our further pleasure, that the general and field officers of the *provincial* troops shall have

no rank with the general and field officers who serve by *commission from us*, but that all captains and other inferior officers of our forces, who are or may be employed in North America, are, on all detachments, courts-martial, and other duty, wherein they may be joined with officers serving by commission from the governors, lieutenant or deputy governors, or president for the time being, of the said provinces, to command and take post of the said provincial officers of the like rank, though the commissions of the said provincial officers of like rank should be of elder date."<sup>†</sup>

The natural consequence of such an expression of royal authority was, as might have been expected, the alienation of many a good and true colonist's loyal feeling. And in the American heart there was thus fostered, more and more, by innumerable temptations to jealousy, and provocations to an indignant sense of injustice and wrong, that deep, prevailing, and powerful emotion, which eventually drove the colonies, "appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions," to assert their rights, and declare their national independence.

<sup>\*</sup> The "peremptory orders from home" were a fiction, as was afterwards proved.

<sup>†</sup> Order of the king, dated St. James's, November 12th, 1754.



## CHAPTER IV.

1754, 1755.

### DEFENCE OF THE COLONIES.

The Albany Convention.—Presents to the Six Nations.—Speech on the occasion by Hendrick.—Plan of a Union of the Colonies.—Franklin's Plan.—Biographical Notice of him.—Account of the Plan proposed by him.—The Plan disapproved of, in America and in England.—Reasons assigned for this disapproval.—New Scheme.—Taxation of the Colonies.—Historical coincidences.—Franklin's Scheme for founding Western Colonies.—His prediction of the growth and population of the Ohio valley.—The policy of Great Britain in not favoring this Scheme.—Vigorous measures against the French proposed.—French opposition to settlements on the Ohio by the Ohio Company.—The French seize British traders.—The Twightwees seize French traders.—Energetic action of the British government.—Admiral Boscawen, Sir Edward Hawke, Admiral Holborne, and Admiral Byng.—Destruction of the French West India trade, and capture of French merchantmen and seamen.—Hostilities on the American lakes.—Massacres by savages.—The Duke of Cumberland's arrangements for a Campaign in America.—Appointment of Braddock as commander-in-chief.—His army and officers.—His arrival in Virginia.—General confidence in the success of his Expedition.

THE same year that Washington was occupied at the Great Meadows resisting French encroachments, there was held, at Albany, a convention of commissioners, convened by order  
**June 19,**  
**1754.** of the British Board of Trade, with a view to conciliate and secure as allies of Great Britain, the most powerful of the Indian tribes, the SIX NATIONS.

These were New York tribes of the Iroquois, and consisted of the Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras, all of whom spoke the same language. An ancient confederacy of the first five tribes was formed about the middle of the sixteenth century; and the Tuscaroras, driven from North Carolina in 1714, joined, at that period, their Iroquois

brothers in New York. These six kindred nations, thus leagued, were very formidable. And as they were implacable enemies of the Algonquin allies of the French, it was now deemed important to secure their friendship and co-operation on the eve of another war with France. It was accordingly proposed to make presents to them, and effect the renewal of an existing treaty.

The colonies represented in the convention were those of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and Maryland. The lieutenant-governor of Virginia did not deem it advisable to send delegates, preferring to take an independent, and, as he thought, more expeditious course; and indulging the thought, that he could effect, in his own way

"a peace between the northern and southern Indians, and a strict alliance between them and all British subjects on the continent." It was the vain and illusive hope of a mind unwisely sanguine.

The delegates, as was proposed, held conferences with the Indians, and distributed among them the numerous and gaudy presents which the several colonies provided. But they received, from the eloquent lips of the Mohawk sachem, HENDRICK, a cutting rebuke for the prevailing neglect of warlike defences. "It is your fault, brethren," said he, "that we are not strengthened by conquest. We would have gone and taken Crown Point, but you hindered us. We had concluded to go and take it, but we were told that it was too late, and that the ice would not bear us. Instead of this, you burnt your own fort at Saratoga, and ran away from it, which was a shame and a scandal. Look around your country and see: you have no fortifications about you,—no, not even to this city. It is but one step from Canada hither, and the French may easily come and turn you out of your doors. You are desirous that we should *open our minds and our hearts to you*. Look at the French! They are *men*; they are fortifying everywhere. But,—we are ashamed to say it,—you are like *women*; bare and open, without any fortifications."

The subject of devising a plan of colonial union and confederation, for se-

curity and defence, was submitted to the convention. The delegates unanimously agreed, that such a measure was "absolutely necessary;" and a committee was appointed, to receive proposed schemes and to digest a plan.

A distinguished pre-eminence in the convention was now won by a delegate from Pennsylvania, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, the committee having selected and approved the plan\* which he devised, and having recommended its adoption.

The whole number of delegates appointed was twenty-five, every one of whom was in attendance.† And there were among them a number of the master-spirits of the times,—men who subsequently exerted a memorable influence in the direction of political affairs. But, among them all, there was not one other, around whom clustered destinies so remarkable as those which awaited the career of Franklin. With his manly presence, his large frame, his ample forehead, and his expressive countenance, mingling blandness with firmness, his eye sparkling with intelligence and his lip curved with good-nature, he

\* The Plan is inserted in full, at the end of this chapter. See [A].

† The delegates were: Theodore Atkinson, Richard Wilbird, Meshech Weare, and Henry Sherburne, of New Hampshire; Samuel Welles, John Chandler, Thomas Hutchinson, Oliver Partridge, and John Worthington, of Massachusetts; William Pitkin, Roger Wolcott, and Elisha Williams, of Connecticut; Stephen Hopkins, and Martin Howard, of Rhode Island; James Delancey, Joseph Murray, William Johnson, John Chambers, and William Smith, of New York; John Penn, Richard Peters, Isaac Norris, and Benjamin Franklin, of Pennsylvania; Benjamin Tasker, and Abraham Barnes, of Maryland.



ever was a conspicuous object of attraction and kind interest.

And his personal history possessed a charm, from its pleasing illustration of the true secret of success in life.

He had risen from poverty and obscurity in his native city of Boston, to great prominence among the politicians of Pennsylvania, and the literary and scientific men of his time. And he had accomplished this by dint of his extraordinary force of character. His forefathers were Englishmen, mechanics, residing in the village of Ecton, Northamptonshire. All his brothers were put to trades in Boston. His father, a man of strong mind and solid judgment, who migrated to America in the year 1685, was a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler; and Benjamin, the youngest of his sons, was employed in cutting candle-wicks, filling moulds, attending shop, and going on errands. But the boy's active mind could not long brook drudgery like this. He was apprenticed to his brother James, a printer. He now began to indulge his passion for literature. He wrote ballads and songs, which his brother printed, and which he was sent about the town to sell.

To a newspaper, published by his brother, and called *The New England Courant*, Benjamin secretly contributed articles which were well received. As an author, and very soon himself a printer and editor, he now rose rapidly in favor with the public.

He removed to Philadelphia. By

industry, thrift, and stern integrity of character he accumulated property. He took a lively interest in the establishment of literary, scientific, and benevolent institutions, and in providing a system of military discipline for Pennsylvania. He made important discoveries in science, especially in relation to electricity and lightning, and attracted the attention of European savans.

He was chosen clerk to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, was appointed postmaster of Philadelphia, and was elected a member of the provincial legislature. He now gave his thoughts more and more to public affairs. In the year 1753, he was appointed postmaster-general of America; and, the next year, he was one of the delegates from Pennsylvania to the Albany convention, where we now find him with his plan of a colonial union.

He was not a novice as a politician and legislator. The vital importance of a union of the colonies, he had already urged in a spirited article published in his paper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. To this article he appended, in his favorite style of speaking by symbols, a wood-cut which became a very popular device in the Revolutionary war,—representing a snake in separate parts, the parts designated by the initial letters of the names of the respective colonies, with a motto in large capitals, “JOIN OR DIE.”

The plan proposed a general government, to be administered by a governor-general appointed and supported

by the king; and a council, chosen by the colonial Assemblies, for ordering all Indian treaties, and for the defence, support, increase, and extension of the colonies,—the plan to receive the sanction of an act of parliament. “The colonies so united,” he justly remarks, “would have been sufficiently strong to defend themselves. There would then have been no need of troops from England; of course, the subsequent pretext for taxing America, and the bloody contest it occasioned, would have been avoided. But such mistakes are not new; history is full of the errors of states and princes.

‘Look round the habitable world, how few  
Know their own good, or, knowing it, pursue.’”\*

Franklin’s plan, with a few modifications, was adopted by the convention; and there were appended to it reasons and motives for each article. But, on its being submitted to the Assemblies, it was rejected by them all on the ground of its savoring too much of *royal prerogative*. And when it was received in England by the Board of Trade, they thought, on the other hand, that it was quite too deeply tinctured with *popular privilege*. It was, therefore, not even submitted to the notice of the king.

The proposal, that the united colonies should be their own defenders, without the aid of the mother country, was viewed with suspicion and jealousy.

They would thus be led, it was supposed, to indulge, unduly, feelings of self-importance and of confidence in their own strength, and perhaps, as was apprehended, grow quite too military.

There was devised, therefore, a new mode of accomplishing the various objects had in view. This was, a recourse to occasional meetings of the governors, attended by one or two members of their respective councils,—to concert measures, erect forts, and raise troops,—and to be supplied with means derived *from a tax on the colonies by act of parliament*.

Thus the cardinal principle on which turned the destiny of a mighty empire in the new world, was distinctly set forth at that time. But, from its first promulgation to the period of our national independence, the voice of the people loudly and perseveringly condemned it, refusing to submit to any measure whatever, by which their liberties would be impaired by **TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION**.

It is a coincidence worthy of being noted, that not only the same year, but the same month, that dates WASHINGTON’S engagement in his first important military operations, by which he was prepared for the part he was to take in our war of the Revolution, FRANKLIN was busied with his plan, which was the embryo of our national confederation and our union of States. It was on the *fourth day of July, 1754*, that Washington surrendered Fort Ne-

\* FRANKLIN’S *Autobiography*, in his *Works*, vol. i. ch. x. p. 178.



cessity, and that Franklin's plan was considered; and on *the fourth day of July, 1776*, after an interval of just twenty-two years, Washington was at the head of the army of the United States of America, and Franklin was signing the Declaration of American Independence!

Franklin was twenty-six years older than Washington, being born January 6th, 1706, Old Style; and, at the time of the Albany convention, he was at the age of forty-eight.

Another scheme proposed by him, the same year, with a view to the security and defence of the colonies on the Atlantic border, was the proposal to found two strong *western* colonies.

With his sagacious mind, he foresaw and confidently predicted what would inevitably result from the occupation of the region which the western colonies were to occupy. "The great country," said he, "back of the Appalachian Mountains, on both sides of the Ohio, and between that river and the lakes, is now well known, both to the English and French, to be one of the finest in North America, for the extreme richness and fertility of the land; the healthy temperature of the air, and mildness of the climate; the plenty of hunting, fishing, and fowling; the facility of trade with the Indians; and the vast convenience of inland navigation or water-carriage by the lakes and great rivers, many hundred leagues around.

"From these natural advantages it

must undoubtedly,—perhaps in less than another century,—become a populous and powerful dominion; and a great accession of power either to England or France."\*

It was his scheme, therefore, to anticipate, frustrate, and effectually control the ambitious purposes of the French government, and, at the same time, to secure the friendship and trade of all the neighboring powerful Indian tribes.

It was a noble scheme. But the policy of Great Britain, dictated by an undue regard to the interests of trade and commerce, was, to occupy the Atlantic coast, and not the interior of the country; and the suspicion and jealousy which frowned upon the Albany plan of union, assumed a more decided expression against inland settlements.

The British government concluded to take into its own hands the work of repelling and chastising French intruders; and to accomplish this, neither by a colonial union, nor by inland settlements. It resolved, however, to adopt prompt and vigorous measures for maintaining its claim to the Ohio lands. The French, on the other hand, were just as resolute in asserting prior claims. The settlement on the Ohio being calculated, as they thought, to despoil them of the harvest of their Indian trade, to break the chain of their communication between Canada and

---

\* *Works of Franklin*, vol. iii. p. 70.—His Plan for settling two western colonies, with reasons for the plan, is appended to this chapter. See [B].

Louisiana, and to nip the flattering promise of their ambitious projects, the governor of Canada had written to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania, threatening to seize all British subjects who encroached upon the Indian trade.

In the year 1753, the French seized certain British traders found among the Miamis and Piankeshaws, or, as they were called by the English, Twightwees. Upon this, the Twightwees, allies of Great Britain, seized several French traders, and sent them to Pennsylvania as reprisals; but, at the same time, they expressed great dissatisfaction at the Ohio Company's uncereemonious settlement among them, without permission, and upon lands not purchased. The exclusive right, also, which the Company claimed, excited the jealousy and caused the opposition of private traders, who were not inactive in fanning the flame of dissatisfaction which had already been kindled among the Indian tribes.

An impending conflict with France, a threatened rupture with the Twightwees, the claims of the Ohio Company, and the rights of Indian trade, were subjects which demanded the immediate attention of the governor of Virginia, whose jurisdiction then extended to the Ohio and the Twightwee country.

The proceedings of the French, in dispossessing Captain Trent of his post at the Forks of the Ohio, and themselves building a fort there, and in compelling Colonel Washington to sur-

render Fort Necessity, greatly added to the excitement which the subject created in the mother country.

The government voted a million of pounds sterling for the defence of the American colonies. Admiral BOSCAWEN sailed with a fleet to the Banks of Newfoundland. Sir <sup>1755.</sup> EDWARD HAWKE, Admiral HOLBORNE, and Admiral BYNG also took the sea with three squadrons. And British cruisers and privateers made fearful havoc with the French West India trade. During the year, three hundred French merchant ships and eight thousand French seamen were captured. On the American lakes, also, and on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, there was waged a desultory but fearfully afflictive warfare, accompanied with all the atrocity of savage massacres.

The arrangements for a campaign against the French in America were committed to Prince WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, duke of Cumberland, surviving son of the king, and at that time chief manager of British military operations.

Holding a commission in the Guards, and being well acquainted with their thorough discipline, he chose, as the major-general for the proposed expedition, an officer for forty years connected with them, and celebrated as a disciplinarian and tactician. The duke, stern, harsh, and tyrannous, was the object of general fear and hatred. But *discipline* was his boast,—*uncompromising discipline*.



He found an officer after his own heart, in Major-general EDWARD BRADDOCK, who had served under him in Scotland, in his expedition against the Pretender, Charles Edward, in 1746. Braddock was accordingly appointed commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in America. The duke then conveyed to him a set of instructions on the conduct of his expedition, and repeatedly cautioned him, orally and in writing, to beware of an ambuscade.

Flushed with the hope of making short work with the French and their savage allies, General Braddock sailed from Cork, in Ireland, on the fourteenth day of January, with  
1755. two regiments of foot, consisting each of five hundred British regulars, under Colonel DUNBAR and Colonel Sir PETER HALKET, officers of high repute for ability and experience.

VOL. I.—11

Before the end of February Braddock reached Virginia; and, soon after, the transports which <sup>Feb. 20,</sup> carried the troops arrived at <sup>1755.</sup> Alexandria.

Never before had such an army been seen in the colonies. Their appearance and movements,—the perfection of military discipline,—created universal admiration, and inspired very great confidence in the triumphant issue of the expedition. All colonial jealousies and sectional disagreements were merged in the general and heart-cheering sentiment, that the long-subsisting and vexatious altercations with the French and their savage allies were about to be effectually terminated, to the future peace and comfort of his majesty's loyal subjects in America. So great was the confidence reposed in the skill and prowess of British regulars.

## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER IV.

---

[A.]

FRANKLIN'S SHORT HINTS FOR UNITING THE  
NORTHERN COLONIES.

### *A Governor-general.*

To be appointed by the king.

To be a military man.

To have a salary from the crown.

To have a negation on all acts of the grand council, and carry into execution whatever is agreed on by him and that council.

### *Grand Council.*

One member to be chosen by the Assembly of each of the smaller colonies, and two or more by each of the larger, in proportion to the sums they pay yearly into the general treasury.

### *Members' Pay.*

— shillings per diem, during their sitting, and mileage for travelling expenses.

### *Place and Time of Meeting.*

To meet — times a year at the capital of each colony in course, unless particular circumstances and emergencies require more frequent meetings and alteration in the course of places. The governor-general to judge of those circumstances, etc., and call by his writs.

### *General Treasury.*

Its fund, an excise on strong liquors, pretty equally drunk in the colonies, or duty on liquor imported, or — shillings on each license of a public house, or excise on superfluities, as tea, etc., etc. All which would pay in some proportion to the present wealth of each colony, and

increase as that wealth increases, and prevent disputes about the inequality of quotas. To be collected in each colony and lodged in their treasury, to be ready for the payment of orders issuing from the governor-general and grand council jointly.

### *Duty and power of the Governor-general and Grand Council.*

To order all Indian treaties. Make all Indian purchases not within proprietary grants. Make and support new settlements by building forts, raising and paying soldiers to garrison forts, defend the frontiers, and annoy the enemy. Equip guard-vessels to scour the coasts from privateers in time of war, and protect the trade, and every thing that shall be found necessary for the defence and support of the colonies in general, and increasing and extending their settlements, etc.

For the expense they may draw on the fund in the treasury of any colony.

### *Manner of forming this Union.*

The scheme, being first well considered, corrected, and improved by the commissioners at Albany, to be sent home, and an act of parliament obtained for establishing it.

---

[B.]

FRANKLIN'S PLAN FOR SETTLING TWO WESTERN COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA, WITH REASONS FOR THE PLAN.

The great country back of the Appalachian Mountains, on both sides of the Ohio and between that river and the lakes, is now well known, both to the English and French, to be one of the finest in North America, for the ex-



treme richness and fertility of the land ; the healthy temperature of the air, and mildness of the climate ; the plenty of hunting, fishing, and fowling ; the facility of trade with the Indians ; and the vast convenience of inland navigation and water-carriage by the lakes and great rivers, many hundreds of leagues around.

From these natural advantages it must undoubtedly,—perhaps in less than another century,—become a populous and powerful dominion ; and a great accession of power either to England or France.

The French are now making open encroachments on these territories, in defiance of our known rights ; and, if we longer delay to settle that country, and suffer them to possess it, these INCONVENIENCES AND MISCHIEFS will probably follow :

1. Our people, being confined to the country between the sea and the mountains, cannot much more increase in number ; people increasing in proportion to their room, and means of subsistence.

2. The French will increase much more by that acquired room and plenty of subsistence, and become a great people behind us.

3. Many of our debtors and loose English people, our German servants, and slaves, will probably desert to them, and increase their numbers and strength to the lessening and weakening of ours.

4. They will cut us off from all commerce and alliance with the western Indians, to the great prejudice of Britain by preventing the sale and consumption of its manufactures.

5. They will, both in time of peace and war,—as they have always done against New England—set the Indians on to harass our frontiers, kill and scalp our people, and drive in the advanced settlers ; and so, in preventing our obtaining more subsistence by cultivating of new lands, they discourage our marriages, and keep our people from increasing ; thus,—if the expression may be allowed,—killing thousands of our children before they are born.

If two strong colonies of English were settled between the Ohio and Lake Erie, in the places hereafter to be mentioned, these ADVANTAGES might be expected :

1. They would be a great security to the frontiers of our other colonies, by preventing the incursions of the French and French Indians of Canada on the back parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas ; and the frontiers of such new colonies would be much more easily defended, than those of the colonies last mentioned now can be, as will appear hereafter.

2. The dreaded junction of the French settlements in Canada with those of Louisiana would be prevented.

3. In case of a war, it would be easy, from those new colonies, to annoy Louisiana, by going down the Ohio and Mississippi ; and the southern part of Canada, by sailing over the lakes, and thereby confine the French within narrow limits.

4. We could secure the friendship and trade of the Miamis or Twightwees,—a numerous people consisting of many tribes, inhabiting the country between the west end of Lake Erie and the south end of Lake Huron and the Ohio,—who are at present dissatisfied with the French, and fond of the English, and would gladly encourage and protect an infant English settlement in or near their country, as some of their chiefs have declared to the writer of this memoir. Further, by means of the lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, our trade might be extended through a vast country, among many numerous and distant nations, greatly to the benefit of Britain.

5. The settlement of all the intermediate lands between the present frontiers of our colonies, on one side, and the lakes and the Mississippi, on the other, would be facilitated and speedily executed, to the great increase of Englishmen, English trade, and English power.

The grants to most of the colonies are of long, narrow slips of land, extending west from the Atlantic to the South Sea. They are much too long for their breadth,—the extremes at too great a distance,—and therefore unfit to be continued under their present dimensions.

Several of the old colonies may conveniently be limited westward by the Alleghany or Appalachian Mountains, and new colonies formed west of those mountains.

A single old colony does not seem strong enough to extend itself otherwise than inch by inch. It cannot venture a settlement far distant from the main body, being unable to support it; but if the colonies were united under a governor-general and grand council, agreeably to the Albany plan, they might easily, by their joint force, establish one or more new colonies, whenever they should judge it necessary or advantageous to the interest of the whole.

But, if such a union should take place, it is proposed that two charters be granted, each for some considerable part of the lands west of Pennsylvania and the Virginia mountains, to a number of the nobility and gentry of Britain; with such Americans as shall join them in contributing to the settlement of those lands, either by paying a proportion of the expense of making such settlements, or by actually going thither in person, and settling themselves and families.

That by such charters it be granted, that every actual settler be entitled to a tract of — acres for himself, and — acres for every poll in the family he carries with him; and that every contributor of — guineas be entitled to a quantity of acres, equal to the share of a single settler, for every such sum of guineas contributed and paid to the colony treasurer; a contributor of — shares to have an additional share gratis; that settlers may likewise be contributors, and have right of land in both capacities.

That as many and as great privileges and powers of government be granted to the contributors and settlers, as his majesty in his wisdom shall think most fit for their benefit and encouragement, consistent with the general good of the British empire; for, extraordinary privileges and liberties, with lands on easy terms, are strong inducements to people to hazard their persons and fortunes in settling new countries. And such powers of government as,—though suitable to their circumstances, and fit to be trusted with an infant colony,—might be judged unfit when it becomes populous and powerful, these might be granted for a term only; as the choice of their own governor for ninety-nine years; the support of government in the colo-

nies of Connecticut and Rhode Island,—which now enjoy that and other like privileges,—being much less expensive than in the colonies under the immediate government of the crown, and the constitution more inviting.

That the first contributors of the amount of — guineas, be empowered to choose a treasurer to receive the contribution.

That no contribution be paid, till the sum of — thousand guineas be subscribed.

That the money thus raised be applied to the purchase of the lands from the Six Nations and other Indians, and of provisions, stores, arms, ammunition, carriages, etc., for the settlers, who, after having entered their names with the treasurer, or person by him appointed to receive and enter them, are, upon public notice given for that purpose, to rendezvous at a place to be appointed, and march in a body to the place destined for their settlement, under the charge of the government to be established over them. Such rendezvous and march, however, not to be directed till the number of names of settlers entered, capable of bearing arms, amount at least to — thousand.

It is apprehended, that a great sum of money might be raised in America, on such a scheme as this; for there are many who would be glad of any opportunity, by advancing a small sum at present, to secure land for their children, which might in a few years become very valuable; and a great number, it is thought, of actual settlers might likewise be engaged,—some from each of our present colonies,—sufficient to carry it into full execution by their strength and numbers; provided only, that the crown would be at the expense of removing the little forts the French have erected in their encroachments on his majesty's territories, and supporting a strong one near the Falls of Niagara, with a few small armed vessels, or half galleys, to cruise on the lakes.

For the security of this colony in its infancy, a small fort might be erected, and for some time maintained, at Buffalo Creek on the Ohio, above the settlement; and another, at the mouth of the Tioga, on the south side of Lake Erie, where a port should be formed and a town erected, for the trade of the lakes. The colonists for



this settlement might march by land through Pennsylvania.

The river Scioto, which runs into the Ohio about two hundred miles below Logstown, is supposed the fittest seat for the other colony; there being, for forty miles on each side of it and quite up to its heads, a body of all rich land; the finest spot of its bigness in all North America, and has the particular advantage of sea-coal in plenty,—even above ground in two places,—for fuel when the woods shall be destroyed. This colony would have the trade of the Miamis or Twightwees; and should, at first, have a small fort near Hochockin, at the head of the river; and another near the mouth of the Wabash. Sandusky, a French fort near the Lake Erie, should also be taken; and all the little French forts south and west of the lakes, quite to the Mississippi, be removed, or taken and garrisoned by the English. The colonists for this settlement might assemble near the heads of the rivers in Virginia, and march overland to the navigable branches of the Kenhawa, where they might embark with all their baggage and provisions, and fall into the Ohio not far above the mouth of the Scioto. Or they might rendezvous at Wills Creek, and go down the Monongahela to the Ohio.

The fort and armed vessels at the strait of Niagara, would be a vast security to the frontiers of these new colonies against any attempts of the French from Canada. The fort at the mouth of the Wabash would guard that river, the Ohio, and the Catuwa River, in case of any attempt from the French of the Mississippi. Every fort should have a small settlement round it, as the fort would protect the settlers, and the settlers defend the fort and supply it with provisions.

The difficulty of settling the first English colonies in America, at so great a distance from England, must have been vastly greater than the settling these proposed new colonies; for it would be the interest and advantage of all the present colonies to support these new ones, as they would cover their frontiers and prevent

the growth of the French power behind or near their present settlements; and the new country is nearly at equal distance from all the old colonies, and could easily be assisted from all of them.

And as there are already, in all the old colonies, many thousands of families that are ready to swarm, wanting more land, the richness and advantage of the Ohio country would draw most of them thither, were there but a tolerable prospect of a safe settlement. So that the new colonies would soon be full of people; and, from the advantage of their situation, become much more terrible to the French settlements than those are now to us. The gaining of the back Indian trade from the French by the navigation of the lakes, etc., would of itself greatly weaken our enemies, it being now their principal support. It seems highly probable that, in time, they must be subjected to the British crown, or driven out of the country.

Such settlements may better be made now, than fifty years hence; because it is easier to settle ourselves, and thereby prevent the French from settling there, as they seem now to intend, than to remove them when strongly settled.

If these settlements are postponed, then more forts and stronger, and more numerous and expensive garrisons must be established, to secure the country, prevent their settling, and secure our present frontiers; the charge of which may probably exceed the charge of the proposed settlements, and the advantages nothing near so great.

The fort at Oswego should likewise be strengthened, and some armed half-galleys or other small vessels kept there, to cruise on Lake Ontario, as proposed by Mr. Pownall in his paper laid before the commissioners at the Albany treaty.

If a fort was also built at Tirondequat on Lake Ontario, and a settlement made there near the lake side, where the lands are said to be good, much better than at Oswego, the people of such settlement would help to defend both forts on any emergency.



## CHAPTER V.

1754, 1755.

### WASHINGTON AT THE BATTLE OF THE MONONGAHELA.

His Military predilections.—Is invited by General Braddock to become one of his Aids.—Captain Orme's Letter on the subject.—Meeting of the Colonial Governors.—Washington present at the meeting.—His opinion of Governor Shirley.—Braddock at Fredericktown.—Condition of the Army.—Franklin visits Braddock.—He procures an ample supply of wagons and horses.—Character of Braddock, in the opinion of Washington, of William Shirley, and of Franklin.—Great delays.—Braddock consults Washington.—Washington's advice.—Council of War.—Washington's advice prevails.—He is attacked with a fever, and is compelled to tarry behind the advanced detachment of the Army.—Captain Morris's letter to him.—Washington reaches the advanced detachment.—The Army fords the Monongahela.—Washington's admiration of the scene.—The advanced column of the Army assailed by the enemy in ambush.—The advanced column of the British troops panic-struck.—Conduct of the Virginia troops.—Captain Orme's account of the scene.—Washington's account of it.—The killed and wounded.—Braddock's and Washington's papers fall into the enemy's hands.—Rumor of Washington's death.—Effect of Braddock's defeat.—Washington's Reflections on the subject.—His wonderful preservation.—Is visited by an Indian chief and his warriors, with a tribute of their veneration.—Washington orders wagons for the wounded.—The General borne from the field.—His death and burial.—Washington reads the Funeral Service.—Braddock's self-confidence the chief cause of his disaster.—Contrecoeur's conduct.—M. Beaujeu and his party.—Their unexpected and wonderful triumph.—Character and conduct of Washington on the occasion.—Anticipations of his destiny.

HAVING resigned his commission, Washington was without employment as a military man. But there was slumbering in his bosom many a high resolve, which needed only a suitable occasion for its indulgence. And he felt, instinctively, that it was not yet the hour for his repose from public duty. He spoke of his "reluctance to quit the service," and said, "my inclinations are strongly bent to arms."\* Ill at ease in his retirement, he was ready, therefore, to meet with cheerfulness the summons which soon called him once more to the camp.

Not long after Braddock's arrival in Virginia, he sought out Washington, well known to him by fame; he learned the story of his retirement from the service; he heartily commended his spirited conduct on the occasion; and he invited him to become one of his aids, retaining his rank as colonel, and acting as a volunteer. This proposition fully met the views and wishes of Washington. He promptly accepted Braddock's invitation; and he became a member of the general's military family.

Captain ROBERT ORME, one of the aids of Braddock, had written to Washington, in these words:

---

\* Letter to Colonel FITZBUGH, November 15th, 1754.

WILLIAMSBURG, *March 2, 1755.*

SIR:—The general having been informed that you expressed some desire to make the campaign, but that you declined it upon some disagreeableness which you thought might arise from the regulations of command, has ordered me to acquaint you, that he will be very glad of your company *in his family*, by which all inconveniences of that kind will be obviated. I shall think myself very happy, to form an acquaintance with a person so universally esteemed, and shall use every opportunity of assuring you how much I am, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

ROBERT ORME, *Aid-de-camp.*

A few days after, the general held a meeting at his headquarters in Alexandria, with six of the colonial governors: DINWIDDIE, of Virginia; DELANCEY, of New York; SHARPE, of Maryland; DOBBS, of North Carolina; SHIRLEY, of Massachusetts; and MORRIS, of Pennsylvania. At this meeting a plan for concert in action was devised. Braddock was to proceed against Fort Duquesne; Shirley against Niagara; and Sir William Johnson against Crown Point. The subjects discussed and the arrangements made, by the commander-in-chief and the council of governors, possessed a momentous interest.

At this meeting Washington was, by invitation, present. He was introduced to the governors; and they accorded to him marked expressions of esteem. Referring to the occasion, he says:

“I have had the honor to be introduced to several governors, and of being well received by them; especially Mr. SHIRLEY, whose character and appearance have perfectly charmed me. I think his every word and action discover in him the gentleman and politician. I heartily wish the same unanimity may prevail among us, as appeared to exist between him and his Assembly when they, to expedite the business and to forward his journey hither, sat till eleven and twelve o'clock every night.”\*

Braddock proceeded on his way towards Wills Creek, where the several divisions of his troops, which had pursued different routes, afterwards united, and, including the provincials, formed an army of two thousand men.

Washington, detained at home for a few days by private duties there, overtook the general at Fredericktown, Maryland, and was now with him. But the army, to the annoyance and vexation of Braddock, was at a stand. Contracts for provisions, and for horses and baggage-wagons, were unfulfilled; and to advance without these, was deemed utterly impracticable.

Braddock was exasperated. He proposed to send an armed force into the counties of Lancaster, York, and Cumberland, Pennsylvania, “to seize as many of the best carriages and horses as should be wanted, and to compel as many persons into the service as would

\* Letter to WILLIAM FAIRFAX, April 23d, 1755.

be necessary to drive and take care of them." In this emergency suitable measures of relief were devised by Franklin. "Our Assembly," says he, "apprehending, from some information, that the general had received violent prejudices against them, as averse to the service, wished me to wait upon him, not as from them, but as post-master-general, under the guise of proposing to settle with him the mode of conducting, with most celerity and certainty, the dispatches between him and the governors of the several provinces, with whom he must necessarily have continual correspondence; and of which they proposed to pay the expense. My son accompanied me on this journey.

"We found the general at Fredericktown, waiting impatiently for the return of those he had sent through the back parts of Maryland and Virginia, to collect wagons. I stayed with him several days, dined with him daily, and had full opportunities of removing his prejudices by the information of what the Assembly had, before his arrival, actually done, and were still willing to do, to facilitate operations. When I was about to depart, the returns of the wagons to be obtained were brought in, by which it appeared, that they amounted only to *twenty-five*, and not all of these were in serviceable condition. The general and all the officers were surprised; declared the expedition was at an end, being impossible; and exclaimed against the ministers, for ignorantly sending them into a country

destitute of the means of conveying their stores and baggage, not less than *a hundred and fifty* wagons being necessary.

"I happened to say, I thought it was a pity they had not been landed in Pennsylvania, as in that country almost every farmer had his wagon. The general eagerly laid hold of my words, and said, 'Then you, sir, who are a man of interest there, can probably procure them for us; and I beg you to undertake it.' I asked what terms were to be offered the owners of the wagons; and I was desired to put on paper the terms that appeared to me necessary. This I did, and they were agreed to, and a commission and instructions were prepared immediately."

The energy and personal influence of Franklin soon produced the most cheering results. He published an advertisement, and an address to the inhabitants of the counties of Lancaster, York, and Cumberland, appealing to their self-interest and to their loyalty. "I received from the general," says he, "about eight hundred pounds, to be disbursed in advance-money to the wagon owners; but, that sum being insufficient, I advanced upwards of two hundred pounds more; and, *in two weeks*, the one hundred and fifty wagons, with two hundred and fifty-nine carrying-horses were on their way to the camp." "The owners, however, alleging they did not know General Braddock, nor what dependence might be had on his promise, insisted on my



bond for the performance, which I accordingly gave them.”\*

But for the timely services thus rendered by Franklin, disastrous consequences must inevitably have ensued from the general's exasperation and rashness.

He was not devoid of noble sentiments and generous impulses; but his temper and conduct afforded ample proof, that he was very deficient in some of the essential qualities upon which depend the influence and success of a military chief.

Washington saw this; and, in one of his letters,† he says, “The general, from frequent breaches of contract, has lost all patience; and, for want of that temper and moderation which should be used by a man of sense upon these occasions, will, I fear, represent us in a light we little deserve; for, instead of blaming the individuals, as he ought, he charges all his disappointments to public supineness, and looks upon the country, I believe, as void of honor and honesty. We have frequent disputes on this head, which are maintained with warmth on both sides, especially on his, as he is incapable of arguing without it, or giving up any point he asserts, be it ever so incompatible with reason or common sense.”

WILLIAM SHIRLEY, son of the governor, was Braddock's secretary. In a letter to Governor Morris, he says,

“We have a general most judiciously chosen, for being *disqualified* for the service he is employed in, *in almost every respect*.”‡

He was haughty, self-conceited, self-willed, imperious, and obstinate. He was also excessively severe. And he greatly lacked the prudence and caution which, in such a warfare as he was about to wage, were absolutely essential to his success. In the temper of his patron, the Duke of Cumberland, who refused to accept the loyal offers of the Scottish lowland lords, before the battle of Culloden, Braddock now spurned the thought of employing Indian allies; and, regardless of the dangers against which he had been cautioned, he trusted implicitly to the prowess of his brave troops.

“He was, I think, a brave man,” says Franklin, “and might probably have made a figure as a good officer in some European war. But he had too much self-confidence, too high an opinion of the validity of regular troops, and too mean a one of both Americans and Indians. George Croghan, our Indian interpreter, joined him on his march, with one hundred of those people, who might have been of great use to his army as guides and scouts, if he had treated them kindly; but he slighted and neglected them, and they gradually left him.

“In conversation with him one day, he was giving me some account of his

\* FRANKLIN'S *Autobiography* in his *Works*, vol. i. ch. x. pp. 182, 183, 187.

† Letter to WILLIAM FAIRFAX, June 7th, 1755.

VOL. I. -12

‡ *Colonial Records*, vol. vi. p. 405

intended progress. 'After taking Fort Duquesne,' said he, 'I am to proceed to Niagara; and, having taken that, to Frontenac, if the season will allow time, and I suppose it will; for Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four days, and then I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara.' Having before revolved in my mind the long line his army must make, in their march by a very narrow road to be cut for them through the woods and bushes, and also what I had read of a former defeat of fifteen hundred French who invaded the Illinois country, I had conceived some doubts and some fears for the event of the campaign. But I ventured only to say, 'To be sure, sir, if you arrive well before Duquesne, with these fine troops, so well provided with artillery, the fort, though completely fortified and assisted with a strong garrison, can probably make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction to your march, is from the ambuscades of the Indians, who, by constant practice, are dexterous in laying and executing them; and the slender line, near four miles long, which your army must make, may expose it to be attacked by surprise in its flanks, and to be cut like a thread into several pieces, which, from their distance, cannot come up in time to support each other.'

"He smiled at my ignorance, and replied, 'These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia; but, upon the king's regu-

lar and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossible they should make any impression.'"<sup>\*</sup>

The army, provided with wagons, horses, and every necessary supply, now moved on. But the month of June had already arrived. And so many and great delays occurred, chiefly from rough roads, that the general indulged serious doubts of the feasibility of reaching the French fort before the close of the season. He consulted privately with Washington, who advised him to proceed. "I urged him, in the warmest terms I was able," says Washington, "to push forward, if he even did it with a small but chosen band, with such artillery and light stores as were necessary; leaving the heavy artillery, baggage, and the like, with the rear division of the army, to follow by slow and easy marches, which they might do safely while we were advanced in front. As one reason to support this opinion, I urged, that, if we could credit our intelligence, the French were weak at the Fork, at present, but hourly expected reinforcements, which, to my certain knowledge, could not arrive with provisions or any supplies during the continuance of the drought, as the Buffalo River, down which was their only communication to Venango, must be as dry as we now found the great crossing of the Youghiogheny, which may be passed dry-shod."<sup>†</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> FRANKLIN'S *Autobiography* in his *Works*, vol. i. ch. x. pp. 189, 190.

<sup>†</sup> Letter to JOHN A. WASHINGTON, June 28th, 1755.



In a council of war, held on the occasion, the advice of Washington prevailed. The general, with twelve hundred men, carrying a small supply of necessary stores and a few pieces of light artillery, moved forward; and Colonel DUNBAR, with six hundred men, and the heavy baggage, followed, by slow marches.

Washington accompanied the general, in the advanced corps. But when four days had passed, and the general, with his corps, had reached a spot but nineteen miles from the Little Meadows, a painful incident occurred, which greatly distressed the mind of Wash-

June 14,  
1755. ington, yet served to exhibit, in a strong light, his energy and determination.

When the army had advanced about ten miles from Wills Creek, he was seized with a violent fever, by which he was prostrated. Yet he continued with the army. Too feeble to ride on horseback, he was carried in a covered wagon, until his physician advised and the general required, that he should not continue with the advanced division. To this he yielded his reluctant consent on the absolute condition, that, before the army's reaching the French fort, arrangements should be made for his rejoining it. "I had," says he, "the general's word of honor, pledged in the most solemn manner, that I should be brought up, before he arrived at Fort Duquesne."\*

\* Letter to JOHN A. WASHINGTON, June 28th, 1755.

Attended by a small guard, and awaiting the arrival of Colonel DUNBAR with the rear army, he continued for some days in a state of extreme debility. Colonel Dunbar's division did not reach him for eight days. His fever moderated at this time; but his weakness, as he himself admitted, was "excessive."†

One of the general's aids-de-camp, Captain ROGER MORRIS, had written to him from the great crossing of the Youghioghenny, "I am desired by the general to let you know, that he marches to-morrow and next day, but that he shall halt at the Meadows two or three days. It is the desire of every individual in the family, and the general's positive commands to you, not to stir but by the advice of the person under whose care you are, till you are better, which we all hope will be very soon." On the thirtieth day of June, he said, in a letter to Captain ORME, one of the general's aids, "As the doctor thinks it imprudent for me to use much exercise for two or three days, my movements will be retarded."‡ But he husbanded his strength; he took advantage of every moment possible for him to proceed; when prevented by rain from continuing with the front of Colonel Dunbar's detachment, he joined the rear; yet he moved onward.

It was with great effort and with pain, that he persevered in his purpose; but he at length succeeded, to his own

† Letter to ROBERT ORME, June 30th, 1755.

‡ Ibid.

great satisfaction, and to the surprise of the general, in reaching the advanced detachment, near the junction of the

**July 8,  
1755.** Youghiogheny and Monongahela rivers, within fifteen miles of the French fort. "On the eighth day of July," says he, in a memorandum, "I rejoined, in a covered wagon, the advanced division of the army, under the immediate command of the general. On the ninth, I attended him, on horseback, though very low and weak."

**July 9,  
1755.** This, however, was an eventful day, long to be remembered, which, while it veiled others with the gloom of misfortune and calamity, shed around him and his exploits the brightness of a glorious halo.

Early in the morning the army advanced, in good health and high spirits, and in perfect military order, on the north bank of the majestic Monongahela. To reach the French fort it was necessary, first, to ford the river and march for some distance on its south bank; then, to return to the north bank by fording the stream again. This the well-disciplined troops successfully accomplished. And the manner of their doing it was so truly admirable, that Washington, who beheld the scene with intense interest, often recurred to it with the deepest emotion.

After crossing to the northern margin of the river, ten miles from the fort, an advanced column of the troops marched over a plain and up an ascent between two ravines. But the remain-

ing columns had scarcely forded the stream, when, on a sudden, heavy discharges of musketry were heard on the front and on the right flank of the advanced party. The hostile forces, consisting of French troops and of Indians, concealed in the ravines and behind trees, kept up a destructive fire, deliberately singling out their victims, and prostrating on the field, among the killed and wounded, more than half of the whole army which so lately presented a model of military order, discipline, and prowess.

The advanced column, panic-struck, had retreated in dismay, falling back upon the detachment which next followed. The contagion of alarm here seized the regular troops, who, for the first time, heard the Indian yell and war-whoop, and were standing in platoons, and receiving the deadly fire of foes who were invisible.

Of the whole army, no part, excepting only the Virginia troops, manifested the presence of mind called for by the emergency. They scattered, and betook themselves to trees, from behind which they assailed the enemy, after the manner of the Indian warfare.

In an account of the battle, given by Captain ORME, he says: "The men were so extremely deaf to the exhortation of the general and the officers, that they fired away, in the most irregular manner, all their ammunition, and then ran off, leaving to the enemy the artillery, ammunition, provision, and baggage; nor could they be persuaded to stop till



they got as far as Gist's plantation; nor there only in part, many of them proceeding as far as Colonel DUNBAR's party, who lay six miles on this side. The officers were absolutely sacrificed by their good behavior, advancing sometimes in bodies, sometimes separately, hoping by such example to engage the soldiers to follow them; but to no purpose. The general had five horses shot under him, and at last received a wound through the right arm into his lungs, of which he died on the 13th instant. Secretary SHIRLEY was shot through the head; Captain MORRIS, wounded. Colonel WASHINGTON had two horses shot under him, and his clothes shot through in several places, behaving the whole time with the greatest courage and resolution. Sir PETER HALKET was killed upon the spot. Colonel BURTON and Sir JOHN ST. CLAIR were wounded."\*

Our "well-armed troops, chiefly regulars, were struck with such a panic," says Washington, "that they behaved with more cowardice than it is possible to conceive. The officers behaved gallantly in order to encourage their men, for which they suffered greatly, there being nearly sixty killed and wounded; a large proportion of the number we had." "In despite of all the efforts of the officers to the contrary, they ran as sheep pursued by dogs, and it was impossible to rally them." "The general was wounded, of which he died three

days after. Sir PETER HALKET was killed in the field, where died many other brave officers. I luckily escaped without a wound, though I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me. Captains ORME and MORRIS, two of the aids-de-camp, were wounded early in the engagement, which rendered the duty harder upon me, as I was the only person then left to distribute the general's orders, which I was scarcely able to do, as I was not half recovered from a violent illness that had confined me to my bed and a wagon for above ten days. I am still in a weak and feeble condition, which induces me to halt here two or three days, in the hope of recovering a little strength to enable me to proceed homeward."†

The whole number of British officers was eighty-six, twenty-six of whom were killed, and thirty-seven wounded. The killed and wounded of the British army was seven hundred and fourteen. The French had but three officers killed and four wounded, and about sixty soldiers and Indians killed and wounded. Braddock's official papers were taken by the enemy, and also Washington's private journal, and his official correspondence during the preceding year's campaign.

A rumor was circulated that Washington was among the slain. He heard of this when on his way homeward, and in a letter to one of his brothers, he wrote: "As I have heard, since my ar-

\* Letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania, July, 1755.

† Letter to Mrs. MARY WASHINGTON, July 16th, 1755.

rival at this place,\* a circumstantial account of my death and dying speech, I take this early opportunity of contradicting the first, and of assuring you that I have not as yet composed the latter. But, by the all-powerful dispensation of Providence, I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me, yet escaped unhurt, although death was levelling my companions on every side of me."†

The story of Braddock's ill-fated expedition was at first scarcely credited. The thought of a possibility of his defeat had not been harbored. Arrangements had actually been made in Philadelphia for the celebration of his anticipated valiant achievement, and money had been raised there by subscription for bonfires and illuminations.

Washington's reflections on the catastrophe inculcate a precept which should not be forgotten amid assurances of conscious power, and flatteries of self-complacency. "It is true we have been beaten—shamefully beaten by a handful of men who only intended to molest and disturb our march. Victory was their smallest expectation. But see the wondrous works of Providence and the uncertainty of human things! We, but a few moments before, believed our numbers almost equal to the Canadian force; they only expected to annoy us. Yet, contrary to all expectation and

human probability, and even to the common course of things, we were totally defeated, and sustained the loss of every thing."‡

Washington's wonderful preservation, and escape without a wound, amid so many and great dangers, became, very naturally, a general topic of conversation throughout the colonies.

The divine purpose in the preservation of his life was also recognized by an Indian chief and his warriors, who were present at Monongahela and in the battle. Washington, having occasion to explore some western wild lands about fifteen years after the time of the battle, went in company with his friend Dr. Craik, to a spot near the junction of the Great Kenhawa and Ohio rivers. While there he was visited by a sachem and his party, who had heard of his arrival in the forest, and who came to him with a tribute of their homage.

The old chief said that he was present at the battle, and among the Indian allies of the French; that he singled him out, and repeatedly fired his rifle at him; that he ordered his young warriors also to make him their only mark; but that on finding all their bullets turned aside by some invisible and inscrutable interposition, he was convinced that the hero at whom he had so often and so truly aimed, must be, for some wise purpose, specially protected by the Great Spirit. He now came, therefore, to testify his veneration.

\* Fort Cumberland.

† Letter to JOHN A. WASHINGTON, July 18th, 1755.

‡ Letter to ROBERT JACKSON, August 2d, 1755.









When Braddock's troops, retreating from the scene of action recrossed the Monongahela, Washington hastened to the rear detachment under Dunbar, and ordered vehicles for carrying the wounded from the field.

The general had already been removed in a wagon, and then put on horseback; but it was soon discovered that he could not ride, and he was borne upon a litter, first to the rear detachment, and then towards the Great Meadows.

On the fourth day he died; and, to conceal his body from hostile savages, it was wrapped in his cloak, and interred at night at a spot about a mile west of Fort Necessity. But it was not committed to the earth without the rite of sepulture. There was, it is true, no minister of the Gospel in attendance. It was customary, however, in the absence of a clergyman, for the laity, in such emergencies, to read the Church of England's Office for the Burial of the Dead. And now, Washington, standing near the lifeless body about to be consigned "dust to dust," read by the light of a torch the words of the solemn burial-service.

Before the occurrence of the disastrous affair at the Monongahela, Braddock received an offer of the services of a hundred friendly Indians. But so self-confident was he, and so contemptuous was his opinion of the savages and their mode of warfare, that, regardless of Washington's counsels on the subject, he treated their offer with cold, and

even offensive indifference. Had he employed them as scouts, they would undoubtedly have discovered the enemy's ambuscade, and have enabled him to anticipate their fatal stratagem; and, by means of the grape-shot of a few field-pieces, not only to reveal the hiding-places of the invisible foe, but to convert their ravines from places of security into vast repositories of the dead. In the confidence of power, he appears to have disdained the customary prudential measures for discovering the enemy's plans, and detecting their machinations.

On the other hand, M. Contrecoeur, commandant of the French fort, resorted to every practicable expedient to ascertain, in detail, whatever he required to know respecting Braddock's army and its movements. He was convinced that the thought of contending with the British army, in a pitched battle, was preposterous. He was at a loss to decide in what manner he could most judiciously receive it. At this crisis, one of his captains, M. Beaujeu, volunteered, with a mixed party of French, Canadians, and Indians, to annoy the British forces while crossing the Monongahela, and to retard their progress towards the fort. Arriving too late to effect their purpose at the river, Beaujeu and his party betook themselves to the ravines, and lay in ambush behind trees, and in the long grass with which the ravines were skirted. They were, in all, but about eight hundred and fifty men, including six hundred Indians. They

thought not, for a moment, of being able to put to rout the British army. But, on this occasion, as on many others in the history of war, presumptuous confidence was suddenly converted into dismay; and inferior numbers were awarded the success of a triumph, alike unexpected and wonderful.

Amid the prevailing gloom of this melancholy scene, the mind finds a pleasing relief in contemplating the character and conduct of Washington. When all the other mounted officers of Braddock's army were, without exception, slain or disabled, the Virginian aid-de-camp, mysteriously protected with a view to the fulfilment of a high destiny, was preserved from death, and was not even wounded. His friend, Dr. Craik, who was a witness of this remarkable divine interposition, observed: "I expected every moment to see him fall. His duty and situation exposed him to every danger. Nothing but the superintending care of Providence could have saved him from the fate of all around him." He was suffering from the effect of his debilitating fever, and he was then on horseback for the first time after his partial recovery; but he displayed, as if acting under the control of a superhuman impulse, the most extraordinary presence of mind, accompanied with intrepidity, firmness, discretion, and sound judgment.

And his generous and kind sympathies also were in active exercise. He had been assisted by Captain Stewart of the

Virginia Guards, and by a servant, in bearing the wounded general from the field; but, on consigning him to the captain's special care, he had immediately returned to his post of duty and of danger. With spirit and skill he rallied the panic-stricken troops after their having crossed the Monongahela. It now devolved upon him to hasten to the rear detachment of the army, and order wagons for the wounded; and he accomplished this, to the relief of many a suffering officer and soldier.

The particular and important duties, which, in the ordering of events, were successively assigned to him, and which he faithfully performed, conspired to commend his character and conduct to universal admiration. The story spread of his being endowed with a charmed life; and his friends and countrymen spontaneously indulged in glowing anticipations of the future of his history. An eloquent preacher of the time, the Reverend SAMUEL DAVIES, afterwards President of Princeton College, in a sermon preached before one of the volunteer companies, commented upon the prevailing military spirit, and said: "As a remarkable instance of this, I may point out to the public that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country."\*

---

\* "Religion and Patriotism the Constituents of a Good Soldier;" a Sermon, preached August 17th, 1755.

## CHAPTER VI.

1755—1757.

### WASHINGTON, THE VIRGINIA COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Colonel Dunbar retreats, after General Braddock's defeat, and conducts his army to Philadelphia.—He refuses to protect the frontiers.—Invidious comparisons between Virginia troops and Braddock's veterans.—Dr. Franklin's remarks on British regulars.—The military spirit aroused in Virginia.—The House of Burgesses vote a liberal grant to Washington, and his surviving officers and men, on their return from the battle of the Monongahela.—They appoint him Commander-in-Chief of the Virginia troops.—Governor Dinwiddie commends him to the notice of the British government.—Incursions of the Indians.—A detachment of the militia repels them.—Defects of the militia system.—Army regulations.—Contest between royal and provincial officers.—Captain Dagworthy's claims.—Washington's visit to General Shirley.—Results of his visit.—Condition of the frontier.—Washington's Appeal in behalf of the borderers. His character traduced.—His vindication.—Letters addressed to him by the Speaker of the House of Burgesses : by Landon Carter ; and by Colonel Fairfax.—The army increased.—The Assembly's proposed line of forts.—Peyton Randolph's company of gentlemen.—Washington builds the proposed forts.—His address to Lord Loudoun.—Meeting of the Governors.—Colonel Stanwix, Commander-in-Chief of the Middle and Southern provinces.—Fort Cumberland committed to Maryland's keeping.—Washington's intercourse with Colonel Stanwix.—His illness.—Results accomplished by him.—His proposed capture of Fort Duquesne.

THE deplorable result of Braddock's formidable expedition, not only created a general and startling sensation throughout the colonies, but prompted new and powerful emotions of self-reliance.

And the subsequent conduct of Col. Dunbar, in abandoning the colonies, tended greatly to increase this state of feeling. In command of the rear detachment of Braddock's army, he was forty miles from the scene of action during the battle of the Monongahela. But the retreating troops of the advanced detachment fell back upon his party ; and, in the consternation of their flight, they spread the contagion of their panic.

To disappoint the French and Indians,

should they continue in pursuit, the artillery and all the stores that could not be removed, were now destroyed ; and the colonel hurried on his march. He was, at that time, in command of more than a thousand men. The important obligation devolved upon him, to protect the settlements. He received urgent communications from the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, requesting that detachments of his army might be posted on their frontiers, now in a state of great alarm. But, regardless of their appeals, and adopting no measures of resistance nor of defence in behalf of the colonies, he rapidly pursued his march to Philadelphia, to what he called his winter-quarters ; for the



purpose, it would appear, rather of receiving than of affording protection.

The complaints created by this proceeding were, of course, loud and general. In the irritation which it produced, the intrepidity of brave Virginia troops was invidiously contrasted with the cowardly conduct of professed veterans. In some terse remarks on the subject, Dr. Franklin says: "This whole transaction gave us Americans the first suspicion, that our exalted ideas of the prowess of British regular troops had not been well founded."\*

The news of Dunbar's conduct was received while the Virginia Assembly was in session. And it convinced the minds of members of the Assembly, that the time had come for a resort to vigorous measures of self-preservation.

Washington, still suffering from the effects of his fever, repaired to Mount Vernon for at least a temporary relief from toil, and for the recruiting of his energies. He felt, with the whole community, that an important crisis had arrived. The military spirit was abroad. The sound of martial music, and the signs of warlike preparations, were heard and seen at every step.

The House of Burgesses made a liberal appropriation for the public service. They voted to Colonel Washington, and to all the surviving officers and privates with him at the Monongahela, a liberal grant, in consideration of "their gallant behavior and their

losses." They increased the regiment to sixteen companies; and they appointed Colonel Washington to the chief command, with unusual evidences of their consideration.

His character and talents were appreciated more highly than ever. He was the favorite soldier and the military master-spirit of Virginia. The House of Burgesses authorized him to name his field-officers; they allowed him an aide-de-camp and secretary; and they entitled him, in his commission, "Commander-in-chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, in the colony of Virginia."

Governor Dinwiddie, in one of his official communications to the British government, spoke of the Virginia colonel as "a man of great merit and resolution;" and he added, "I am convinced, had Braddock survived, he would have recommended him to royal favor." But the universal sentiment of the people was far more efficacious in promoting his influence, and in forwarding his ultimate purposes, than all that could have been derived from royal favor. It is a memorable fact, that Washington, with all his acknowledged merits, was never favored with even one testimony of approbation from the King or the Ministry.

It was but a month after his return from the Monongahela, that he received his new commission. But he entered upon the duties of his office promptly and energetically. He visited all the outposts, even to Fort Dinwiddie, and

\* Dr. FRANKLIN'S Autobiography, near the close of chapter x. ; Works, vol. i. p. 192.

acquired a particular knowledge of his field of labor.

At this time, an incursion of the Indians on the western border of the province created great alarm. Their ravages were bloody and dreadful; and the fears which they created were not less desolating to many a happy home on the frontier. A detachment of the militia was sent against the invaders: a prompt and severe infliction taught them that their depredations and massacres would meet with speedy vengeance; and thus they were effectually restrained, for a time, from the repetition of atrocities.

The militia accomplished an important object. Their expedition was attended, however, with many and painful evidences of a want of military subordination and control. In the whole militia system, there were imperfections and difficulties, numerous and formidable, arising chiefly from the impotence of the existing army regulations.

As a measure of supreme importance, the revision and remodelling of these regulations now engaged the thoughts of Washington. He made it the constant theme of his communications to the governor, and the Assembly; he rallied round it the thoughts and feelings of many influential men; and he had, at last, the great satisfaction of seeing it regarded with the attention which it deserved, and of finding every desirable provision made for a proper military code.

But the troublous spirit of the old contest between royal and provincial

officers had not yet been laid. At Fort Cumberland, a royally commissioned officer, Captain Dagworthy, with a small company of Maryland militia, refused obedience to the Virginia provincial commander-in-chief, and, according to the king's order in the case of royal and provincial officers, he even claimed precedence in rank. The commander appealed to Governor Dinwiddie, but could not induce him to take decisive measures in the case; and the governor of Maryland actually sustained the claim of Dagworthy. To settle this annoying and embarrassing dispute, Washington, at the request of his officers, with the approval of Governor Dinwiddie, and with commendatory letters from him repaired to Boston, to General Shirley who then was commander-in-chief of the British troops in Feb. 4  
1756. America. It was now mid-winter; but, attended by Captain Mercer who was his Aid, and by Captain Stewart, he performed the journey of five hundred miles, on horseback.

General Shirley's decision on the subject was ready and positive. He issued an order, requiring Captain Dagworthy to yield obedience to the Virginia commander. Washington he received in the kindest manner; and he acquainted him with the details of his plan of the next season's campaign.

The journey to Boston, by way of Philadelphia, New York, and other principal cities, little as such results could have been anticipated, or could be desired by sticklers for the superiority

of royal commissions, essentially contributed to Washington's celebrity, influence, and knowledge of affairs. In less than two months' time, he was again engrossed with measures for repelling intrusions of the French, and for staying depredations and incursions of the savages, which had become frequent and very daring.

They had waylaid and massacred scouting parties. They had attacked forts. In a skirmish, they had routed a party of Americans, and had killed Captain Mercer. They had also slain other military officers; and they had robbed and murdered occupants of villages and plantations, but a few miles from large towns, and even within twenty miles of the commander-in-chief's headquarters at Winchester.

The whole frontier of Virginia, for the distance of more than three hundred and fifty miles, was exposed to the encroachments of the savages. And the sufferings of the settlers, throughout that range of border territory, were peculiarly afflictive at this crisis. Their once happy homes were now haunted by continual apprehensions of scenes of blood. While at the plough, or while gathering the fruits yielded by their orchards or gardens, they were liable to be surprised by the demoniac red-man, seen coming at a distance, or discovered lurking behind trunks of trees, or crouching in high grass and among underwood. The cheerful harvest song of the borderer might, at any moment, be interrupted and hushed by the In-

dian whoop or yell. And the engaging pictures of rural domestic life, afforded by the mother at her spinning-wheel or in her household duties, her children in their gleeful sports, and her infant in the cradle, might suddenly be transformed into tragic scenes of blood, which none but fiends in the human form could have the heart to create, or could look upon without remorse.

At the signal of Indians coming, the borderers would sometimes be able to flee, unharmed; but it was to surrender life's comforts, and, often, common necessities. They might resort for protection, as they frequently did, to stockade forts; but there, surrounded by their pursuers, they were generally reduced to extreme thirst and hunger, and, on attempting to escape for their lives, were hunted down and slain. And to these evils were added those of captivity and torture; for the fierce and blood-thirsty red-man of the woods seizes, ruthlessly and indiscriminately, men, women, children, and even tender babes; and, not content with slaughter, delights, at times, in protracted merciless cruelty, and exults at shrieks of anguish extorted from his victims.

The want of suitable legislative measures, providing for this state of things, was felt and lamented. Unfurnished with the necessary men and means for defence, the commander-in-chief appealed to Governor Dinwiddie in touching terms. In one of his appeals, he uses these glowing words: "Your Honor may see to what unhappy straits the



distressed inhabitants and myself are reduced. I am too little acquainted, sir, with pathetic language, to attempt a description of the people's distresses, though I have a generous soul, sensible of wrongs, and swelling for redress. But what can I do? I see their situation, know their danger, and participate their sufferings, without having it in my power to give them further relief, than uncertain promises. In short, I see inevitable destruction in so clear a light, that, unless vigorous measures are taken by the Assembly, and speedy assistance sent from below, the poor inhabitants that are now in forts must unavoidably fall, while the remainder are fleeing before the barbarous foe.

"In fine, the melancholy situation of the people, the little prospect of assistance, the gross and scandalous abuse cast upon the officers in general, which is reflecting upon me in particular, for suffering misconduct of such extraordinary kinds, and the distant prospect, if any, of gaining honor and reputation in the service, cause me to lament the hour that gave me a commission, and would induce me, at any other time than this of imminent danger, to resign, without one hesitating moment, a command from which I never expect to reap either honor or benefit; but, on the contrary, have almost an absolute certainty of incurring displeasure below, while the murder of helpless families may be laid to my account here!

"The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions of the men, melt

me into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease."<sup>\*</sup>

His heartfelt concern for the people's welfare could not find utterance in words more glowing. He was willing to surrender his life for their sake. Yet, at the very period, when thus, in the spirit of the Roman Decii, he was indulging intense emotions of self-sacrifice, his feelings were subjected to a severe torture. A plot was formed to effect his removal from his post. Numerous reports to the discredit of the army, the officers, and the commander, were industriously circulated through the columns of a newspaper.

The keen sensibilities of the commander were, of course, deeply wounded, especially as the authors of the libellous reports did not meet with prompt rebukes in his behalf. Indulging the noble independence of his mind, he thought of at once resigning his commission. This was the secret hope of his calumniators. But it was doomed to bitter disappointment. The faction which sought, by means of his retirement, and of their favor with their Scotch countryman, Governor Dinwiddie, to gain rank and emolument, was detected, and rewarded, to the full measure, with deserved obloquy; and Colonel Washington's gave free utter-

---

<sup>\*</sup> Letter to Governor DINWIDDIE, April 22d, 1756.

ance to such sentiments as the occasion demanded, and caused his merits to shine with increased lustre. The Speaker of the House of Burgesses said: "Our hopes are fixed on you, for bringing our affairs to a happy issue. Consider, of what fatal consequences to your country your resigning the command at this time may be; more especially, as there is no doubt that most of the officers would follow your example. I hope you will allow your ruling passion, the love of your country, to stifle your resentment, at least till the arrival of Lord Loudoun, or the meeting of the Assembly, when you may be sure of having justice done. Who those of your pretended friends are, who give credit to the malicious reflections in that scandalous libel, I assure you I am ignorant; and I do declare, that I never heard any man of honor or reputation speak the least disrespectful of you, or censure your conduct, and there is no well-wisher of his country that would not be greatly concerned to hear of your resigning."

An affectionate friend wrote to him: "You cannot but know, that nothing but want of power in your country has prevented it from adding every honor and reward that perfect merit could have entitled itself to. How are we grieved to hear Colonel George Washington hinting to his country, that he is willing to retire! Give me leave, as your most intimate friend, to persuade you to forget that any thing has been said to your dishonor; and recollect, that it could not have come from any

man that knew you. And as it may have been the artifice of one in no esteem among your countrymen, to raise in you such unjust suspicions as would induce you to desert the cause, that his own preferment might meet with no obstacle, I am confident you will endeavor to give us the good effects, not only of duty, but of great cheerfulness and satisfaction, in such a service. No, sir; rather let Braddock's bed be your aim, than any thing that might discolor those laurels which, I promise myself, are kept in store for you."\*

Colonel WILLIAM FAIRFAX, a member of the governor's council, thus eloquently appealed to him: "Your endeavors in the service and defence of your country must redound to your honor; therefore, do not let any unavoidable interruptions sicken your mind in the attempts you may pursue. Your good health and fortune are the toast of every table. Among the Romans, such a general acclamation and public regard, shown to any of their chieftains, were always esteemed a high honor, and gratefully accepted."†

These powerful appeals addressed to the noble and generous mind of Washington, could not fail of success. He continued in his office. And he was even cheered to pursue its duties with increased alacrity.

At this time, the Assembly resolved to increase the army to fifteen hundred men, and to establish

1756.

\* Letter from LANDON CARTER.

† Letter to Washington

a line of twenty-three forts, which, extending from the Potomac to North Carolina, would constitute a frontier defence for about three hundred miles. But this, in the opinion of the commander, was an inadequate provision for the existing exigency. He urged the House of Burgesses to increase the army to two thousand men. He pointed to the great extent of the frontier to be protected; he pointed to the forts which required to be garrisoned; and he pointed to the inhabitants of the border country retiring before the enemy, until they were about even to cross the Blue Ridge. The woods, said he, are "alive with French and Indians."

The powerful eloquence of his appeal was not without effect. There prevailed a general and intense feeling. The Burgesses requested the governor to summon half the militia of the adjoining counties, to co-operate in meeting the fearful emergency. And the attorney-general, Mr. PEYTON RANDOLPH, in the ardor of his military zeal on the occasion, formed a company of a hundred gentlemen, to act as volunteers in the approaching campaign. His conduct was an expressive indication of the spirit of the times. But the measure which he adopted was, evidently, far more creditable to his heart than to his head. Judge Marshall, alluding to the incident, very judiciously observes, "Ten well-trained woodsmen, or Indians, would have rendered more service."

The House of Burgesses' scheme to establish a line of forts from the Poto-

mac to North Carolina, was disapproved of by the governor. Washington, also, for reasons which he assigned, preferred a few strong to many feeble garrisons; yet, in obedience to the Assembly's will, he planned and constructed the proposed military works. In doing this, however, he encountered many and perplexing annoyances, arising chiefly from Governor Dinwiddie's exercise of his prerogative in military matters, and from the governor of Maryland's deranging the Virginia Assembly's plans.

To provide effectually for relief from all existing evils, Washington sent a full narrative of the state of things to the EARL OF LOUDOUN, who had succeeded General Shirley, as commander-in-chief, and was then at New York. It was the first intention of Lord Loudoun to go to Virginia. This intention, however, he did not fulfil. But he held, at Philadelphia, a meeting of the governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, and Virginia. Washington, who was present at the meeting, was favorably regarded by the governors in their consultations.

It was his wish, that the Virginia troops should be put upon the regular establishment, and that he and his officers should hold royal commissions. In this wish, however, he was disappointed; yet, by an arrangement agreeable to him, he and all the provincial officers not comprehended in the northern army, were to conduct their operations under the general orders of Colonel STANWIX, an accomplished British offi



cer, stationed in the interior of Pennsylvania, and appointed commander-in-chief of the middle and southern provinces.

The thoughts of the governors were directed, particularly, towards Canada and the northern lakes, and they resolved to take no offensive measures in the south. Fort Cumberland, being situated in Maryland, they agreed to commit to that province's keeping. The defence of Virginia against savages was to be provided for by Colonel Stanwix.

It was a welcome communication which Washington received from Governor Dinwiddie, instructing him to look to the British colonel for orders. "Colonel Stanwix," said the governor, "being appointed commander-in-chief, you must submit to his orders, without regard to any you may receive from me; he, being near the place, can direct affairs better than I can."

The intercourse of Washington with this accomplished military officer, was always of the most agreeable nature. Colonel Stanwix was a gentleman of education and refinement. He was promoted, in the year 1758, to the rank of brigadier-general; and, being sent to an important post at the head of boat navigation on the Mohawk, he built a fort there, called, in honor of his name, Fort Stanwix. This military work, afterwards called Fort Schuyler, was greatly celebrated during the Revolutionary war.

The laborious and unintermitted de-

votion to his duties, proved, at the close of the year 1757, so injurious to the health of Washington, that he yielded to the entreaties of his physician, withdrew from the army, and retired to Mount Vernon. But it was not his fortune to enjoy, even there, a refreshing repose that might renovate his strength. Prostrated by a lingering and debilitating fever, he was disqualified for duty, and he was unable to return to the army until after the lapse of four months.

It was a source of pleasing reflection to him, however, as he lay on his bed of sickness, or enjoyed the calm delights of his retreat at Mount Vernon, that his efforts in his country's cause had not been altogether ineffectual. He had traversed the whole frontier, and become familiarly acquainted with its condition and its wants; he had succeeded in awakening a general and deep feeling in behalf of the suffering borderers; he had vindicated himself from the unfavorable insinuations of secret enemies; he had induced the Assembly to erect, at Winchester, a large fort, called Fort Loudoun, in honor of the British commander-in-chief; and he had promptly and vigorously constructed the military works proposed by the Burgesses, visiting these works in person, and, amid many perils in the wilderness, bringing his labors, in great part, to a successful issue. He had also, by his earnest recommendation, directed the public mind to the importance of capturing Fort Duquesne, and to the ne-

cessity of speedy measures for this purpose.

In his retirement, his mind dwelt continually upon the interesting subjects associated with the defences of the frontier, and especially upon the capture of Fort Duquesne, as a grand climacteric. In the progress of events, during the

next year, it was his good fortune and great joy to see that stronghold of his country's cruel enemies reduced, and to take an active and prominent part in measures which restored peace and prosperity to those regions, where a savage and merciless warfare had so long been spreading desolation.

## CHAPTER VII.

1758.

### CAMPAIGN OF 1758.—WASHINGTON'S MARRIAGE.

Fort Duquesne.—Washington's views respecting it.—William Pitt prime minister.—Plan of the Campaign of 1758.—Expedition to Louisburg.—Chevalier Druour in command there.—The landing of General Wolfe.—Siege commenced.—Ships in harbor destroyed.—Harbor taken.—Surrender of the place, and of Cape Breton.—General Amherst.—Abercrombie's Expedition against Crown Point and Ticonderoga.—Passage of Lake George.—Battle in the woods.—Death of Lord Howe.—Montcalm.—Assault on Ticonderoga repulsed.—Retreat of Abercrombie.—Colonel Bradstreet captures Fort Frontenac.—Washington at Fort Loudoun.—General Forbes.—Washington still commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces.—His journey to Williamsburg.—Desertion of the Indian auxiliaries.—Washington in command at Winchester.—Meets Colonel Bouquet and Sir John St. Clair in conference.—Advances to Fort Cumberland.—Opens road to Raystown.—His opinion on advancing large detachments.—Adopts the Indian dress for the soldiers.—New route proposed.—Washington disapproves.—Correspondence with Colonel Bouquet on the subject.—Division of the main army proposed.—Washington's letter to Colonel Bouquet on the new route and the division of forces.—New route adopted.—Washington's sentiments on that decision.—Waste of time.—General Forbes at Raystown.—Virginia House of Burgesses dissatisfied.—Defeat of Major Grant's detachment.—Conduct of the Virginia officers and men.—Washington complimented.—Captain Bullitt promoted.—Advance from Raystown.—Washington's plan of march.—Washington in advance.—The army reaches Loyal Hanna.—Bad road.—Council of War decides to abandon the Campaign.—Information from prisoners.—Campaign resumed.—Advance to Fort Duquesne.—Occupied by General Forbes, and name changed to Fort Pitt.—Garrisoned by Washington's men.—Washington returns to Winchester.—Takes his seat as a member of the House of Burgesses.—Resigns his commission.—His popularity with the officers.—His marriage.

WASHINGTON had become fully aware of a truth which is now an admitted maxim in Indian warfare, that to put an end to their aggressions it is necessary to carry the war into the enemy's country. Hence his extreme anxiety for the capture of Fort Duquesne, which, in a letter to Colonel Stanwix, he calls, "the source of all our ills."

It is difficult for us, at this distance

of time, to realize the importance attached, in 1757, to the reduction of that fortress. In a letter to John Robinson, Speaker of the House of Burgesses (Oct. 25, 1757), Washington evidently considers it essential to the preservation of western Virginia.

"If we pursue," he says, "a defensive plan, there will not, by the autumn, be one soul living on th's side of the Blue

Ridge, except the soldiers in garrison, and such of the inhabitants as may seek shelter therein. This, sir, I know to be the immovable determination of the people; and, believe me, I have been at great pains, before I could prevail on them to wait the consultations of this winter, and the events of the spring.

"I do not know on whom these miserable, undone people are to rely for protection. If the Assembly are to give it to them, it is time that measures were, at least, concerting, and not when they ought to be going into execution, as has always been the case. If they are to seek it from the commander-in-chief, it is time their condition was made known to him; for I cannot forbear repeating again, that while we pursue defensive measures we pursue inevitable ruin, the loss of our country being the inevitable and fatal consequence. There will be no end to our troubles while we follow this plan, and every year will increase our expense. This, my dear sir, I urge, not only as an officer, but as a friend who has property in the country and is unwilling to lose it. This it is, also, that makes me anxious for doing more than barely to represent these matters, which is all that is expected of an officer commanding"\*

The campaign of 1758 was destined to terminate Washington's anxieties on this head. In April of this year, he

was in command at Fort Loudoun, with improved health. His old enemy, the wrong-headed and pragmatical Governor Dinwiddie, had yielded his place to Mr. Francis Fauquier, until whose arrival from England, an old friend of Washington, Mr. John Blair, president of council, was acting governor.

A change, not less auspicious, had taken place in the administration of affairs in the mother country. The activity of the French and the supineness of the English in the recent campaigns in America, seemed to threaten the loss of the colonies. The British nation had become alarmed and indignant, and the king had found it necessary to change his councils. At the head of the new ministry, he placed the celebrated William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, pre-eminently a man of action, who from the humble post of ensign in the Guards, had raised himself to his present elevated position. Under his administration, public confidence, not only in England, but in the colonies, at once revived, and all were inspired with new life and vigor. He was equally popular in both hemispheres; and so promptly did the governors of the northern colonies obey the requisitions of his circular letter of 1757, that by May, in the following year, Massachusetts had seven thousand, Connecticut five thousand, and New Hampshire three thousand troops prepared to take the field.† The au

\* SPARKS' *Writings of Washington*, vol. ii.

† The arrangements made by Pitt with reference to the relative rank of royal and provincial troops, and the



thorities of the mother country were not less active. While British fleets were blockading or capturing the French armaments intended for America, Admiral Boscawen was dispatched to Halifax with a formidable squadron of ships and an army of twelve thousand men. The imbecile and dilatory Lord Loudoun was recalled, and General Abercrombie placed in the chief command, who, early in the spring, was ready to enter upon the campaign with an army of fifty thousand men, the largest ever embodied in America.

Three points of attack were marked out for this campaign: the first Louisburg; the second Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and the third Fort Duquesne. In the last of these expeditions, Washington, to his great joy, was destined to take a part; but, as its success was entirely dependent, in the sequel, on the operations of the other two, it becomes necessary first to notice them somewhat in detail.

The expedition against Louisburg was conducted by General Amherst,

assisted by the remarkable military skill and daring enterprise of General Wolfe, destined, in the next campaign, to become the conqueror of Quebec. Richard Montgomery, whose immortality was afterwards won, under other auspices, before the same city, also served in this expedition as a subaltern, and gained promotion from Wolfe for his gallantry.

On the 28th of May, the expedition sailed from Halifax, the fleet under command of Admiral Boscawen being composed of twenty ships-of-the-line and eighteen frigates, and the army, under General Amherst, of fourteen thousand men. They arrived in Cabarus Bay on the 2d of June. The garrison of Louisburg, commanded by the Chevalier Drucour, an officer of courage and experience, was composed of two thousand five hundred regulars, aided by six hundred militia and Indians. The harbor being secured by five ships-of-the-line, one fifty-gun ship, and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the mouth of the basin, it was found necessary to land at some distance from the town. Prevented from landing, by a heavy surf, until the 8th, the brave Wolfe then led the army in three divisions of boats to nearly the same place where the small army of New England men, under the command of the able and courageous Lieutenant-general William Pepperrell, had landed to besiege and capture Louisburg in 1745.\*

relative expenses of the crown and the colonies, were not less satisfactory than his prompt and energetic measures for carrying on the campaign.

"He stipulated that the colonial troops raised for this purpose, should be supplied with arms, ammunition, tents, and provisions, in the same manner as the regular troops, and at the king's expense; so that the only charge to the colonies would be that of levying, clothing, and paying the men. The governors were, also, authorized to issue commissions to provincial officers, from colonels downwards, and these officers were to hold rank in the united army according to their commissions. Had this liberal and just system been adopted at the outset, it would have put a very different face upon the military affairs of the colonies."—*Sparks' Writings of Washington*, vol. ii p. 289, note.

\* See Document [A] at the end of this chapter.

The enemy were arrayed along the shore, and after making some resistance to the impetuous onset of Wolfe, fled to the city. The British lost, in killed or drowned, forty-three regulars and six provincials, and the French lost two lieutenants killed, and seventy prisoners. Two large guns and thirty-two small ones, planted along the shore, were taken, with their ammunition. The French destroyed the fortress to which they had given the name of Royal Battery, and called in their outposts. The artillery and stores were now brought on shore; and General Wolfe, with eighteen hundred men, marched around Green Hill and the northeast harbor to the lighthouse, which the enemy deserted, destroying their cannon. Several strong batteries were forthwith added to those erected by the enemy on this spot, which commanded the eastern side of the harbor. Approaches were also made on the opposite side of the town, and the siege was steadily though cautiously continued. A French frigate, attempting to escape from the harbor, was captured. A heavy cannonade being kept up against the town and the vessels in the harbor, a bomb set on fire and blew up one of the largest ships, and the flames were communicated to two others, which shared the same fate. The batteries erected at the lighthouse, meantime, had silenced the battery of the enemy, situated on one of the islands at the entrance of the harbor.

July 21,  
1758.

On July 25th, the admiral sent in six hundred men in the night, to destroy the two remaining ships-of-the-line, who burnt the *Prudent*, a seventy-four, and towed off the *Bienfaisant*, a sixty-four, to the northeast harbor. This gallant exploit putting the English in complete possession of the harbor, and several breaches having been made practicable in the works, the brave Drucour, finding the place no longer tenable, proposed terms of capitulation. The English commanders, who were on the point of sending six ships into the harbor to aid in an assault, required that the garrison should surrender as prisoners of war. Drucour at first rejected these humiliating terms, and determined to hold out to the last; but, overcome by the importunities of the suffering inhabitants of the town, he at length acceded to the conditions prescribed; and Louisburg, with all its artillery, provisions, and military stores, together with Island Royal, St. Johns, and their dependencies, were placed in the hands of the English, who at once took possession of the island of Cape Breton. They found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon and eighteen mortars, with a very large quantity of stores and ammunition in the fortress. The inhabitants of Cape Breton were sent to France in English ships, but the garrison, sea-officers, sailors, and marines, amounting collectively to three thousand two hundred ninety-one men, were carried prisoners to England. The news of the brilliant success of the

expedition was received with great rejoicing throughout the colonies, and the event was triumphantly celebrated in London.

Soon after the surrender of Louisburg, General Wolfe returned to England, while General Amherst\* sailed with part of his army to Boston, and from thence marched to Fort William Henry, to take part in the second expedition of the campaign, the leading incidents of which we now proceed to notice.

The force destined for the expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, consisted of sixteen thousand men, attended by a powerful train of artillery, and led by the commander-in-chief, General Abercrombie. Subordinate to him, in command of five thousand of these men, was George Howe, lord viscount, the most popular of all the British officers who ever served in the colonies. Abercrombie was as remarkable for timidity and imbecility as Howe was for courage and enterprise.

On the 5th of July, Abercrombie embarked his troops on Lake George, on board of one hundred and twenty-five whale-boats, and nine hundred batteaux with rafts for the artillery, and, passing down the lake, landed on the west side, near its outlet. The troops were formed into four columns, the British in the centre, and the provincials on the flanks. In this order they marched towards the advanced guard

of the French, which, consisting of one battalion only, posted in a log breast-work, set fire to their camp, and made a precipitate retreat.

While Abercrombie was urging forward his march through the woods towards Ticonderoga, the columns were thrown into confusion, and in some degree entangled with each other. At this juncture, Lord Howe, at the head of the right centre column, fell in with a part of the advanced guard of the enemy, who had lost their way in the woods in retreating from Lake George, and immediately attacked and dispersed it, killing three hundred of the enemy, and taking one hundred and forty-eight prisoners. This success, however, was dearly purchased by the death of Lord Howe† himself, who fell at the first fire.

Abercrombie ordered the troops to fall back to the landing-place on Lake George, and bivouac for the night. The master-spirit of the enterprise was no more; and the incapable Abercrombie was left to encounter the able and indefatigable Montcalm. This officer, who was in command at Ticonderoga, had caused trees to be felled in front of

\* See Document [B] at end of chapter.

† George Howe, Lord Viscount, was the eldest son of Sir E. Scrope, second lord viscount in Ireland. He commanded five thousand British troops, which arrived at Halifax in July, 1757. The next year, when Abercrombie marched against Ticonderoga, in an attack on the advanced guard of the French posted in the woods, Lord Howe fell at the first fire, in July, 1758, aged 33. "In him," says Manto, "the soul of the army seemed to expire." By his military talents and many virtues, he had acquired esteem and affection. Massachusetts erected a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey, at an expense of two hundred and fifty pounds.—*Blake's Universal Biographical Dictionary*.



the breastwork of the fortress at some distance, having some of their branches sharpened to a point, so as to retard assailants and entangle them in the branches.

The engineer sent forward by Abercrombie, the next morning, to reconnoitre the works, seems not to have noticed the character of this *abatis*, as, on his return, he reported that the works were unfinished and might easily be taken. Abercrombie, posted at some saw-mills two miles from the fort, with-

out waiting for his artillery,  
**July 8,** ordered an immediate assault.  
**1758.**

The contest lasted four hours. The soldiers fought bravely, but were cut down by the merciless fire of the French, securely posted behind their works, and the result was a defeat with the loss of two thousand men and twenty-five hundred stand of arms. Abercrombie ordered a retreat to his former camp on the south side of Lake George, whence he immediately recrossed the lake, and entirely abandoned the project of capturing Ticonderoga.\*

The only success accomplished by this portion of the army during the campaign, is due to the enterprise of one of the heroes of Louisburg.

Colonel John Bradstreet, who had served as captain in Lieutenant-general Pepperrell's regiment at Louisbourg in 1745, and his intimate friend and

protegé, was in this disastrous engagement against Ticonderoga with Abercrombie, and immediately afterwards earnestly solicited permission to march against Fort Frontenac, near the head of Lake Ontario, with a force of three thousand men, chiefly of provincial militia,† carrying eight pieces of cannon and two mortars. The troops embarked at Oswego on the evening of the 25th of August, and landed within a mile of Fort Frontenac, which, after a spirited assault of two days, surrendered at discretion. The Indians having previously deserted, left but one hundred and ten prisoners of war. But the captors found in the fort sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, a large number of small arms, a vast quantity of provisions, military stores, and merchandise, and nine armed vessels. Having destroyed the fort, vessels, and stores, Colonel Bradstreet returned to the main army. For this noble achievement,‡ he was subsequently

† The proportions, as given by Dr. Parsons in his "Life of Sir William Pepperrell," are as follows :

Regulars .....	135
New York Provincial Militia.....	1,112
New Jersey " " .....	412
Boston " " .....	675
Rhode Island " " .....	318
Batteau men.....	300
	<hr/> 2,952

‡ John Bradstreet was born in England. He was lieutenant-governor of St. Johns, Newfoundland, in 1746. He was afterwards renowned for his military services. In the year 1756, it being deemed of the highest importance to keep open the communication with Fort Oswego, on Lake Ontario, General Shirley enlisted forty companies of boatmen, and placed them under the command of Bradstreet, to effect this object. In the spring of this

\* This defeat induced Pitt to order Abercrombie home, and to give the command to Amherst, who had returned from Louisburg. Amherst marched back, and commanded the army on Lake Champlain to the end of the war.—*Parsons' Life of Sir William Pepperrell.*

promoted to the rank of brigadier-general in the royal army, to the great joy and satisfaction of his old commander and patron, Sir William Pepperrell.\*

The fall of Frontenac cut off the supplies intended for Fort Duquesne, and hastened its reduction.

We now proceed to notice the operations of the third expedition of the campaign of 1758, that, namely, which was intended for the reduction of Fort Duquesne, in which Washington took a very active part. We left him at Fort Loudoun, writing to the Speaker of the House of Burgesses, on the importance of carrying the war into the enemy's country. His wishes in this respect were now to be gratified, and that on an extensive scale; and yet, perhaps, there is not a period in the whole career of Washington, during which his

year, a well-stockaded post of twenty-five men had been cut off. The enemy having possession of the passage through the Onondaga River, rendered it necessary to transport the requisite boats across the country. On his return from Oswego in July, 1756, Colonel Bradstreet, who was apprehensive of being surprised, ordered the several divisions to keep as close together as possible. He was at the head of about three hundred boatmen in the first division, when, at the distance of nine miles from the fort, the enemy issued from an ambuscade and attacked him. He instantly landed upon a small island, and, with only six men, maintained his position until he was reinforced. A general engagement ensued, in which Bradstreet gallantly attacked a more numerous enemy, and entirely routed them, killing and wounding about two hundred men. His own loss was about thirty. In the year 1758, he planned an expedition against Fort Frontenac, and being intrusted with the command of three thousand men, he invested the fort and compelled the garrison to surrender on the 27th of August. In 1764, he compelled the Delawares, Shawnees, and other Indians, to conclude treaties of peace. He was appointed general in 1772, and died in 1774.

\* Parsons' Life of Sir William Pepperrell.

patience and patriotism were more severely tried than during the progress of this expedition. The army destined to operate against Fort Duquesne was placed under the command of General Forbes, and the force at his disposal was more than sufficient for the purpose, but the measures adopted by him were as badly conceived as if they had been expressly intended to defeat the expedition.†

The Virginia Assembly promptly complied with the requisition of the minister, furnishing two regiments, amounting to eighteen hundred men as their contingent. One of these was commanded by Colonel Washington, who still retained his rank as commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces. The other was under the command of Colonel Byrd. Washington warmly recommended an early campaign; for this among other reasons: seven hundred Indians had in April assembled at Winchester, whose patience would be exhausted, unless they were promptly employed, and in the event of their desertion, he observes, "No words can tell how much they will be missed." He

† "The troops actually employed under General Forbes, were twelve hundred Highlanders, three hundred and fifty *Royal Americans*, about twenty-seven hundred provincials from Pennsylvania, sixteen hundred from Virginia, two or three hundred from Maryland, who had been stationed in garrison at Fort Frederic, under Colonel Dagworthy, and also two companies from North Carolina, making in all, including the wagoners, between six and seven thousand men. This army was more than five months penetrating to the Ohio, where it was found, at last, that they had to oppose only five hundred of the enemy.'"—*Spec's Writings of Washington*, vol. ii. p. 289, note.



was at length ordered to collect the Virginia troops at Winchester, and hold them in readiness for active service. At this late moment, when the duties of the field demanded all his attention, he was under the necessity of making a journey to Williamsburg, the seat of government, in order to obtain a supply of arms, clothing, and money for his regiment, and to secure for his own veteran soldiers the same pay which the Assembly, in their recent session, had voted for the new regiment raised for the present campaign. While he was training the newly-enlisted soldiers, and preparing supplies and the means of transportation, the soldiers were becoming impatient, and the Indians, as he had anticipated, grew discontented; and nearly all of them returned to their homes.

While Washington was thus occupied at Winchester, General Forbes was detained by illness at Philadelphia; and Colonel Bouquet was in command at Raystown, thirty miles from Fort Cumberland. The intermediate place between this point and Washington's quarters at Winchester, was designated for conferences between him, Colonel Bouquet, and the Quartermaster-general, Sir John St. Clair, in order to determine a uniform plan of action, and make the necessary arrangements.

At length Washington received the long-desired order to advance with the Virginia regiments from Winchester to Fort Cumberland, where he arrived

early in July.\* Through the month, the troops were employed in opening a new road from Fort Cumberland to Raystown, and repairing the old one leading towards the Great Meadows. As they were greatly annoyed in this service by flying parties of the enemy, it was proposed to send a considerable detachment over the mountains to restrain the French and Indians from this annoyance; but Colonel Washington strongly objected to this measure, because the detachment would be exposed to the whole force of the enemy on the Ohio, and must be defeated. The plan was, in consequence, given up, and by his advice frequent scouts were substituted.

Washington's excellent judgment in

\* The following extract from a letter of Robert Munford to Colonel Bland, dated Fort Cumberland, July 6th, 1758, gives us a glimpse of camp life, and of the estimation in which Washington was held, at that time, by the officers serving under his command:

"After being delayed at Winchester five or six weeks longer than expected (in which time, I was ordered express to Williamsburg, and allowed but a day after my return to prepare), we pushed off into the wide ocean. I was permitted to walk every step of the way to this humble fort, to eat little, and lay hard, over mountain, through mud and water, yet as merry and hearty as ever. Our flankers and sentries pretend they saw the enemy daily, but they never approached us. A detachment is this moment ordered off to clear a road thirty miles, and our companies to cover the working party. We are in fine scalping-ground, I assure you; the guns pop about us, and you may see the fellows prick up their ears, like deer, every moment. Our colonel (Washington) is an example of fortitude in either danger or hardships, and by his easy, polite behavior, has gained not only the regard but affection of both officers and soldiers. He has kindly invited me to his table for the campaign, offered me any sum of money I may have occasion for, without charging either principal or interest, and signified his approbation of my conduct hitherto in such a manner as is to me of advantage."—*Bland Papers*, p. 9



this matter was fully illustrated by the subsequent disaster which befel the detachment of Colonel Grant.

While Colonel Washington was posted at Fort Cumberland, he adopted a style of dress for the soldiers, which is supposed by Mr. Irving to have given rise to the dress worn by American riflemen in the subsequent wars. It was the Indian dress. In a letter to Colonel Bouquet, dated July 3, 1758, he thus alludes to it:

"My men are very bare of regimental clothing, and I have no prospect of a supply. So far from regretting this want during the present campaign, if I were left to pursue my own inclinations, I would not only order the men to adopt the Indian dress, but cause the officers to do it also, and be the first to set the example myself. Nothing but the uncertainty of obtaining the general approbation causes me to hesitate a moment to leave my regimentals at this place, and proceed as light as any Indian in the woods. It is an unbecoming dress, I own, for any officer, but convenience, rather than show, I think, should be consulted. The reduction of bat-horses alone would be sufficient to recommend it; for nothing is more certain than that less baggage would be required, and the public benefited in proportion."

From a letter addressed by him to Colonel Bouquet, dated July 9th, we learn that his plan was adopted, and found to answer an excellent purpose. In this letter he thus expresses himself:

"It gives me great pleasure to find that you approve the dress I have put my men into. It is evident that soldiers in that trim are better able to carry their provisions, are fitter for the active service we must engage in, less liable to sink under the fatigues of a march, and we thus get rid of much baggage which would lengthen our line of march. These, and not whim or caprice, were my reasons for ordering this dress."

A practicable military road having been opened for the passage of General Braddock's army to Fort Duquesne, Colonel Washington had taken it for granted that this would be the route taken by General Forbes' army in the present campaign. We may imagine, therefore, his surprise and mortification, when late in July, he received a letter from Colonel Bouquet, asking an interview with him, in order to consult on opening a new road from Raystown, and requesting his opinion on that route.

"I shall," says he, in answer to this letter, "most cheerfully work on any road, pursue any route, or enter upon any service, that the general or yourself may think me usefully employed in, or qualified for; and shall never have a will of my own when a duty is required of me. But since you desire me to speak my sentiments freely, permit me to observe, that, after having conversed with all the guides, and having been informed by others acquainted with the country, I am convinced that a road, to be compared with General Braddock's, or indeed that will be fit for transporta-

tion even by pack-horses, cannot be made. I own I have no predilection for the route you have in contemplation for me."

In the interview with Colonel Bouquet, which took place a few days after his writing this letter, Colonel Washington found that officer strongly in favor of opening the new route. After their separation, he, with the permission of Colonel Bouquet, addressed to him a letter which was to be laid before General Forbes, setting forth his reasons against making a new road. He was apprehensive that the loss of time occasioned by attempting it would be so great, that they would be able to do nothing more than fortify some post on the other side of the Alleghany, and prepare for another campaign. He was equally opposed to another scheme which had been proposed, of dividing the army, and marching by two different routes.

In the following letter to Colonel Bouquet, Colonel Washington produces unanswerable arguments in support of his own views on both these questions:

"CAMP AT FORT CUMBERLAND,

*"August 2, 1758.*

"SIR:—The matters of which we spoke relative to the roads, have, since our parting, been the subject of my closest reflection; and, so far am I from altering my opinion, that the more time and attention I bestow, the more I am confirmed in it; and the reasons for taking Braddock's road appear in a stronger point of view. To enumerate the whole

of these reasons would be tedious, and to you, who are so much master of the subject, unnecessary. I shall, therefore, briefly mention a few only, which I think so obvious in themselves, that they must effectually remove objections.

"Several years ago, the Virginians and Pennsylvanians, commenced a trade with the Indians settled on the Ohio, and, to obviate the many inconveniences of a bad road, they, after reiterated and ineffectual efforts to discover where a good one might be made, employed for the purpose several of the most intelligent Indians, who, in the course of many years hunting, had acquired a perfect knowledge of these mountains. The Indians, having taken the greatest pains to gain the rewards offered for this discovery, declared that the path leading from Wills Creek was infinitely preferable to any that could be made at any other place. Time and experience so clearly demonstrated this truth, that the Pennsylvania traders commonly carried out their goods by Wills Creek. Therefore the Ohio Company, in 1753, at a considerable expense, opened the road. In 1754, the troops whom I had the honor to command, greatly repaired it as far as Gist's plantation; and in 1755, it was widened and completed by General Braddock to within six miles of Fort Duquesne. A road that has so long been opened, and so well and so often repaired, must be firmer and better than a new one, allowing the ground to be equally good.

"But, supposing it were practicable

to make a road from Raystown quite as good as General Braddock's, I ask, have we time to do it? Certainly not. To surmount the difficulties to be encountered in making it over such mountains, covered with woods and rocks, would require so much time as to blast our otherwise well-grounded hopes of striking the important stroke this season.

"The favorable accounts that some give of the forage on the Raystown road, as being so much better than that on the other, are certainly exaggerated. It is well known, that, on both routes, the rich valleys between the mountains abound with good forage, and that those which are stony and bushy are destitute of it. Colonel Byrd, and the engineer who accompanied him, confirm this fact. Surely the meadows on Braddock's road would greatly overbalance the advantage of having grass to the foot of the ridge, on the Raystown road; and all agree that a more barren road is nowhere to be found than that from Raystown to the inhabitants, which is likewise to be considered.

"Another principal objection made to General Braddock's road, is in regard to the waters. But these seldom swell so much as to obstruct the passage. The Youghiogheny River, which is the most rapid and soonest filled, I have crossed with a body of troops after more than thirty days' almost continual rain. In fine, any difficulties on this score are so trivial, that they really are not worth mentioning. The Monongahela, the largest of all these rivers, may,

if necessary, easily be avoided, as Mr. Frazer, the principal guide informs me, by passing a defile; and even that, he says, may be shunned.

"Again, it is said, there are many defiles on this road. I grant that there are some, but I know of none that may not be traversed; and I should be glad to be informed where a road can be had, over these mountains, not subject to the same inconvenience. The shortness of the distance between Raystown and Loyal Hanna is used as an argument against this road, which bears in it something unaccountable to me; for I must beg leave to ask, whether it requires more time, or is more difficult and expensive, to go one hundred and forty-five miles in a good road already made to our hands, than to cut one hundred miles anew, and a great part of the way over impassable mountains.

"That the old road is many miles nearer Winchester, in Virginia, and Fort Frederick, in Maryland, than the contemplated one, is incontestable; and I will here show the distances from Carlisle by the two routes, fixing the different stages, some of which I have from information only, but others I believe to be exact.\* From this computation there

* From Carlisle to Fort Duquesne, by way of Raystown.	
	Miles.
From Carlisle to Shippensburg.....	21
" Shippensburg to Fort Loudoun.....	24
" Fort Loudoun to Fort Littleton.....	20
" Fort Littleton to Juniata Crossing.....	14
" Juniata Crossing to Raystown.....	14
	93
" Raystown to Fort Duquesne.....	100
	193



appears to be a difference of nineteen miles only. Were all the supplies necessarily to come from Carlisle, it is well known that the goodness of the old road is a sufficient compensation for the shortness of the other, as the wrecked and broken wagons there clearly demonstrate.

"I shall next give you my reasons against dividing the army in the manner you propose.

"First, then, by dividing our army, we shall divide our strength, and, by pursuing quite distinct routes, put it entirely out of the power of each division to succor the other, as the proposed new road has no communication with the old one.

"Secondly, to march in this manner will be attended with many inconveniences. If we depart from our advanced posts at the same time, and make no deposits by the way, those troops that go from Raystown, as they will be light, with carrying-horses only, will arrive at Fort Duquesne long before the others, and must, if the enemy are strong there, be exposed to many insults in their advance and in their intrenchments, from the cannon of the enemy, which they

may draw out upon them at pleasure. If they are not strong enough to do this, we have but little to apprehend from them, in whatever way we may go

"Thirdly, if that division which escorts the convoy is permitted to march first, we risk our all in a manner, and shall be ruined if any accident happens to the artillery and the stores.

"Lastly, if we advance on both roads by deposits, we must double our number of troops over the mountains, and distress ourselves by victualling them at these deposits, besides losing the proposed advantage, that of stealing a march. For we cannot suppose that the French, who have their scouts constantly out, can be so deficient in point of intelligence, as to be unacquainted with our motions, while we are advancing by slow degrees towards them.

"From what has been said relative to the two roads, it appears to me very clear that the old one is infinitely better than the other can be made, and that there is no room to hesitate in deciding which to take, when we consider the advanced season, and the little time left to execute our plan.

"I shall, therefore, in the last place, offer, as desired, my sentiments on advancing by deposits. The first deposit I should have proposed to be at the Little Meadows, had time permitted; but, as the case now stands, I think it should be at the Great Crossing, or the Great Meadows. The Great Crossing I esteem the most advantageous post on several accounts, especially on those

From Carlisle to Fort Duquesne, by way of Forts Frederick and Cumberland :		Miles.
" Carlisle to Shippensburg.....	21	
" Shippensburg to Chambers's.....	12	
" Chambers's to Pacelin's.....	12	
" Pacelin's to Fort Frederick.....	12	
" Fort Frederick to Fort Cumberland.....	40	
	97	
" Fort Cumberland to Fort Duquesne.....	115	
	212	

of water and security of passage ; but then it does not abound with forage, as the Meadows do, nor with so much level land fit for culture. To this latter place a body of fifteen hundred men may march with three hundred wagons (or with carrying-horses, which would be much better), allowing each wagon to carry eight hundred weight of flour and four hundred of salt meat.

"Our next deposit will probably be at Salt Lick, about thirty-five miles from the Meadows. To this place I think it necessary to send two thousand five hundred men to construct some post, taking six days' provisions only, which is sufficient to serve them till the convoy comes up, by which time an intrenched camp, or some other defensive work, may be effected. From hence I conceive it highly expedient to detach three or four thousand of the best troops to invest the fort, and to prevent, if possible, an engagement in the woods, which of all things ought to be avoided. The artillery and stores may be brought up in four days from Salt Lick. From that time I will allow eighteen days more, for the carrying-horses to make a trip to Raystown for provisions, passing along the old path by Loyal Hanna. They may do it in this time, as the horses will go down light.

"From this statement, and by my calculations, in which large allowance is made for the quantity of provisions, as well as for the time of transporting them, it appears that, from the day on

which the front division begins its march till the whole army arrives before Fort Duquesne, will be thirty-four days. There will be, also, eighty-seven days' provision on hand, allowing for the consumption on the march. Eighteen days added to the above will make fifty-two in all, the number required for our operations. These ought to be finished, if possible, by the middle of October."\*

In a letter addressed to Major Halket, aid of General Forbes, Colonel Washington expressed himself as follows in relation to the new route :

"I am just returned from a conference held with Colonel Bouquet. I find him fixed,—I think I may say, unalterably fixed,—to lead you a new way to the Ohio, through a road every inch of which is to be cut at this advanced season, when we have scarcely time left to tread the beaten track, universally confessed to be the best passage through the mountains.

"If Colonel Bouquet succeeds in this point with the general, all is lost ! all is lost, indeed ! our enterprise is ruined ! and we shall be stopped at the Laurel Hill this winter ; but not to gather laurels, except of the kind which cover the mountains. The southern Indians will turn against us, and these colonies will be desolated by such an accession to the enemy's strength. These must be the consequences of a miscarriage, and a miscarriage the almost necessary con-

---

\* Sparks' *Writings of Washington*, vol. ii. p. 302



sequence of an attempt to march the army by this route."

Colonel Washington's arguments and remonstrances on the subject of dividing the army, and advancing on two different routes, had their due weight, and that scheme was abandoned. But, on the question regarding the new route, his powerful influence was unavailing. The Pennsylvanians\* wanted a new road to the western country made at the expense of the crown, and, at the risk of defeating the object of the campaign, they carried their point with General Forbes, who, as commander-in-

\* How this selfish conduct of the Pennsylvanians was regarded by the Virginians under Washington's command, is illustrated by the following extract from a letter of Robert Munford to Colonel Bland, dated camp near Fort Cumberland, May 4th, 1758 :

"If 'tis honorable to be in the service of one's country, 'tis a reputation gained by the most cruel hardships you can imagine, occasioned more by a real anxiety for its welfare than by what the poor carcase suffers. Every officer seems discontented in camp, happy on command, so deep is the interest of our country implanted in the minds of all. Sometimes the army wears a gloomy, then a joyous aspect, just as the news either confirms our stay here, or immediate departure. The general [Forbes], with the small-pox in one, the flux in the other division of our forces, and no provisions ready, are indeed excuses for our being here at present ; yet all might have been prevented. A few hearty prayers are every moment offered up for those self-interested Pennsylvanians, who endeavor to prevail on our general to cut a road for their convenience from Raystown to Fort Duquesne. That a trifling good to particulars should retard what would conduce to the general welfare ! 'Tis a set of dirty Dutchmen, they say, that keep us here ! It would be impertinent to condemn, yet I must think our leaders too deliberate at this important juncture, when all are warm for action, all breathing revenge against an enemy that has even dared to scalp our men before our eyes. The amusement we have in the mean time, is only following the brave dogs over the mountains for some miles, and our sole satisfaction sufficient fatigue to make us sleep sound."—*Bland Papers*, p. 13.

chief, had full power to decide the question. How this decision affected Washington, may be seen by the following extract from his letters to Mr. Fauquier, the new governor of Virginia, and to the Speaker of the House of Burgesses.

In addressing the latter from Fort Cumberland, he said : " We are still encamped here ; very sickly, and dispirited at the prospect before us. The appearance of glory which we once had in view—that hope—that laudable ambition of serving our country and meriting its applause, are now no more ; all is dwindled into ease, sloth, and fatal inactivity. In a word, all is lost, if the ways of men in power, like certain ways of Providence, are not inscrutable. But we, who view the actions of great men at a distance, can only form conjectures agreeably to a limited perception ; and, being ignorant of the comprehensive schemes which may be in contemplation, might mistake egregiously in judging from appearances, or by the lump. Yet every f—l will have his notions,—will prattle and talk away ; and why may not I ? We seem, then, in my opinion, to act under the guidance of an evil genius. The conduct of our leaders, if not actuated by superior orders, is tempered with something—I do not care to give a name to. Nothing now but a miracle can bring this campaign to a happy issue." He then recapitulated the arguments he had urged against attempting a new road, and added, " But I spoke unavailingly, the road was immediately begun ; and since



then, from one to two thousand men have constantly wrought upon it. By the last accounts I have received, they had cut it to the foot of the Laurel Hill, about thirty-five miles; and I suppose, by this time, fifteen hundred men have taken post about ten miles further, at a place called Loyal Hanna, where our new fort is to be constructed.

"We have certain intelligence, that the French strength at Fort Duquesne did not exceed eight hundred men, the thirteenth ultimo; including about three or four hundred Indians. See how our time has been misspent; behold how the golden opportunity is lost, perhaps never to be regained! How is it to be accounted for? Can General Forbes have orders for this? Impossible! Will then our injured country pass by such abuses? I hope not. Rather let a full representation of the matter go to his majesty; let him know how grossly his interests and the public money have been prostituted."

Well might Washington complain. When this letter was written, parties had been sent forward by Colonel Bouquet to work upon the new road, and six weeks had already been wasted in this fruitless labor, forty-five miles only being gained in that time. General

Forbes had at length arrived  
Sept. 15,  
1758. at his headquarters at Raystown. The advanced party were constructing a fort at Loyal Hanna, most of the Virginia troops were still at Fort Cumberland, whereas, if the old route by Braddock's road had

been adopted, General Forbes, with his army of six thousand men, might already have reached Fort Duquesne, at that time garrisoned by only eight hundred men.

So much dissatisfied were the Virginia House of Burgesses with this state of affairs, that they were on the point of recalling the forces of that colony, and placing them on their own frontier; but the apprehension that the failure of the expedition might be ascribed to this proceeding, induced them to extend the period of service for their troops to the end of the year.

We have already seen that Washington disapproved of the scheme of sending forward detachments of any considerable force in advance of the main body of the army. His excellent judgment on this head was fully evinced by the disastrous fate of Major Grant's detachment. This officer was detailed from the advanced post at Loyal Hanna, on the 21st of September, with eight hundred men, for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy's position at Fort Duquesne. His proceedings were singularly imprudent. Having arrived, without molestation, at a hill near the fort, in the night, he sent forward a small party to make observations, who burnt a log-cabin and returned.

Next morning, Major Grant, having ordered Major Lewis, of Washington's Virginia regiment, with a baggage-guard, to a point two miles in his rear, sent forward an engineer, with a covering party, within full view of the garri-

son, to take a plan of the works. As if all these proceedings were not sufficient to give the enemy notice of his presence, he ordered the *reveillé* to be beaten in several places.

The intelligent French commander of Fort Duquesne observed and duly appreciated this silly and impudent bravado, and took speedy measures to punish it. Having posted Indians in ambuscade on his enemy's flanks, he made a sudden sally from the fort, and soon spread dismay and confusion among the ranks of the British soldiers. The Highlanders, who composed a part of the detachment, stood their ground well for some time, before they broke and fled. The Virginians from Washington's regiment gave evidence of the thorough manner in which they had been trained for border warfare. They bore the brunt of the battle, losing, out of eight officers, five killed, one wounded, and one taken prisoner, while, of the rank and file, out of one hundred and sixty-two, sixty-two were killed and two wounded.

On hearing the firing, Major Lewis left Captain Bullitt, with fifty Virginians, to guard the baggage, and hastened to join in the fight. He was speedily engaged with the Indians, who had emerged from their ambuscade in the woods. Surrounded and nearly overpowered, he surrendered to a French officer. Major Grant was also taken prisoner. The main body of the detachment was routed, and sought safety in the neighboring forest.

Captain Bullitt, after sending off a portion of the baggage-wagons, made a stand behind a breastwork formed of the remaining ones, and drove back the Indians, who were rushing forward to secure the plunder. He then effected a rapid retreat with the remnant of the detachment. Scattered fugitives from the main body, who had been dispersed, slowly found their way through the woods to Loyal Hanna. The total loss was two hundred and seventy killed and forty-two wounded.

Washington received, in the compliments of the general, a satisfactory intimation that the conduct of the portion of his regiment engaged in this action was duly appreciated at headquarters; and Captain Bullitt's promotion to the rank of major was a further testimony to the courage and good behavior of the Virginians.

At length the main body of the army received orders to advance from Raystown. The general called on the colonels of regiments to submit, severally, for his consideration, a plan for his march. The plan submitted by Washington is given by Mr. Sparks,\* and evinces sound judgment and practical acquaintance with frontier warfare.

Washington, at his own request, was put in the advance. He was placed at the head of a division numbering a thousand men, with the temporary rank of brigadier-general, and ordered to move in front of the main army, clear

---

\* *Washington's Writings*, vol. ii. p. 313.

the road, and take precautions against a surprise by the enemy. The main body did not reach Loyal Hanna till the 5th of November. The road was indescribably bad, and frost and snow were already announcing the near approach of winter. The soldiers were dispirited, as well they might be, for they were ill-clad for the season, surrounded by a wilderness of forests, and still at the distance of fifty miles from Fort Duquesne.

A council of war was now held, in which, as Washington had foreseen and predicted, it was decided that it was inexpedient to proceed further in the campaign. To winter on the ground was nearly impossible. The alternative was to retreat or suffer hardships similar to those which the army under Washington's command subsequently suffered at Valley Forge.

Fortunately, we should rather say, providentially, three prisoners were taken, from whom information was obtained of the actual condition of Fort Duquesne. The garrison was greatly reduced. The Indians had all deserted them. The usual supplies of provisions and the expected reinforcements from Canada had failed. A single well-directed blow would accomplish the object of the campaign.

This report determined General Forbes to prosecute the expedition. Washington was advanced in front, as before, to open a road for the main body of the army, and establish deposits of provisions. The tents and heavy baggage

were left at Loyal Hanna, and only a light train of artillery was taken forward with the army. Inspired with the prospect of final success, both officers and men now performed their duty with alacrity.

The road, however, was long and difficult, and it was not till the 25th of November that the army arrived at Fort Duquesne. Instead of having to prosecute a siege and assault, General Forbes took quiet possession of the fort, which was already abandoned by the enemy.

Colonel Bradstreet's capture of Fort Frontenac had cut off the usual supplies and reinforcements intended for this post, and the garrison, consisting of only five hundred men, had, on the preceding night, evacuated the place, after setting it on fire, and proceeded down the Ohio in boats.

After taking possession of the fort, General Forbes\* caused the works to be repaired, and gave it the name of Fort Pitt, in honor of the prime minister. The flourishing city of Pittsburg now stands near the ruins of "Old Fort Duquesne."

Two hundred men from Washing-

---

\* John Forbes was a native of Petincrief, Fifeshire, Scotland, and was educated as a physician. He abandoned his profession, entered the army, and in 1745 was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He acted as quartermaster-general of the army under the Duke of Cumberland, and in 1757 was appointed brigadier-general, and sent to America. He was successful in the expedition against Fort Duquesne—the works being abandoned on his approach. After having concluded treaties with the Indian tribes on the Ohio, he returned to Philadelphia, and died in that city, March 13th, 1759, aged forty-nine.



ton's regiment formed the garrison of Fort Pitt. This measure was adopted against his remonstrances, General Forbes declining to leave a detachment from the regular army, in consequence of an opinion he had formed that by such a step he would exceed his authority.

Washington marched back with the remainder of his command to Winchester. On his way he stopped at Loyal Hanna, whence he addressed a circular letter to the frontier inhabitants, requesting them to forward supplies to the Virginians at Fort Pitt, and promising remuneration. Leaving his troops at Winchester, he proceeded to Williamsburg, to take his seat in the legislature of Virginia, of which he had been elected a member, while he was on duty at Fort Cumberland.

As the frontier of Virginia was now relieved from the incursions of the French and Indians, Washington's patriotic motives for continuing in the military service had ceased to operate. No royal commission, such as had been tendered to Sir William Pepperrell for his single successful campaign at Louisburg, was offered for his acceptance, and his military career for the present was closed. About the end of the  
1758. year he resigned his commission as colonel of the first Virginia regiment, and commander-in-chief of all the troops raised in the colony.

"The officers whom he commanded," says Marshall,\* "were greatly attached

to him. They manifested their esteem and their regret at parting, by a very affectionate address, expressive of the high opinion they entertained both of his military and private character.

"This opinion was not confined to the officers of his regiment. It was common to Virginia; and had been adopted by the British officers with whom he served. The duties he performed, though not splendid, were arduous, and were executed with zeal and with judgment. The exact discipline he established in his regiment, when the temper of Virginia was extremely hostile to discipline, does credit to his military character, and the gallantry the troops displayed, whenever called into action, manifests the spirit infused into them by their commander.

"The difficulties of his situation, while unable to cover the frontier from the French and Indians, who were spreading death and desolation in every quarter, were incalculably great; and no better evidence of his exertions, under these distressing circumstances, can be given, than the undiminished confidence still placed in him by those whom he was unable to protect.

"The efforts to which he incessantly stimulated his country for the purpose of obtaining possession of the Ohio; the system for the conduct of the war which he continually recommended; the vigorous and active measures always urged upon those by whom he was commanded; manifest an ardent and enterprising

\* *Life of Washington*, chapter i.







mind, tempered by judgment, and quickly improved by experience."

In a former part of this chapter, we have mentioned a visit of Washington to the seat of government at Williamsburg, for the purpose of obtaining supplies, and an augmentation of pay for the soldiers of his regiment. It was during this journey that he became acquainted with the lady with whom he was afterwards united in marriage. Her maiden name was Martha Dandridge. She was descended from an ancient family that migrated to the colony. She was born in the county of New Kent, May, 1732. At the age of seventeen she had been married to Colonel Daniel Parke Custis, a planter of the same county, and resided at the "White House," on the banks of Pamunkey River.

Mrs. Custis, was early left a widow, with two children,\* and a large fortune. She was on a visit to the family of a neighbor, Mr. Chamberlayne, when Washington first met her on his journey from Winchester to Williamsburg.†

"It was in 1758," says her biographer,‡ "that an officer, attired in a military undress, and attended by a body servant, tall and militaire as his chief, crossed the ferry called Williams', over the Pamunkey, a branch of the York River. On the boat touching the southern or New

Kent side, the soldier's progress was arrested by one of those personages who give the beau ideal of the Virginia gentleman of the old regime—the very soul of kindness and hospitality. He would hear of no excuse on the officer's part for declining the invitation to stop at his house. In vain the colonel pleaded important business at Williamsburg; Mr. Chamberlayne insisted that his friend must dine with him at the very least. He promised as a temptation, to introduce him to a young and charming widow, who chanced then to be an inmate of his dwelling. At last the soldier surrendered at discretion, resolving, however, to pursue his journey the same evening. They proceeded to the mansion. Mr. Chamberlayne presented Colonel Washington to his various guests, among whom was the beautiful Mrs. Custis. Tradition says that the two were favorably impressed with each other at the first interview. It may be supposed that the whole conversation turned upon scenes in which the whole community had a deep interest—scenes which the young hero, fresh from his early fields, could eloquently describe; and we may fancy with what earnest and rapt interest the fair listener 'to hear did seriously incline;' or how 'the heavenly rhetoric of her eyes' beamed unconscious admiration upon the manly speaker. The morning passed; the sun sank low in the horizon. The hospitable host smiled as he saw the colonel's faithful attendant, Bishop, true to his orders, holding his master's spirited

\* Martha, who died at Mount Vernon, 1777, and John, who died in 1781.

† Custis, *Memoir of Martha Washington*.

‡ Mrs. Ellet, *Women of the Revolution*.

steed at the gate. 'Ah, Bishop,' says a fair writer describing the occurrence, 'there was an urchin in the drawing-room more powerful than King George and all his governors. Subtle as a sphynx, he had hidden the important dispatches from the soldier's sight, shut up his ears from the summons of the tell-tale clock, and was playing such mad pranks with the bravest heart in christendom, that it fluttered with the excess of a new-found happiness !'

"Mr. Chamberlayne insisted that no guest ever left his house after sunset; and his visitor was persuaded, without much difficulty, to remain. The next day was far advanced when the enamored soldier was on the road to Williamsburg. His business there being dispatched, he hastened to the presence of the captivating widow."

The acquaintance thus auspiciously commenced, was followed by an engagement soon after, the marriage being deferred till the close of the campaign. It took place at the lady's residence, the "White House," on the 6th of January, 1759.

In person,\* Mrs. Washington was well formed, though somewhat below the middle size. A portrait, taken previous to her marriage, shows that she must have been very handsome in her youth; and she retained a comeliness of countenance, as well as a dignified grace of manner during life. In her home she was the presiding genius that kept ac-

tion and order in perfect harmony; a wife in whom the heart of her husband could safely trust. The example of this illustrious couple ought to have a salutary influence on every American family; the marriage union, as it subsisted between George and Martha Washington, is shown to be the happiest, as well as the holiest, relation in which human beings can be united to each other. The delicacy of Mrs. Washington's nature, which led her, just before her decease, to destroy the letters that had passed between her husband and herself, proves the depth and purity of her love and reverence for him. She could not permit that the confidences they had shared together should become public; it would be desecrating their chaste loves, and, perhaps, some word or expression might be misinterpreted to his disadvantage. One only letter from Washington to his wife was found among his papers; that, namely, in which he announced his appointment to the office of commander-in-chief,—which we shall quote in its proper place.

The mansion of Mount Vernon, which became their residence soon after the marriage, was then a very small building compared with its present extent, and the numerous out-buildings attached to it. The mansion-house consisted of four rooms on a floor, forming the centre of the present building, and remained pretty much in that state up to 1774, when Colonel Washington repaired to the first Congress in Philadelphia, and

\* Mrs. Hale, *Woman's Record*, p. 550.

from thence to the command-in-chief of the armies of his country, assembled before Cambridge, July, 1775. The commander-in-chief returned no more to reside at Mount Vernon till after the peace of 1783. Mrs., or Lady Washington, as we shall now call her, such being the appellation she always bore in the army, accompanied the general to the lines before Boston, and witnessed its siege and evacuation. She then returned to Virginia, the subsequent campaigns being of too momentous a character to allow of her accompanying the army.

At the close of each campaign an aid-de-camp repaired to Mount Vernon, to escort the lady to the headquarters. The arrival of Lady Washington at camp was an event much anticipated, and was always the signal for the ladies of the general officers to repair to the bosoms of their lords. The arrival of

the aid-de-camp. escorting the plain chariot with the neat postillions in their scarlet and white liveries, was deemed an epoch in the army, and served to diffuse a cheering influence amid the gloom which hung over our destinies at Valley Forge, Morristown, and West Point. Lady Washington always remained at the headquarters till the opening of the campaign, and often remarked, in after life, that it had been her fortune to hear the first cannon at the opening, and the last at the closing of all the campaigns of the Revolutionary war. During the whole of that mighty period when we struggled for independence, Lady Washington preserved her equanimity, together with a degree of cheerfulness, that inspired all around her with the brightest hopes for our ultimate success.\*

---

\* Custis, *Memoirs of Martha Washington*.



## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER VII.

[A.]

SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL.

THIS illustrious contemporary of Washington is too remarkable a person to be passed by without notice, in a history of his "Times."

The best biography of Sir William Pepperrell, the conqueror of Louisburg, was written by Dr. Usher Parsons, of Providence, R. I.,—the same Dr. Parsons who received a medal from Congress for his services as the only surgeon in Perry's fleet at the battle of Lake Erie. It is entitled, "The Life of Sir William Pepperrell, Bart., the only native of New England who was created a baronet during our connection with the mother country." From it we learn that Pepperrell was born at Kittery Point, in Maine, June 27th, 1676; that he was early trained to the use of arms, at a time when almost perpetual Indian wars made it necessary for every man to be a soldier; that he rose by degrees to be colonel and commander of all the militia of Maine; that he was a magistrate and member of the council of the governor of Massachusetts, which then included Maine; that, in 1734, he succeeded to the princely fortune of his father, a merchant and shipbuilder, which he increased by his own industry and ability in the same pursuits; and that he had become the most eminent and popular man in the province, at the period when the breaking out of war between Great Britain and France gave occasion to the expedition against Louisburg, in which his military reputation and his title were won.

In 1744, a new scene opens in Pepperrell's life, in which the part he performed raised him to a high degree of fame, and inscribed his name on the enduring page of history; it was the siege and capture of Louisburg.

France declared war March 15, 1744, and England in two weeks after. The garrison at Louisburg took advantage of the prior declaration, and attacked Nova Scotia. A brief sketch of the relative positions of the two contending powers in America, at this time and previously, will assist in explaining their operations.

Louisburg is situated at the southeastern extremity of the island of Cape Breton, at the entrance into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the opposite side of the entrance being Newfoundland, thirty leagues distant. The two islands, thus relatively situated, seemed like two sentinels placed at the entrance into the Gulf and River St. Lawrence, which receive the waters of the great lakes. The island of Cape Breton appears on a map like a continuation of Nova Scotia, being nearly of the same width, from thirty to sixty miles, and is separated from it by a narrow strait called Canso. The two together were called, by the French, Acadie, and by the English, Nova Scotia. They are separated from New Brunswick by the Bay of Fundy, which runs northeast from Cape Sable, until it almost meets Baie Verte, which makes in from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, an isthmus of ten miles being all that connects Nova Scotia with the mainland of New Brunswick. The distance from Cape Sable, the western end of Nova Scotia, to the strait of Canso, is about two hundred and fifty miles; and from Canso to Louisburg, about one hundred miles. Nearly half the way between Cape Sable and Canso, on the Atlantic shore, is the present city of Halifax. The English claimed, by right of discovery and possession, the Atlantic shores from Nova Scotia to Georgia; and the French claimed, by the same right, the Canadas, situated along the great chain of waters through the Ohio River to Pitts-

burg, and to Erie on the Lake shore. But the Chickasaws had long opposed their progress up the Mississippi. In order to subdue them, and open a free communication between Louisiana and Canada, a detachment of two hundred French and four hundred Indians were sent from Canada to Erie, and thence down the Ohio, to meet a party from New Orleans. But the expected party from below failed to meet them at the time appointed. The Canadians, confident of success, attacked the Chickasaw towns single-handed. But three hundred Chickasaws instantly assembling, gave battle to the French in the field, and completely conquered them. Those who were not immediately killed, after being kept several days, almost perishing with hunger, in the wilderness, were tied to the stake, tortured, and burnt. Soon after this, M. Bienville, with a larger army, made a second expedition. Proceeding up the Mississippi, they encamped within fifteen miles of the Chickasaw towns, and built a fort called Assumption; and receiving succors from Canada, they, in the following March, proposed terms of peace, which the Chickasaws accepted, and granted free communication between Canada and Louisiana.

But the Canadas were too remote from New Orleans to receive supplies from France by the way of the Mississippi; so that, after all, their only channel for conveying these was through the St. Lawrence. In entering this, they must pass Cape Breton on the left, and Newfoundland, thirty leagues distant, on the right; and between these two sentinels all intercourse must pass between France and the Canadas, and the head-waters of the Mississippi.

The two rival nations thus relatively situated, could hardly over-estimate the value and importance of these islands, and especially of Cape Breton, to their respective interests. Both nations were extensively engaged in the fisheries on the Grand Banks, within a few hours' sail of Louisburg. The fur-trade, from the extensive northwestern regions, which was a leading French interest, must pass through this channel, as well as European supplies in return, for French and Indian Canadians. To the English, on the other hand, the possession of Cape Breton was still more important. The English col-

onies were vastly more populous, and the colonial trade proportionably greater, and they, moreover, afforded supplies of ship-timber for the British navy. In time of war, armed vessels fitted out from Louisburg, if in possession of the French, could intercept the whole trade between England and her colonies and destroy her fisheries; and if in possession of England, the latter could destroy the French Canadian trade and fisheries. Hence Nova Scotia, including Cape Breton, was a bone of contention from the earliest settlement, and was alternately possessed by one or the other nation, as success or defeat attended its arms elsewhere.

At the treaty of Utrecht, Nova Scotia proper was ceded to Great Britain, while Cape Breton was retained by France; and from that time no pains nor expense was spared by the French government in building and strengthening its fortifications. They commenced building a walled town on a tongue of land at the southeast part of the island, which, in honor of their king, they called Louisburg. An accurate description of it is thus given by Belknap: It was two miles and a half in circumference, fortified in every accessible part, with a rampart of stone from thirty to thirty-six feet high, and a ditch eighty feet wide; a space of about two hundred yards was left without a rampart, on the side next to the sea, and inclosed by a simple dike and pickets. The sea was so shallow at this place that it made only a narrow channel, inaccessible, from its numerous reefs, to any shipping whatever. On an island at the entrance of the harbor, which was only four hundred yards wide, was a battery of thirty cannon, carrying twenty-eight pound shot, and at the bottom of the harbor, directly opposite to the entrance, was the grand or royal battery of twenty-eight forty-twos and two eighteen-pound cannon. On a high eminence opposite the island battery stood the lighthouse, and at the northeast part of the harbor was a magazine for naval stores. The town was regularly laid out in squares. The streets were broad, and the houses built mostly of wood and stone. The entrance to the town was at the west gate over a drawbridge, which was protected by a circular battery of thirteen twenty-four pound cannon.



These works had been twenty-five years in building, and, though unfinished, had cost France not less than six millions of dollars. It was, in peace, a safe retreat for the French ships bound homeward from the East and West Indies; and, in war, a place most favorable for privateers to seize fishing and coasting vessels, and British merchantmen.

The French had early erected forts between Quebec and Lake Erie, and they now aimed to establish others between Erie and the Mississippi. But Virginia claimed the territory from the Atlantic westward to an unlimited extent, through which France was erecting these forts. It was attempted to enforce this claim by opposing the erection of French forts, as at Le Bœuf and Pittsburg, in which attempt Washington commenced his military career, and Braddock was defeated and slain.

Nova Scotia proper, then in possession of the English, extended westward from the Strait of Canso to Cape Sable. There were two forts in it, garrisoned by two companies of English soldiers; one at the mouth of the strait, on an island called Canso, and the other on the north side, in the Bay of Fundy, called Port Royal, or Annapolis. Such is a brief sketch of the history and relative positions of the places that were now to become the field of military operations.

The commander at Louisburg, on hearing that war was declared, immediately dispatched an armed force of nine hundred men to Canso Island, and captured the garrison, and conveyed the prisoners to Louisburg, before the news of the declaration of war had reached Boston. Another expedition was directed, in like manner, against the English fort at Annapolis. But Governor Shirley, in anticipation of hostilities, had sent a reinforcement from Boston, which arrived in season to strengthen the garrison, and enable it to repel the assault. Both these expeditions were unauthorized by the French government, and were, in fact, a violation of positive orders to the contrary. But the prospect of victory seemed so certain, that the commander at Louisburg could not resist the temptation to undertake them.

The Indians of Nova Scotia assisted in these attacks, which led to an immediate declaration

of war against them, and all other tribes near them. Colonel Pepperrell was sent, at the head of commissioners, to the Penobscot tribe of Indians, to test their fidelity and friendship, and to request the sagamores to furnish their quota of warriors, according to the terms of a former treaty. His proposals were answered by a letter sent to Pepperrell after his return to Boston, stating that their young men would not fight against their brethren of St. Johns and New Brunswick.

The colonies were now awakened to a sense of their danger. It was well known that France was making formidable preparations for war, and that whatever was done for self-preservation must be done quickly. There was not a moment to be lost. Through the autumn of 1744, it was a general topic of conversation in Boston, that Louisburg must be wrested from the French, in order to insure safety to trade and navigation, and even to the very existence of the colonies. The prisoners taken at Canso in the spring, and carried to Louisburg, had been exchanged, and returned to Boston in the autumn. From them an accurate account of the strength of the fortifications of Louisburg was obtained; from all which Governor Shirley conceived the idea of taking the city by surprise, early in the spring, before any succors could arrive from France. Vaughn, of New Hampshire, a man of sanguine temperament and daring enterprise, assisted in collecting information, and urged forward the expedition. Some have said that he proposed marching into the city on snowdrifts! Governor Shirley wrote letters to the ministry representing the probability of an attack by the French upon Nova Scotia early in the spring, and asking for some naval assistance, carefully concealing, however, the real scope and extent of his plans. He also wrote to Commodore Warren, on the West India station, to come with his squadron and co-operate. Orders were accordingly dispatched early in January to Warren, to proceed to New England in the spring, and consult and co-operate with Governor Shirley in protecting the fisheries.

To obtain the opinion of the general court on this subject, the governor, early in January, requested its members to take an oath of secrecy



respecting a proposition he was about to lay before them. This was something new in colonial legislation, but was complied with, and the plan of attacking Louisburg was now submitted to their consideration. Secrecy was observed for some days, but the affair then accidentally leaked out. A pious old deacon, a member of the legislature, was so filled with the matter that he was overheard, at his private devotions, invoking heaven for its smiles on the enterprise. The boldness of the proposal at first astonished every one. It was referred to a committee, who reported against it, and thus the whole affair was supposed to have received its quietus.

But the governor was not thus to be defeated. A few days after he approached the legislature through a petition which he had the address to get signed by merchants in Boston and Salem, requesting a reconsideration, and which was referred to another committee, who reported in its favor. After two days' discussion the question was taken on the 26th of January, and the expedition was decided upon by a majority of a single vote in its favor, several members who were known to be opposed to it being absent. No sooner, however, was the decision made, than great unanimity prevailed in carrying it into effect, even among those who were before opposed to it. The people became enthusiastic and confident of success.

A variety of circumstances concurred to render the expedition feasible. Many fishermen, who had been thrown out of employment by the declaration of war, were ready to enlist as soldiers. The preceding season had been crowned with an abundant harvest, which made provisions plentiful. The winter following was unusually mild, the rivers and harbors were open, and the inhabitants unmolested by savages. A concurrence of happy incidents, as will presently appear, drew the whole naval force of England, employed to guard the shores and islands of America, to Louisburg, while adverse circumstances to the French prevented the arrival of succors and supplies to the garrison, that were due from France, which created discontent and a spirit of insubordination among the soldiers. A ship-of-the-line that was intended to bring supplies of provisions and munitions of war in

the autumn, was broken in launching, and her place could not be supplied in time to reach Louisburg until the British squadron had blockaded the port, and was able to capture all vessels bound thither.

It was supposed that a force of four thousand men, with such a fleet as the provinces could raise, would be able to compel a surrender of the place; and if it failed in this, it could at least recover Canso and fortify Annapolis in Nova Scotia, destroy the French fisheries, and lay waste all the settlements on the island of Cape Breton, and probably capture many French merchant vessels. Circulars were addressed to other provinces of New England and the Middle States, but no one took any part in the expedition beyond New England.

Each province, at that time, maintained one or more armed vessels. Massachusetts added to her number. Rhode Island sent her sloop-of-war with eighty seamen. New Hampshire and Connecticut followed their example. Edward Tyng, who commanded a small frigate of twenty-four guns, was made commodore. The whole number of armed vessels was fourteen, and the number of guns in the provincial fleet was about two hundred and four; the whole number of armed vessels and transports amounting to one hundred sail. The number of troops voted was, by Massachusetts, three thousand three hundred and fifty; by Rhode Island, three hundred; New Hampshire, three hundred; and Connecticut, five hundred.

A difficult task that now presented itself was, the appointment of a commander of the expedition. There were no experienced military officers in New England. A few had been engaged in skirmishes with Indians, but no man was to be found who had actually served in any siege or pitched battle. The choice fell upon Colonel William Pepperrell. He was extensively known throughout New England, was largely engaged in the fisheries, a gentleman of engaging manners, very popular and wealthy, and had long held the highest office in the gift of the people, that of president of the governor's council. His patriotism now shone out with great lustre, for nothing but a zeal for his country's good could have carried him from the

scenes of domestic enjoyment, and extensive and lucrative business, to the fatigues of a camp, and the risks of a certain conflict with doubtful results.

He hesitated about accepting the appointment, until Governor Shirley assured him that his influence was indispensable as commander. He then consulted his friends, and among others the famous itinerant preacher, George Whitefield, who was then travelling through New England, and lodged at his house. Whitefield told him he "did not think the scheme very promising; that the eyes of all would be upon him; that if he should not succeed, the widows and orphans of the slain would reproach him; and if it should succeed, many would regard him with envy, and endeavor to eclipse his glory: that he ought, therefore, to go with a single eye, and he would find his strength proportioned to his necessity." He afterwards, by request, furnished a motto for the flag, which was, "*Nil Desperandum, Christo Duce*;" thereby giving the expedition the air of a crusade. It is said that a number of the followers of Whitefield enlisted; and as a proof of the prevailing religious feeling, one of them, a clergyman, carried upon his shoulder a hatchet, for the purpose of destroying the images in the French churches.

Having decided to take the command, he entered on its duties, heart and hand, advanced five thousand pounds to the province from his own fortune, and brought every influence to bear upon the success of the enterprise. The appointment was judicious, for, though a merchant, he possessed much military spirit, and was well fitted to command a militia composed of farmers, mechanics, and fishermen.

The orders of Governor Shirley to the commander-in-chief, Lieutenant-general Pepperrell (such was his present rank), were to proceed with his one hundred armed vessels and store-ships to Canso, there build a battery and block-house, deposit his stores, and leave two companies to guard them; thence sail with the fleet and army to Cabarus Bay, within three miles of Louisburg, to arrive in the evening, to anchor under cover of the darkness, forthwith to land his men, and commence an attack without delay

—a most Quixotic scheme. A hundred sail of various sizes were to arrive there at a precise hour; the weather and wind, even in the spring months, were all to be favorable; the rocky ridges painting the shores, and the ice and fog which environed the island at this season were to be avoided; a certain harbor to be made under the shadows of nightfall, in an unexplored bay, and in a particular manner; a landing to be effected there immediately amidst a heavy surf; and then the soldiery to take up a march, in the dark, through a ravine, bog, and woods, and after travelling three miles from the place of landing, to commence pulling down pickets with grappling-irons, and mount walls thirty feet high with scaling-ladders: and all this in the space of one short night!

It was confidently expected by all who had embarked, that the West India fleet, under Commodore Warren, would accompany them, but on the day before they sailed, word was received from him declining to engage. This had no influence on Pepperrell, and it was kept an entire secret between Shirley, General Holcott, and himself.

Within eight weeks the provincial forces were raised, and the entire preparations completed, the whole number of troops being four thousand three hundred. The only aid from provinces out of New England was, the loan of ten eight-pound cannon by New York and some contributions of provisions and clothing by New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Some of the armed vessels sailed so early as the middle of March, to cruise before Louisburg, and to cut off any of the enemy's ships that should attempt to enter that port. The rest of the fleet and transports collected at Nantasket roads. A day of fasting and prayer throughout the province was appointed, to invoke the blessing of heaven upon the expedition; and an evening for special prayer was set apart weekly by many of the churches of New England. The Massachusetts troops sailed on the 24th of March, harbored three days at Sheepscot, and arrived at Canso, the place of general rendezvous, on the 1st of April. The New Hampshire troops had arrived a few days previous, and those from Connecticut came some ten days after. While lying in Canso,



waiting for the ice to clear, the armed vessels captured a Martinique vessel bound for Louisburg, laden with rum and molasses. Soldiers were detached for making the assault on Louisburg, and some were employed in making cartridges, and others in erecting a blockhouse for the defence of the place, and for the reception of sick and wounded. Skirmishes occurred on land, and a few French and Indians were taken prisoners, from whom information respecting Louisburg was obtained. On the 22d of April, the *Eltham*, a mast ship of forty guns, arrived from the *Piscataqua*, and on the following day three large ships appeared in the offing, which, to the great joy of all, proved to be the squadron of Commodore Warren. This was unexpected to Pepperrell, who had learned, on the day of sailing from Boston, as before remarked, that Warren declined coming, as requested by Shirley. But it seems that on the day following the date of his letter, he received orders from England to proceed and co-operate with Shirley in protecting the fisheries. Learning from a vessel on the way that the army had sailed, Warren shaped his course for Canso instead of Boston.

The ice, that had environed the shore and detained them, being removed, the whole army embarked at Canso on the 29th of April, intending to arrive in the evening. A small armed vessel was sent ahead, to frighten into port any guard-boats that might be on the look-out for an enemy's approach. The wind dying away, prevented their reaching Cabarus Bay, the place of landing, until eight o'clock the following morning. This was the first intimation the garrison of Louisburg had of the intended invasion. They had discovered the ships of war some days before, but supposed them to be privateers. The secrecy observed by the provincials proved to be judicious, as it enabled them to surprise the garrison; which contributed more to success than any thing else, excepting the culpable neglect of the French to reconnoitre the island of Cape Breton, and to employ spies to watch the motions of their adversary. They little dreamed of the cloud that was gathering over them. Secure in their imagined strength, they were startled at the sight of a numerous fleet, and now,

for the first time, knew that the enemy was upon them. Confusion and alarm paralyzed their energies. No sooner were the vessels anchored, than boats were hoisted out and filled with soldiers, eager for battle, and a detachment of them pulled for White Point, under cover of the armed vessels. An alarm was now sounded by the bells and cannon of the town. Captain Morepang sallied out with two companies to oppose the landing. Having drawn the enemy to White Point, the boats retreated a little, and, being joined by another division, aimed for another place, two miles further inland, where, under cover of two armed vessels, they effected a landing before the French could reach them. They rushed to meet the approaching enemy, and killed six of them, and captured others that were wounded, and among them, Captain Morepang. The remainder turned their backs and hastened to the city garrison, burning all the houses that were in their way. Half the army were landed that day, and the remainder, with provisions, the two following mornings. They marched towards the town, and encamped so near, that the enemy's cannon reached and obliged them to pitch their tents a little farther off."

Pepperrell lost no time in commencing the siege. The same afternoon, May 1st, he dispatched Colonel Vaughn with four hundred men to the town to reconnoitre, who led his troops through the woods quite near to the garrison, and gave three cheers, and at nightfall marched circuitously around Green Hill, that overlooked the garrison, to the northeast part of the harbor. Here they set fire to ten or twelve buildings, including warehouses, containing naval stores and a large quantity of wine and brandy. The smoke, driven three-fourths of a mile towards the grand or royal battery, frightened the enemy, who supposed the whole army was coming on them in that direction, and spiking the cannon, and throwing the powder into a well, they fled in boats to the town, nearly a mile distant.

The next morning, Vaughn, on his return to camp in company with thirteen men, not knowing of the panic he had occasioned, crept to the top of Green Hill, which overlooked the grand



battery, for the purpose of learning something of its situation and strength. He was surprised to see that the flag was gone, and that no smoke issued from the chimneys of the barracks. He hired one of his party, a Cape Cod Indian, to enter into the fort and open the gate. Vaughn then took possession, and wrote to General Pepperrell: "I entered the royal battery about nine o'clock, and am waiting for a reinforcement and a flag." A red coat was, however, used as a temporary substitute, which a soldier carried in his teeth, and nailed to the top of the flag-staff. The French soon discovered their mistake, and sent a hundred men in four boats to retake the battery. But Vaughn, with his small band, amidst the fire from the city, alone upon the beach resisted their landing till he was reinforced, when the French, perceiving a detachment from Pepperrell approaching, retired, and left the English in possession of the battery. This gallant exploit of Vaughn's little band materially weakened the means of resistance on the part of the French, and transferred to the English a powerful means of annoyance as enduring as the siege. The battery contained twenty-eight forty-two pound cannon, two eighteen, besides two hundred and eighty shells, and a large number of balls and other munitions of war.

The French fired briskly upon the battery during the day, with cannon and mortars, but did no damage. They began to secure the low wall at the southeast part of the town, by placing on it a plank work fifteen feet high, and placing a range of pickets, twenty feet high, outside of the wall, and a number of swivels on the top of it.

The first battery erected by Pepperrell was one thousand five hundred and fifty yards from the northwest bastion, on Green Hill. The second was six hundred yards nearer, where mortars were brought to play upon the town, on the 5th of May. The other cannon, at the grand battery, which had been spiked, were by this time drilled and returning the brisk fire of the enemy. But it required fourteen days and nights to drag all the cannon and munitions of war, brought in the fleet, from the landing, through the morass, to the batteries, which were successively erected in the winter season, the

third one being within seven hundred yards of the city. The island batteries, as well as these of the city, were constantly in full play upon Pepperrell's batteries.

On the 7th of May, Pepperrell and Warren sent a flag to demand a surrender of the fortress to the British army, which returned with an answer that their reply would be at the cannon's mouth. There was a suspension of cannonading on both sides while the flag was in the city, but on its return, at 5 P. M., firing was renewed, and more briskly than ever, and a fourth fascine battery was commenced within two hundred and fifty yards of the west gate. It was now proposed by Warren to storm the island battery in the night, and for this purpose volunteers were raised from the army and transports. It was not a favorite project with the army, many of the war-council deeming it too hazardous and desperate, though Pepperrell favored it. Preparations were however made, three successive nights, May 8, 9, 10, to embark for the purpose, but fogs or boisterous winds prevented. A sortie was made from the city on the 8th, which the provincials repulsed.

On the 15th of May, the fourth fascine battery, called Titcomb's, was raised and mounted with heavy guns, drawn from the grand battery, which did great execution. Next day, thirty large cannon were found under water, near the lighthouse, and a regiment was sent to raise and mount them on a battery, as soon as one could be constructed. The following night one hundred Frenchmen embarked in boats to attack the party, but were repulsed, with the loss of one man on each side. On the night of the 18th, the new fascine battery was opened within two hundred and fifty yards of the west gate, which soon demolished it, and perforated the wall. Several were killed on the wall and in the battery by musketry; one man, venturing outside, received five wounds from a volley aimed at him from the wall. Even conversation was carried on between the opposing soldiers, and on one occasion it lasted half an hour, the provincial speaking in French, and the Frenchman in English, and each inviting the other to breakfast and a glass of wine.

On the 20th, Warren announces, by letter, his

capture of the *Vigilant*, a sixty-four gun ship, having six hundred men, and laden with military stores, and requests aid in disposing of the prisoners among the transports; to which Pepperrell, after congratulating him on his success, replies: "As we have already manned Rouse out of our transports, and there not being more than four men in each, they can be of no great security to prisoners, unless they are put in irons, in which case some may be sent in the *Rhode Island Snow* and by *Smithhurst*, which Governor Shirley orders hence to guard the coast of New England. The capture of the *Vigilant* produced a burst of joy in the army, and animated them with fresh courage to persevere."

On the 24th of May, Commodore Warren wrote to Pepperrell, proposing a grand attack on the town and batteries by the fleet, and requested Pepperrell to send sixteen hundred of his men to serve, six hundred on board the *Vigilant*, and the remainder to be distributed into the rest of the ships of war, under Warren's direction; that the marines, under Colonel McDonald, should head the first attack; "not doubting of his being effectually sustained by your men," says the commodore, in his letter; "and that the said troops approach as near as Colonel McDonald shall judge proper, in order to attack when the commodore makes a signal."

This plan, remarks Dr. Parsons, was calculated, if not intended, to secure to Warren the supreme command of both land and naval forces, and to leave Pepperrell a mere cipher. It was of course declined; and the sequel shows that it would have led to a complete failure of the expedition. The subsequent correspondence of Pepperrell and Warren, and various incidents of this protracted siege, are given by Dr. Parsons, with such fidelity that the whole scene is spread out before us like a panorama: the indefatigable Pepperrell, with his sturdy volunteers, battering the works of the city, amid all sorts of difficulties and dangers, their guns bursting, their ammunition failing, and new supplies coming from the fleet or from Boston; Warren, with his fleet lying off the harbor, intercepting the French ships as they arrive, urging operations against the island battery, and impatient for a final assault, while the fogs and rains of that dismal

coast ever and anon shroud the whole scene in murky gloom, and compel a temporary suspension of hostilities. At last a final assault was determined on, in which the fleet and army should both co-operate.

On the 13th of June, says Dr. Parsons, all the transports were ordered out of Cabarus Bay to the fleet, to clear them of their lumber. Heaps of brush were made ready on Green Hill for smoke signals, and scaling-ladders carried to the advanced batteries. On the 15th, Warren came on shore, and the troops being paraded, were exhorted in stirring speeches, both by him and Pepperrell, to show their valor and heroism in the designed attack. The fleet, consisting of eleven ships, of from forty to sixty guns each, all anchored in a line near the town, made an imposing appearance, and Pepperrell ordered six hundred provincials on board them to augment their crews.

Governor Duchambon now saw no hope of averting the impending storm; his island battery, the palladium of Louisburg, Pepperrell had partially silenced by the lighthouse battery, and it was still receiving an incessant fire; his northeast battery was damaged, and so exposed to the fire of the advanced fascine-batteries that the men could not stand to their guns; the circular-battery was ruined, and most of its guns dismounted; the west gate demolished and a breach made in the adjoining wall; the west flank of the king's bastion almost ruined; the houses quite demolished; his troops worn down by forty-eight days' siege and broken sleep, and a force of five times his number of men surrounding and gathering in upon him by sea and land, like surging waves, ready to burst the opposing barriers and pour in a broad flood, he could not do otherwise than surrender. Accordingly, late in the afternoon of June 15, and while the commodore was on shore, a flag was sent to Pepperrell, asking time to consider terms of capitulation.

These terms were easily and speedily arranged.

By the capitulation, six hundred and fifty veteran troops, one thousand three hundred and ten militiamen, the crew of the *Vigilant*, and about two thousand of the inhabitants, being four thousand one hundred and thirty in all,



engaged not to bear arms against Great Britain or New England for twelve months, and embarking on board fourteen cartel ships were transported to Rochefort, in France. Seventy-six cannon and mortars fell into the hands of the victors, besides other property to an immense amount, and there were in the town provision for five or six months. The loss among the provincials was one hundred and thirty, and of the French, three hundred killed within the walls, which, with the shattered condition of the city and fortifications, proved that the nine thousand cannon-balls and six hundred bombs Pepperrell threw at them had done some execution.

Upon entering the fortress, and viewing its strength and the plenty and variety of its means for defence, the stoutest hearts were appalled; and the practicability of taking it by surprise, as contemplated by Shirley, appeared entirely futile.

As a decoy to French merchantmen, the French flag was kept flying; and the value of all the rich prizes taken by this stratagem was estimated at a million of dollars, half of which went to the crown and the other half to the naval captors.

The provincial army marched into the fortress at the southwest gate, and paraded in a line between the cazmates, in front of the French troops, who were drawn up in front of the barracks in a parallel line to receive them. Salutations were exchanged, and formal possession taken.

For this important service Pepperrell was created a baronet, and appointed colonel in the regular army of Great Britain, but his large advances of money towards defraying the expenses of the expedition were only partially reimbursed.

Dr. Parsons, from whose interesting details of the siege we have abstracted the foregoing account, thus expresses his views of the character of the conqueror, and the important effects of the conquest:

We have dwelt longer on the siege and reduction of Louisburg, than the brief period of time it occupied of Sir William's whole life, would seem to justify. But it is to be remembered that this achievement was the main pillar of his fame, and inscribed his name on the en-

during page of his history. Here it was, too, that the prominent traits of his character present themselves in bold relief; his spirit for daring enterprise, his prudence, patience, forbearance, perseverance, self-devotion, patriotism, and reliance on Divine aid, shone conspicuously, and seemed to rise and increase in proportion to the increasing demand for their exercise.

Here, too, it was that the hardy sons of New England took their first lessons in military service, preparatory to the great drama of the Revolution, soon to follow. The same old drums that marched into Louisburg, rallied the troops in their march to Bunker's Hill; and the same Colonel Gridley who planned Pepperrell's batteries, marked and laid out the one where General Warren fell; and when Gage was erecting breastworks across Boston Neck, the provincial troops sneeringly remarked that his mud walls were nothing, compared with the stone walls at Louisburg. Thus the confidence and self-reliance its recollections inspired, proved a favorable preparation for the Revolutionary struggles, while the three years' delay of reimbursement, the refusal to give them a share of the prize money, and the occasional disparaging taunts of individuals, underrating their services, fired them with the indignation requisite to bring their early experience into action as soon as colonial oppression called for their services. Thus, General Wooster, who commanded a company under Pepperrell, fell mortally wounded at Norwalk; Thornton, of New Hampshire, signed the Declaration of Independence; and Nixon, Whitney, Colonel Gridley, the engineer, and many other distinguished officers and men of the continental army, had served with Pepperrell at Louisburg. Mr. Hartwell said, in the House of Commons, in 1775, that the colonists "took Louisburg from the French single-handed, without any European assistance—as mettled an enterprise as any in our history—an everlasting memorial to the zeal, courage, and perseverance of the troops of New England."—"The conquest of Louisburg," says Smollett, "was the most important achievement of the war of 1744;" and it is remarked in the Universal History, that "New England gave peace to Europe by raising, aiming, and transporting four thou-



sand men," whose success "proved an equivalent for all the successes of the French upon the continent."

In concluding this brief sketch of the comparative actual services performed by the army and fleet, it must be conceded that the land forces, in the moral aspect of their deeds, won imperishable fame. Warren was bred to arms; his home was on the deep, and his officers and men had dedicated and trained their energies, body and mind, for deadly strife, and were now in their chosen element, and in their ordinary line of duty. Not so with the army. Pepperrell, a wealthy merchant, unaccustomed to the sea, with no expectations of military preferment to incite him, obeys the call of his countrymen, leaves all the comforts and endeared attractions of home and his peaceful occupations, to brave the dangers of an ice-bound coast, and the fatigues, dangers, and responsibilities of a perilous enterprise of doubtful success—yet sure to be disastrous to the colonies and to his own fame in the event of failure; and he is followed by four thousand farmers, mechanics, and fishermen—inpelled by no forced levy or press-gang, but voluntarily shouldering their firelock, and girding themselves for a deadly conflict, and patiently enduring the hardships and toil of a seven weeks' siege: surely this presents a spectacle of glowing patriotism and self-devotion far transcending the deeds of Warren and his crew.

Sir William Pepperrell's military service did not terminate with the conquest of Louisburg, but continued to the end of his life, being only interrupted by the civil service required from him by the country, and the pressing demands of his business, as merchant, land-owner, &c. In 1749 he visited England, where he was cordially received by his old companion in arms, Sir Peter Warren. Both Pepperrell and General Waldo, of Maine, were presented at court, where King George II. gave Sir William a favorable reception, and bestowed high encomiums on his services at the siege. He staid near a twelvemonth abroad. After his return to the old mansion at Kittery Point, he maintained a sumptuous and hospitable style of living, and received much distinguished company. During the French war of 1755 he was repeat-

edly called into active service; and in one campaign, with the rank of lieutenant-general, he held command of the largest army ever embodied in America, amounting to fifty thousand men. Dr. Parsons gives a particular account of Sir William's services in this war, and we regret that our limits will not permit us to give an extended notice of them. Sir William died on the 6th of July, 1759. The distinguished marks of favor which he had received from the crown, seem to have made it a point of honor with his descendants to remain loyal when the Revolution broke out; and, in consequence, his immense landed estates in Maine were confiscated. He had been extremely anxious to perpetuate his name and title; but both speedily became extinct. His fame should be preserved by his countrymen, for he was a true patriot. When George II., on his presentation at court, expressed to him a desire to render him some service, Sir William replied, that protection to the fisheries, in which he was employing many hundreds of his majesty's dutiful subjects, was the chief favor he had to solicit. The old family mansion is still standing; but the pride, pomp, and glory of the olden time have long since passed away.

---

[B.]

GENERAL AMHERST.

Jeffery, the son of Jeffery Amherst, of Riverhead, in Kent, was born on the 29th of January, 1717, and, at an early age, became page to the Duke of Dorset, while lord-lieutenant of Ireland. He entered the army in 1731; and, proceeding to Germany, acted as aid-de-camp to Lord Ligonier, at the battles of Dettingen, Fontenoy, and Roucoux, and served in the same capacity to the Duke of Cumberland at Laffeldt and Hastenbech. He became major-general, and colonel of the fifteenth regiment of foot, in 1756; and, in 1758, was appointed to the chief command of the land forces, amounting to fourteen thousand men, in the expedition against Louisburg.

Amherst was soon after appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in America, and vigorous operations against the French were speedily

commenced. Wolfe attacked Quebec, and Pri-deaux, the fort of Niagara; both of which, the original commanders being killed, eventually surrendered to their respective successors, Townshend and Johnson; while Amherst himself, at the head of about twelve thousand regulars and provincials, marched against Crown Point and Ticonderoga. The French abandoned the former to the British troops, on the 26th of July, and the latter, on the 4th of August, 1759. By great exertions, Amherst now obtained a naval superiority on Lake Champlain; and, Fort Nevis being carried, the enemy shortly afterwards evacuated Isle aux Noix. Amherst then conducted his forces against Montreal, "the second place in Canada for extent, buildings, traffic, and strength;" in sight of which they arrived, after a dangerous and fatiguing voyage, on the same day with two other bodies of troops, the one under Murray, and the other under Haviland, which had been ordered to approach from remote stations, and combine with the army commanded by Amherst, in its investment. The garrison perceiving that they were about to be surrounded by a superior force, capitulated without delay; and thus the whole of Canada fell into possession of the British.

In 1762, pending the negotiations for a treaty of peace, the French fitted out an expedition against Newfoundland, which captured, without difficulty, St. Johns, and some other forts. Intelligence of this unexpected event had no sooner reached England, than an armament was dispatched to retake the island; which, however, had, in the mean time, surrendered to a detachment of Amherst's forces, under the command of his brother, and a small squadron under that of Lord Colville.

As a reward for his important services, Amherst received the thanks of the House of Commons, and the insignia of the Bath. He returned to England in 1763; and, in 1770, obtained the government of Guernsey. Two years afterwards, he was appointed a member of the privy-council, colonel in the horse-guards, and lieutenant-general of the ordnance. He also officiated, for some time, as commander-in-chief of the British forces; and, in 1776, was raised to the peerage, by the title of Baron Amherst,

of Holmesdale, in Kent. On the dismissal of Lord North, he ceased to act as commander-in-chief, and was deprived of his post in the ordnance; but, after having received a second patent of peerage, as Baron Amherst, of Montreal, with reversion to his nephew, he was again appointed, in 1793, to the chief command of the forces, which he resigned to the Duke of York, in 1795; on which occasion he was offered an earldom, and the rank of field-marshal; both of which he declined, but accepted the latter, on its being again tendered to him in 1796. His death took place on the 3d of August, in the following year, at Montreal, near Riverhead; and his remains were interred, on the 10th of the same month, at Sevenoaks.

Like Wolfe, Amherst was selected by Chatham to aid in the execution of that eminent statesman's great military designs; and his success proved that the minister had formed a just estimate of his courage and ability. The services which he rendered to Great Britain in America, fully entitled him to the honors with which he was afterwards rewarded. He was described as having been "a thorough good soldier;" cautious but enterprising; temperate and collected in the greatest difficulties; strict in the enforcement of discipline, yet averse to mere military parade, and particularly kind to the men under his command. He erected a column, near his residence at Riverhead, commemorating the escape of himself and his two brothers, Lieutenant-general and Admiral Amherst, from the perils of war; and recording those successes of the British forces in Canada, to which he had materially contributed by his bravery and skill.

He is said to have looked upon the atrocities committed by his Indian auxiliaries with the utmost abhorrence; and when, on the surrender of Fort Nevis, the savages expressed their displeasure at being prevented from putting the whole garrison to death, he thus addressed Sir William Johnson, who had informed him of the fact: "I believe I have sufficient force for the service I am going on without their assistance; I wish to preserve their friendship, but will not purchase it at the expense of countenancing so horrid a barbarity!"

LIFE AND TIMES  
OF  
WASHINGTON.

---

BOOK III.

WASHINGTON DURING THE OPENING SCENES OF THE REVOLUTION.





## CHAPTER I.

1759.

### WASHINGTON IN RETIREMENT.—CAMPAIGN OF 1759.

Washington's property.—His guardianship of his step-children.—Residence at the White House.—Retirement to Mount Vernon.—Plan of the campaign of 1759.—Operations of General Amherst.—Capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.—The French retire to Isle Aux Noix.—General Prideaux's operations.—His death.—Sir William Johnson in command.—Siege of Niagara.—Battle of the 24th of July.—Surrender of Niagara.—Expedition of General Wolfe against Quebec.—Lands on the island of Orleans.—His discouraging prospects.—Description of Quebec.—Wolfe at Point Levi.—Cannonade of the city.—The English cross the Montmorency.—Attack on the French intrenchments.—Repulse of the British and their return to the island of Orleans.—Operations of General Murray.—Council of war.—The army ascend the Heights of Abraham.—Order of battle.—The battle.—Death of Wolfe and Montcalm.—Surrender of Quebec.—M. de Levi attempts to recapture the city.—General Murray sallies from the city and meets him in battle.—His repulse and retreat to the city.—Preparations for a siege.—Quebec relieved by a naval force.—Retreat of the French.—Capture of Montreal and complete conquest of Canada.

THE marriage of Washington to Mrs. Custis brought with it a large accession to his fortune. By it he became entitled to a third part of the estate of the deceased Daniel Parke Custis, and he was invested with the care of the other two thirds, by a decree of the general court, which he obtained in order to strengthen the power he previously had in consequence of his wife's administration of the whole estate.\*

The addition thus made to Washington's estate was not less than one hundred thousand dollars. He had also the estate of Mount Vernon, and considerable tracts of land in various parts of Virginia, selected while he was employed in surveying.

Mrs. Custis, at the time of her second marriage, had two children, a son six years old, and a daughter four, to each of whom was left a third of the estate of their father. Washington became guardian of these children, an office which he discharged with strict fidelity and paternal affection.

The newly-married couple remained at the "White House," the late residence of the Custis family, for three months after their marriage, during which time Washington appears to have given his attention to the affairs of the estate. They then retired to Washington's favorite residence, Mount Vernon.

During the first year of their residence in this delightful home, occurred the campaign of 1759, which, although Washington took no active part in it, forms too important and influential a

---

\* Letter to Robert Cary.—*Sparks' Writings of Washington*, vol. ii. p. 328.

portion of the history of his "Times," to be passed over in silence. We shall therefore notice briefly its more important events.

The plan of the campaign was, that three powerful armies should enter the French possessions by three different routes, and attack all their strongholds at nearly the same time. At the head of one division of the army, Brigadier-general Wolfe, who had so recently signaled himself at the siege of Louisburg, was to ascend the St. Lawrence and lay siege to Quebec, escorted by a strong fleet to co-operate with his troops.

The central and main army, composed of British and provincials, was to be conducted against Ticonderoga and Crown Point by the able, but cautious General Amherst, the new commander-in-chief, who, after making himself master of these places, was to proceed over Lake Champlain, and by the way of Richelieu River to the St. Lawrence, and descending that river, form a junction with General Wolfe before the walls of Quebec. This latter service, however, he was not destined to accomplish in season to render any assistance to Wolfe.

The third army, to be composed principally of provincials, reinforced by a strong body of friendly Indians, under the direction of Sir William Johnson, was to be commanded by General Prideaux, who was to lead this division first against Niagara, and, after the reduction of that place, to embark on

Lake Ontario, and proceed down the St. Lawrence against Montreal.

Early in the winter, General Amherst commenced preparations for his part of the enterprise; but it was not till the last of May that his troops, twelve thousand in number, were assembled at Albany; and it was as late as the 22d of July, when, after crossing Lake George in boats, batteaux, and rafts, he appeared before Ticonderoga.

Montcalm, who had so successfully resisted the attack of Abercrombie in the preceding year, was no longer in command at Ticonderoga, being engaged in preparations for the defence of Quebec. The garrison, consisting of only four hundred men, was under the command of Bourlamarque. Perceiving the utter folly of attempting a defence against such fearful odds, he dismantled the fortifications, and abandoned them, as well as those at Crown Point, and retreated to Isle aux Noix, a convenient point for concentrating a force for the defence of Montreal and the province.

Instead of pursuing him, with a view to a speedy junction of his forces with those of General Wolfe, General Amherst committed the grave error of wasting time in repairing the works at Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Meantime the enemy were assembling a force of between three and four thousand at Isle aux Noix.

The result of General Amherst's extreme caution and delay was, that he failed to effect a junction of his forces with those of General Wolfe, and his



army, at the close of the season, went into winter-quarters at Crown Point.

In the prosecution of the enterprise against Niagara, General Prideaux had embarked with an army on Lake Ontario; and on the 6th of July, landed without opposition within about three miles from the fort, which he invested in form. While directing the operations of the siege, he was killed by the bursting of a cohorn, and the command devolved on Sir William Johnson.\*

---

\* Sir William Johnson was born in Ireland, about the year 1715. Early in life he went to America, with his uncle, Sir Peter Warren; and, after hesitating for some time as to what profession he should adopt, at length entered the army, in which he gradually rose to the rank of major-general. In 1755, he was placed at the head of an expedition against Crown Point; which, however, he did not succeed in capturing, although he obtained a brilliant victory over the French under General Dieskau, whom he took prisoner. Parliament testified its approbation of Johnson's conduct on this occasion by voting him £5,000. In 1759, he commanded the provincials of New York, and acted under Prideaux at the siege of Niagara, as related in the text.

He now devoted his attention to the establishment of a more permanent and extensive communion than had previously existed between the British and the Indians, and effected several advantageous treaties with the Senecas and other tribes. In June, 1760, he induced one thousand of the Iroquois to join General Amherst at Oswego; and subsequently, encouraged the colonists to intermarry with the aboriginal inhabitants. He was at length chosen colonel of the Six Nations, as well as superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern parts of America; and settling on the banks of the Mohawk River, he soon became well acquainted with the manners and language of the Indians, relative to which he sent an interesting communication to the Royal Society, in November, 1772. He died about two years afterwards, leaving a son, who succeeded to the baronetage.

Brave, energetic, and enterprising, Johnson was particularly well qualified for the services on which he was employed. He is described as having possessed such a genius for acquiring popularity among all kinds of men, that the regular troops respected, the provincials loved, and the Indians almost adored him. It is added that he

That general, prosecuting with judgment and vigor the plan of his predecessor, pushed the attack of Niagara with an intrepidity that soon brought the besiegers within a hundred yards of the covered way.

Meanwhile, the French, alarmed at the danger of losing a post which was a key to their interior empire in America, had collected a large body of regular troops from the neighboring garrisons of Detroit, Venango, and Presqu' Isle, with which, and a party of Indians, they resolved if possible to raise the siege. Apprised of their intention to hazard a battle, General Johnson ordered his light-infantry, supported by some grenadiers and regular foot, to take post between the cataract of Niagara and the fortress; placed the auxiliary Indians on his flanks; and, together with this preparation for an engagement, took effectual measures for securing his lines and bridling the garrison.

About nine in the morning of the 24th of July the enemy appeared, and the horrible sound of the warwhoop from the hostile Indians was the signal

---

was a man of perfect integrity, and employed his talents solely for the benefit of his country. The victory which he obtained over Dieskau, although it did not lead to the result that had been expected, infused confidence into the British, who appear to have been greatly disheartened by the recent defeat, by the French and Indians, of General Braddock's forces near Fort Duquesne. The capture of Niagara effectually broke off, according to the Annual Register of the period, "that communication so much talked of, and so much dreaded, between Canada and Louisiana; and by this stroke, one of the capital political designs of the French, which gave occasion to the war, was defeated in its direct and immediate object."

of battle. The French charged with great impetuosity, but were received with firmness; and in less than an hour were completely routed.

This battle decided the fate of Niagara. Sir William Johnson, the next morning, opened negotiations with the French commandant; and in a few hours a capitulation was signed. The garrison, consisting of six hundred and seven men, were to march out with the honors of war, to be embarked on the lake, and carried to New York; and the women and children were to be carried to Montreal. The reduction of Niagara effectually cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana.

The expedition against the capital of Canada was the most daring and important. Strong by nature, and still stronger by art, Quebec had obtained the appellation of the Gibraltar of America; and every attempt against it had failed. It was now commanded by Montcalm, an officer of distinguished reputation; and its capture must have appeared chimerical to any one but Pitt. He judged rightly, however, that the boldest and most dangerous enterprises are often the most successful, especially when committed to ardent minds, glowing with enthusiasm and emulous of glory. Such a mind he had discovered in General Wolfe, whose conduct at Louisburg had attracted his attention. He appointed him to conduct the expedition, and gave him for assistants, Brigadier-generals Monckton,

Townshend, and Murray; all, like himself, young and ardent.

Early in the season he sailed from Halifax with eight thousand troops, and near the last of June landed the whole army on the island of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec. From this position he could take a near and distinct view of the obstacles to be overcome. These were so great, that even the bold and sanguine Wolfe perceived more to fear than to hope.

"When," he says in a letter to Pitt, "that succors of all kinds had been thrown into Quebec, that five batteries of regular troops, some of the troops of the colony, and every Canadian that was able to bear arms, besides several nations of savages, had taken the field in a very advantageous situation, I could not flatter myself that I should be able to reduce the place. I sought, however, an occasion to attack their army, knowing well that with these troops I was able to fight, and that a victory might disperse them."

Quebec stands on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and consists of an upper and lower town. The lower town lies between the river and a bold and lofty eminence, which runs parallel to it far to the westward.

At the top of this eminence is a plain, upon which the upper town is situated. Below, or east of the city, is the river St. Charles, whose channel is rough, and whose banks are steep and broken. At a short distance farther down is the Montmorency; and between these two

rivers, and reaching from one to the other, was encamped the French army, strongly intrenched, and superior in number to that of the English; but they were chiefly Canadians. There was also a large auxiliary force of Indians.

General Wolfe took possession of Point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, and there erected batteries against the town. The cannonade which was kept up, though it destroyed many houses, made but little impression on the works, which were too strong and too remote to be materially affected; their elevation, at the same time, placing them beyond the reach of the fleet. Convinced of the impossibility of reducing the place, unless he could erect batteries on the north side of the St. Lawrence, Wolfe soon decided on more daring measures.

The northern shore of the St. Lawrence, to a considerable distance above Quebec, is so bold and rocky as to render a landing in the face of an enemy impracticable. If an attempt were made below the town, the river Montmorency passed, and the French driven from their intrenchments, the St. Charles would present a new and perhaps insuperable barrier.

With every obstacle fully in view, Wolfe, heroically observing that a "victorious army finds no difficulties," resolved to pass the Montmorency, and bring Montcalm to an engagement. In pursuance of this resolution, thirteen companies of English grenadiers, and part of the second battalion of royal

Americans, were landed at the mouth of that river, while two divisions, under Generals Townshend and Murray, prepared to cross it higher up. Wolfe's plan was to attack first a redoubt close to the water's edge, apparently beyond reach of the fire from the enemy's intrenchments, in the belief that the French, by attempting to support that fortification, would put it in his power to bring on a general engagement; or, if they should submit to the loss of the redoubt, that he could afterwards examine their situation with coolness, and advantageously regulate his future operations.

On the approach of the British troops the redoubt was evacuated; and the general, observing some confusion in the French camp, changed his original plan, and determined not to delay an attack. Orders were immediately dispatched to the Generals Townshend and Murray to keep their divisions in readiness for fording the river; and the grenadiers and royal Americans were directed to form on the beach until they could be properly sustained.

These troops, however, not waiting for support, rushed impetuously towards the enemy's intrenchments; but they were received with so strong and steady a fire from the French musketry, that they were instantly thrown into disorder, and obliged to seek shelter at the redoubt which the enemy had abandoned. Detained here awhile by a dreadful thunder-storm, they were still within reach of a severe fire from the



French ; and many gallant officers, exposing their persons in attempting to form their troops, were killed, the whole loss amounting to nearly five hundred men. The plan of attack being effectually disconcerted, the English general gave orders for repassing the river and returning to the Isle of Orleans.

Compelled to abandon the attack on that side, Wolfe deemed that advantage might result from attempting to destroy the French fleet, and by distracting the attention of Montcalm with continual descents upon the northern shore. General Murray, with twelve hundred men in transports, made two vigorous but abortive attempts to land ; and though more successful in the third, he did nothing more than burn a magazine of warlike stores. The enemy's fleet was effectually secured against attacks, either by land or water, and the commander-in-chief was again obliged to submit to the mortification of recalling his troops.

At this juncture, intelligence arrived that Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been abandoned ; but that General Amherst, instead of pressing forward to their assistance, was preparing to attack the Isle aux Noix.

While Wolfe rejoiced at the triumph of his brethren in arms, he could not avoid contrasting their success with his own disastrous efforts. His mind, alike lofty and susceptible, was deeply impressed by the disasters at Montmorency ; and his extreme anxiety, preying

upon his delicate frame, sensibly affected his health. He was observed frequently to sigh ; and, as if life was only valuable while it added to his glory, he declared to his intimate friends, that he would not survive the disgrace which he imagined would attend the failure of his enterprise.

In a letter written to Mr. Pitt at this time, he says, "The French did not attempt to interrupt us ; but some of their savages came down to murder such wounded as could not be brought off, and to scalp the dead, as their custom is." His situation seemed growing desperate, and his health began to fail him. In his letter to Pitt, which was written from his headquarters at Montmorency on the 2d of September, more than a month after this failure, he confessed that he had descended to the dubiousness and despondency of consulting a council of war. After saying that he had been suffering by a fever, he adds, "I found myself so ill, and am still so weak, that I begged the general officers to consult together for the public utility. \* \* \* To the uncommon strength of this country, the enemy have added, for the defence of the river, a great number of floating batteries and boats. By the vigilance of these and the Indians round our posts, it has been impossible to execute any thing by surprise. \* \* \* We have the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great

Britain require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favorable event." When this letter reached England, it excited consternation and anger. Pitt feared that he had been mistaken in his favorite general, and that the next news would be, either that he had been destroyed or had capitulated. But in the conclusion of his melancholy epistle, Wolfe had said he would do his best—and that best turned out a miracle in war. He declared that he would rather die than be brought to a court-martial for miscarrying.

Nothing, however, could shake the resolution of this valiant commander, or induce him to abandon the attempt. In a council of his principal officers, called on this critical occasion, it was resolved that all the future operations should be above the town. The camp at the Isle of Orleans was accordingly abandoned; and the whole army having embarked on board the fleet, a part of it was landed at Point Levi, and a part higher up the river.

Montcalm, apprehending from this movement that the invaders might make a distant descent and come on the back of the city of Quebec, detached M. de Bougainville, with fifteen hundred men, to watch their motions, and prevent their landing.

Baffled and harassed in all his previous assaults, General Wolfe seems to have determined to finish the enterprise by a single bold and determined

effort. The admiral sailed several leagues up the river, making occasional demonstrations of a design to land troops; and, during the night, a strong detachment in flat-bottomed boats fell silently down the stream to a point about a mile above the city.

The beach was shelving, the bank high and precipitous, and the only path by which it could be scaled, was now defended by a captain's guard and a battery of four guns. Lieutenant-colonel Howe,\* with the van, soon clambered up the rocks, drove away the guard, and seized upon the battery.

The army landed about an hour before day, and by daybreak was marshalled on the Heights of Abraham.

Montcalm could not at first believe this intelligence; but, as soon as assured of its truth, he made all prudent haste to decide a battle which it was no longer possible to avoid. Leaving his camp at Montmorency, he crossed the river St. Charles, with the intention of attacking the English army.

No sooner did Wolfe observe this movement, than he began to form his order of battle. His troops consisted of six battalions, and the Louisburg grenadiers. The right wing was commanded by General Monckton, and the left by General Murray. The right flank was covered by the Louisburg grenadiers, and the rear and left by Lieutenant-colonel Howe's light-infantry.

\* Sir William Howe, subsequently distinguished in the Revolutionary war.

The form in which the French advanced, indicating an intention to outflank the left of the English army, General Townshend was sent with the battalion of Amherst, and the two battalions of royal Americans, to that part of the line, and they were formed *en potence*, so as to present a double front to the enemy. The body of reserve consisted of one regiment, drawn up in eight divisions, with large intervals.

The dispositions made by the French general were not less masterly. The right and left wings were composed about equally of European and colonial troops. The centre consisted of a column, formed of two battalions of regulars. Fifteen hundred Indians and Canadians, excellent marksmen, advancing in front, screened by surrounding thickets, began the battle. Their irregular fire proved fatal to many British officers, but it was soon silenced by the steady fire of the English.

About nine in the morning, the main body of the French advanced briskly to the charge, and the action soon became general. Montcalm having taken post on the left of the French army, and Wolfe on the right of the English, the two generals met each other where the battle was most severe. The English troops reserved their fire until the French had advanced within forty yards of their line, and then, by a general discharge, made terrible havoc among their ranks. The fire of the English was vigorously maintained, and the enemy everywhere yielded.

General Wolfe, who, exposed in the front of his battalions, had been wounded in the wrist, betraying no symptoms of pain, wrapped a handkerchief round his arm, and continued to encourage his men. Soon after, he received a shot in the groin; but, concealing the wound, he was pressing on at the head of his grenadiers, with fixed bayonets, when a third ball pierced his breast.

Perceiving that his wound was mortal, his only anxiety appears to have been that the soldiers might not be disheartened by seeing him fall. Leaning on a lieutenant for support, he said, "Let not my brave fellows see me drop." He was conveyed to the rear, where, careless about himself, he discovered in the agonies of death the greatest solicitude concerning the result of the battle. Faint and exhausted with the pain of his wounds, he rested his head on the arm of an officer. He was aroused by cries of, "They fly, they fly! see them fly!" "Who fly?" exclaimed the dying hero. "The French," answered his attendant. Nerving himself to a last effort of duty, he gave a hasty order for cutting off the enemy's retreat; and then turning on his side, he said, "Now, God be praised, I will die in peace," and expired.

We cannot forbear quoting in this connection, the simple and feeling observations of General Townshend, respecting his heroic friend, whose fate threw so affecting a lustre on this memorable victory: "I am not ashamed to own to you, that my heart does not exult in the



midst of this success. I have lost but a friend in General Wolfe; our country has lost a sure support and a perpetual honor. If the world were sensible at how dear a price we have purchased Quebec in his death, it would damp the public joy. Our best consolation is, that Providence seemed not to promise that he should remain long among us. He was himself sensible of the weakness of his constitution, and determined to crowd into a few years, actions that would have adorned length of life."

The army, not disconcerted by the fall of their general, continued the action under Monckton, on whom the command now devolved, but who, receiving a ball through his body, soon yielded the command to General Townshend.

Montcalm, fighting in front of his battalions, received a mortal wound\* about the same time; and General Senezergus, the second in command, also fell. The British grenadiers pressed on with their bayonets. General Murray, briskly advancing with the troops under his direction, broke the centre of the French army.

The Highlanders, drawing their broadswords, completed the confusion of the enemy; and after having lost their first

and second in command, the right and centre of the French were entirely driven from the field; and the left was following their example, when Bougainville appeared in the rear, with the fifteen hundred men who had been sent to oppose the landing of the English. Two battalions and two pieces of artillery were detached to meet him; but he retired, and the British troops were left the undisputed masters of the field. The loss of the French was much greater than that of the English. The corps of French regulars was almost entirely annihilated. The killed and wounded of the English army did not amount to six hundred men.

Although Quebec was still strongly defended by its fortifications, and might possibly be relieved by Bougainville, or from Montreal, yet General Townshend had scarcely finished a road in the bank to get his heavy artillery for a siege, when the inhabitants capitulated, on condition that during the war they might still enjoy their own civil and religious rights. A garrison of five thousand men was left under General Murray, and the fleet sailed out of the St. Lawrence.

The fall of Quebec did not immediately produce the submission of Canada. The main body of the French army, which, after the battle on the Plains of Abraham, retired to Montreal, and which still consisted of ten battalions of regulars, had been reinforced by ten thousand Canadian militia and a body of Indians.

---

\* Montcalm was every way worthy to be a competitor of Wolfe. He had the truest military genius of any officer whom the French had ever employed in America. After he had received his mortal wound, he was carried into the city; and when informed that it was mortal, his reply was, "I am glad of it." On being told that he could survive but a few hours, "So much the better," he replied, "I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec."

With these forces, M. de Levi, who had succeeded the Marquis of Montcalm in the chief command, resolved to attempt the recovery of Quebec. He had hoped to carry the place by a *coup de main*, during the winter; but on reconnoitring, he found the outposts so well secured, and the governor so vigilant and active, that he postponed the enterprise until spring.

In the month of April, when the upper part of the St. Lawrence was so open as to admit of transportation by water, his artillery, military stores, and heavy baggage, were embarked at Montreal, and fell down the river under convoy of six frigates; and M. de Levi, after a march of ten days, arrived with his army at Point au Tremble, within a few miles of Quebec.

General Murray, to whom the care of maintaining the English conquest had been intrusted, had taken every precaution to preserve it; but his troops had suffered so much by the extreme cold of the winter, and by the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that instead of five thousand, the original number of his garrison, there were not at this time above three thousand men fit for service.

With this small but valiant body, the English general resolved to meet the enemy in the field; and on the 28th of April, marched out to the Plains of Abraham, where, near Sillery, he attacked the French under M. de Levi with great impetuosity. He was received with firmness; and after a fierce

encounter, finding himself outflanked, and in danger of being surrounded by superior numbers, he called off his troops, and retired into the city.

In this action the loss of the English was near a thousand men, and that of the French still greater. The French general lost no time in improving his victory. On the very evening of the battle, he opened trenches before the town; but it was the 11th of May before he could mount his batteries, and bring his guns to bear on the fortifications.

By that time General Murray, who had been indefatigable in his exertions, had completed some outworks, and planted so numerous an artillery on his ramparts, that his fire was very superior to that of the besiegers, and, in a manner, silenced their batteries. A British fleet arriving most opportunely a few days after, M. de Levi immediately raised the siege, and precipitately retired to Montreal.

Here the Marquis of Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, had fixed his headquarters, and determined to make his last stand. For this purpose he called in all his detachments, and collected around him the whole force of the colony.

The English, on the other hand, were resolved on the total annihilation of the French power in Canada; and General Amherst prepared to overwhelm it with an irresistible superiority of numbers.

Almost on the same day, the armies

from Quebec, from Lake Ontario, and from Lake Champlain, were concentrated before Montreal, and M. de Vaudreuil, found himself obliged, on the 8th of September, 1760, to sign a capitulation, by which that city and the whole of Canada were transferred to British dominion. He obtained liberal stipulations for the good treatment of the inhabitants, and particularly the free exercise of the Catholic faith, and the preservation of the property belonging to the religious communities. He even demanded that the bishop should continue to be appointed by the French monarch, but this was of course refused. The possession of Canada, as well as of all the adjoining countries, was confirmed to Britain by the peace of Paris, signed on the 10th of February, 1763.

The population at the time of the conquest was stated by Governor Murray to amount to sixty-nine thousand two hundred and seventy-five, consisting mostly of cultivators, a frugal, industrious, and moral race; with a noblesse, also very poor, but much respected, among them. The Indians converted to Catholics were estimated at seven thousand four hundred. The inhabitants were involved in great calamity by the refusal of the French government to pay the bills drawn and the paper currency issued by M. Bigot, the late intendant, who had been guilty of most extensive speculation. The gross sum is stated by Raynal at eighty millions of livres (£3,333,000 sterling); but considering the small number and

poverty of the people, we cannot help suspecting it to be much exaggerated. It is said that the claims were, on grounds of equity, reduced to thirty-eight millions; though, according to M'Gregor, no more was received in turn for them than two hundred and fifty thousand pounds in money, and one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds in bonds, which never became effective.

The terms in favor of the French residents were faithfully and even liberally fulfilled by the British government. All offices, however, were conferred on British subjects, who then consisted only of military men, with not quite five hundred petty traders, many of whom were ill-fitted for so important a situation. They showed a bigoted spirit and an offensive contempt of the old inhabitants, including even their class of nobles. General Murray, notwithstanding, strenuously protected the latter, without regard to repeated complaints made against him to the ministry at home; and by this impartial conduct he gained their confidence in a degree which became conspicuous on occasion of the great revolt of the united colonies.

During that momentous period, though pressing invited to assist the latter, the Canadians never swerved from their allegiance. With a view to conciliate them, the "Quebec Act," passed in 1774, changed the English civil law, which had been at first introduced, for the ancient system called the *Coûtume*



<i>de Paris.</i> The French language was also directed to be employed in the law courts, and other changes made with the view of gratifying that nation.	These concessions did not, however, give universal satisfaction, especially as they were not attended with any grant of a national representation.
--	--

## DOCUMENT ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER I.

---

### CONSEQUENCES OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

At the time when Washington saved the remnant of Braddock's army (June 9th, 1755), war between Great Britain and France had not yet been formally declared. Previous to the adoption of that measure, Great Britain, contrary to the usages of nations, made prisoners of eight thousand French sailors. This heavy blow for a long time crippled the naval operations of France, but at the same time inspired her with a desire to retaliate whenever a proper opportunity should present itself. For two or three years after Braddock's defeat, the war was carried on against France without vigor or success, but when Mr. Pitt was placed at the head of the ministry, public affairs assumed a new aspect. Victory everywhere crowned the British arms, and, in a short time, the French were dispossessed, not only of all the British territories on which they had encroached, but also of Quebec, the capital of their ancient province, Canada.

In the course of this war some of the colonies made exertions so far beyond their reasonable quota, as to merit a reimbursement from the national treasury; but this was not universally the case. In consequence of internal disputes, together with their greater domestic security, the necessary supplies had not been raised in due time by others of the provincial assemblies. That a British minister should depend on colonial legislatures for the execution of his plans, did not well accord with the vigorous and decisive genius of Mr. Pitt, but it was not prudent, by any innovation, to irritate the colonies during a war in which, from local circumstances, these exertions were peculiarly beneficial. The advantages that would result from an ability to

draw forth the resources of the colonies by the same authority which commanded the wealth of the mother country, might, in these circumstances, have suggested the idea of taxing the colonies by authority of the British parliament.

Mr. Pitt is said to have told Mr. Franklin, "that when the war closed, if he should be in the ministry, he would take measures to prevent the colonies from having a power to refuse or delay the supplies that might be wanted for national purposes," but did not mention what those measures should be. As often as money or men were wanted from the colonies, a requisition was made to their legislatures. These were generally and cheerfully complied with. Their exertions, with a few exceptions, were great, and manifested a serious desire to carry into effect the plans of Great Britain for reducing the power of France.

In the prosecution of this war the advantages which Great Britain derived from the colonies were severely felt by her enemies. Upwards of four hundred privateers which were fitted out of the ports of the British colonies successfully cruised on French property. These not only ravaged the West India islands belonging to his most Catholic majesty, but made many captures on the coast of France. Besides distressing the French nation by privateering, the colonies furnished twenty-three thousand eight hundred men, to co-operate with the British regular forces in North America. They also sent powerful aids, both in men and provisions, out of their own limits, which facilitated the reduction of Martinique and of the Havana. The success of their privateers—the co-operation of their land forces—the convenience of their harbors, and the contiguity to the West India islands,

made the colonies great acquisitions to Britain and formidable adversaries to France. From their growing importance the latter had much to fear. Their continued union with Great Britain threatened the subversion of the commerce and American possessions of France.

After hostilities had raged nearly eight years, a general peace was concluded, on terms by which France ceded Canada to Great Britain. The Spaniards having also taken part in the war, were, at the termination of it, induced to relinquish to the same power both East and West Florida. This peace gave Great Britain possession of an extent of country equal in dimensions to several of the kingdoms of Europe. The possession of Canada in the north, and of the two Floridas in the south, made her almost sole mistress of the North American continent.

This laid a foundation for future greatness, which excited the envy and the fears of Europe. Her navy, her commerce, and her manufactures, had greatly increased, when she held but a part of the continent, and when she was bounded by the formidable powers of France and Spain. Her probable future greatness, when without a rival, and with a growing vent for her manufactures, and increasing employment for her marine, threatened to destroy that balance of power which European sovereigns have for a long time endeavored to preserve. Kings are republicans with respect to each other, and behold with democratic jealousy any one of their order towering above the rest. The aggrandizement of one tends to excite the combination, or at least the wishes of many, to reduce him to the common level. From motives of this kind, a great part of Europe combined against Venice; and soon after against Louis XIV. of France. With the same suspicious eye, was the naval superiority of Great Britain viewed by her neigh-

bors. They were in general disposed to favor any convulsion which promised a diminution of her overgrown power.

The addition to the British empire of new provinces, equal in extent to old kingdoms, not only excited the jealousy of European powers, but occasioned doubts in the minds of enlightened British politicians, whether or not such immense acquisitions of territory would contribute to the felicity of the parent state. They saw, or thought they saw, the seeds of disunion planted in the too-widely extended empire. Power, like all things human, has its limits, and there is a point beyond which the longest and sharpest sword fails of doing execution. To combine in one uniform system of government the extensive territory then subjected to the British sway, appeared to men of reflection a work of doubtful practicability; nor were they mistaken in their conjectures.

The seeds of discord were soon planted, and speedily grew up, to the rending of the empire. The high notions of liberty and independence, which were nurtured in the colonies, by their local situation, and the state of society in the New World, were increased by the removal of hostile neighbors. The events of the war had also given them some experience in military operations, and some confidence in their own ability. Foreseeing their future importance, from the rapid increase of their numbers and extension of their commerce; and being extremely jealous of their rights, they readily admitted, and with pleasure indulged, ideas and sentiments that were favorable to independence. While combustible materials were daily collecting in the New World, a spark to kindle the whole was produced in the Old. Nor were there wanting those who, from a jealousy of Great Britain, helped to fan the flame.



## CHAPTER II.

1759—1763.

### LIFE AT MOUNT VERNON.

Washington's devotion to agricultural pursuits.—His letters.—Suggestion in one of them respecting the probable failure of Montgomery in his expedition against the southern Indians.—Washington's knowledge of Indian character.—Evinced in the fulfilment of his presentiment respecting Montgomery.—Account of Montgomery's expedition.—Washington as a legislator.—His modesty when receiving a token of public applause.—His course in the House of Burgesses of Virginia.—Agricultural pursuits.—Rural sports.—Strict attention to business.—Tobacco culture.—Trading intercourse with England.—Orders for supplies.—Curious specimens of orders for clothes and ornaments.—Some thoughts of a visit to England.—Home pleasures and pursuits preferred.—Mount Vernon.—Washington's own description of it.—Virginia hospitality.—Custom of the planters respecting the education of their sons.—Washington a vestryman.—Anecdote.—Washington's neighbors.—Their amusements.—Lord Fairfax.—Fox-hunting.—Fishing and fowling on the Potomac.—Characteristic anecdote of Washington and the poacher.—Washington's disinterested exertions for private individuals.—His attention to soldiers' claims.—To internal improvements.

DURING the stirring events which are recorded in the preceding chapter, Washington remained at Mount Vernon, busily engaged in the care of his extensive plantation. He occasionally refers to them, however, in his letters. Writing to his London agent in September, 1759, he says: "The scale of fortune in America is turned greatly in our favor, and success has become the companion of our fortunate generals. It would be folly in me to attempt particularizing their actions, since you receive accounts in a channel so much more direct than from hence." In another letter to the same correspondent (May 10th, 1760), he says: "The French are so well drubbed, and seem so much humbled in America, that I

apprehend our generals will find it no difficult matter to reduce Canada to our obedience this summer. But what may be Montgomery's fate in the Cherokee country, I cannot so readily determine. It seems he has made a prosperous beginning, having penetrated into the heart of the country, and he is now advancing his troops in high health and spirits to the relief of Fort Loudoun. But let him be wary. He has a crafty, subtle enemy to deal with, that may give him most trouble when he least expects it."

No man ever understood the character of the Indians more thoroughly than Washington. His intercourse with them during that portion of the Seven Years' War, in which he took an active

part, had made him well acquainted with their native disposition, and their peculiar tactics in war. How justly his apprehensions for the safety of Montgomery and his detachment were conceived, will appear from the following account of his expedition, extracted from Dr. Holmes's *American Annals*.

During these decisive operations in the north, the English colonists in the south sustained no small calamity from the natives. The French were no sooner driven from Fort Duquesne, than their baleful influence appeared among the Upper Cherokees. Unhappily, at that time, a quarrel with the Virginians contributed to alienate those Indian tribes from the English, with whom they had long been in alliance. The Cherokees, agreeably to treaty, had sent considerable parties of their warriors to assist the British in their expeditions against Fort Duquesne. Many of these warriors, on their return home through the back parts of Virginia, losing their horses, laid hold on such as they found running wild in the woods, without supposing them to belong to any individuals. The Virginians, resenting this injury, killed twelve or fourteen of the unsuspecting warriors, and took several prisoners. The Cherokees, highly provoked at this ungrateful usage from allies, whose frontiers they had been helping to defend, determined to take revenge. The French inflamed their vindictive rage, by telling them that the English intended to kill every man of them, and to make their wives and chil-

dren slaves; and, at the same time, furnished them with arms and ammunition. The frontiers of Carolina soon feeling the horrible effects of their incursions, Governor Littleton, towards the close of the last year, had marched at the head of eight hundred militia and three hundred regulars, into the country of the Cherokees, where, without any bloodshed, a treaty of peace was concluded.

Early in the present year, when joyous celebrations of the peace were scarcely concluded, the governor was informed that fresh hostilities had been committed by the Cherokees, who had killed fourteen men within a mile of Fort Prince George. The war soon becoming general, an express was sent to General Amherst, the commander-in-chief in America, acquainting him with the distressed state of Carolina, and imploring his assistance. A battalion of Highlanders, and four companies of the Royal Scots, were accordingly sent under the command of Colonel Montgomery, for the relief of that province. Before the end of April, Montgomery landed his troops in Carolina, and encamped at Monk's Corner. A few weeks after his arrival, he marched to the Congaree, where he was joined by the whole force of the province, and immediately set out for the Cherokee country. After burning all the towns in the lower nation, in which sixty Indians were killed, and forty made prisoners, he marched to the relief of Fort Prince George, which was invested by

the savages. After relieving that fort, finding the Indians not disposed to listen to proposals of accommodation, he marched forward through the dismal wilderness, where he encountered many hardships and dangers, until he came within five miles of Etchoe, the lowest town in the middle settlements. Here he found a deep valley covered with bushes, in the middle of which was a muddy river, with steep clay banks. Colonel Morrison, who commanded a company of rangers, had orders to advance and scour the thicket, but scarcely had he entered it, when the Indians, springing from their covert, fired upon them, and killed the captain and many of his men. The light-infantry and grenadiers being now ordered to advance against the invisible enemy, a heavy fire began on both sides. Colonel Montgomery, finding the number of the Indians to be great, and their determination to dispute this pass obstinate, ordered the Royal Scots to advance between the enemy and a rising ground on the right, while the Highlanders marched towards the left, to sustain the infantry and grenadiers. The Indians at length giving way, and, having taken possession of a hill, continued still to retreat, as the army advanced; Montgomery gave orders to the line to face about and march directly for Etchoe. The enemy, observing this movement, got behind the hill, and ran to alarm their wives and children. Perceiving the difficulty and hazard of a further pursuit, the English commander gave

orders for a retreat, which was conducted with great regularity to Fort Prince-George. During this action, which continued above an hour, Colonel Montgomery had twenty men killed, and seventy-six wounded.

To revenge this invasion, the Cherokees blockaded Fort Loudoun, situated near the confines of Virginia. This post, consisting of two hundred men, commanded by Captain Demeré, being one hundred and fifty miles from Charleston, was cut off from all communication with the English. The garrison, having subsisted some time on horse-flesh, was ultimately reduced to such extremity, as to be obliged to surrender the place on capitulation. The troops were to march out with their ammunition and baggage, and to be conducted to Virginia, or Fort Prince George; but after marching about fifteen miles from the fort, they were at night deserted by their attendants, and the next morning surrounded by the Indians, who poured in a heavy fire upon them, accompanied with the most hideous yells. Captain Demeré, with three other officers, and about twenty-six privates, fell at the first onset. The rest were made prisoners; and, after being kept some time in a miserable state of captivity, were redeemed by the province at a great expense. The Cherokees could at this time bring into the field three thousand warriors.

We have already noticed the election of Washington as a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, while he was



engaged in his military duties during the campaign of 1758. Being solicited by some of his friends to obtain leave of absence and join in the electioneering contest, he had declined leaving his post, but the result was not the less triumphant and gratifying on this account. Great military services had already become in America the best passport to political honors.

While he was still residing at the White House, before returning to Mount Vernon, a session of the House of Burgesses took place, which he attended. An incident, referred to by all his biographers, took place during this session, which is thus described by Mr. Wirt in his "Life of Patrick Henry :"

By a vote of the House, the Speaker, Mr. Robinson, was directed to return their thanks to Colonel Washington, on behalf of the colony, for the distinguished military services which he had rendered to his country. As soon as Colonel Washington took his seat, Mr. Robinson, in obedience to this order, and following the impulse of his own generous and grateful heart, discharged the duty with great dignity, but with such warmth of coloring and strength of expression, as entirely confounded the young hero. He rose to express his acknowledgments for the honor; but such was his trepidation and confusion, that he could not give distinct utterance to a single syllable. He blushed, stammered, and trembled for a second; when the Speaker relieved

him by a stroke of address, that would have done honor to Louis the Fourteenth in his proudest and happiest moment: "Sit down, Mr. Washington," said he, with a conciliating smile; "your modesty equals your valor; and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess."

Washington by repeated elections retained his seat in the House of Burgesses till the commencement of the Revolutionary war, a period of fifteen years; discharging his legislative duties with that scrupulous fidelity, which, through life, he observed in fulfilling every engagement upon which he entered. His career as a legislator was precisely such as might have been anticipated from his general character. His decisions were formed upon a thorough and careful investigation of facts, and his course was marked by firmness and candor. The few words which on rare occasions he deemed it worth while to address to the House in debate, were consequently always listened to with a degree of attention and deference, which was the best tribute to his sound judgment and weight of character. In the stormy times which immediately preceded the Revolution, he was ever found taking part with the patriotic members of the House.

Washington was extremely fond of agriculture and of rural pleasures and pursuits; and on taking up his residence at Mount Vernon, it was his settled purpose to pass in these the remainder of his life. But Providence

had in reserve for him a higher destiny than that of farming, hunting, fishing, and interchanging hospitalities with other country gentlemen. Such, however, were his pursuits during a considerable part of his prime of life—no less than fifteen years.

It must be observed, however, that while he was engaged in these rural pursuits he devoted his whole attention to them; it being a maxim with him, that whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing well and thoroughly. He superintended personally all the agricultural operations on his estate; kept his own accounts; shipped the produce of his plantation to London, Bristol, or Liverpool, and received from thence his supplies in his own name. All the details of these operations were attended to by him with the most scrupulous care, nothing being too trivial to escape his attention.

The staple article of culture in Virginia at that time was tobacco, and this formed the chief product of Washington's plantation. He exported it to England, putting it on board of vessels which came up the Potomac to Mount Vernon to receive it.

In the colonial times it was the policy of the mother country to discourage every species of American manufactures, and not only agricultural implements and clothing, but almost every thing required for the daily use of a family was imported from Great Britain. These it was Washington's practice to order twice a year from his agent in

London; and the minuteness and particularity of his orders show his habitual accuracy and somewhat of fondness for detail. As an interesting illustration of Washington's habits in this respect we transcribe a few specimens from a recent work.\*

“We have before observed that Washington, with all his supposed stoicism, was by no means indifferent to dress. Infinitely small as was certain provision of this sort which he made for attending court at Fredericksburg, in 1747,—as we have seen,—there is yet a gravity in the enumeration of shirts and ‘hoses,’ which bespeaks a little interest in those respectable articles of costume. In 1757, there had been a large step towards the adonizing that young men are generally prone enough to. An order upon a London merchant,—Mr. Richard Washington, but apparently not a relative within traceable distance,—includes a large quantity of ‘Irish Linnens’—for so Washington spelt the word all his days;—‘1 piece Finest Cambric; 2 pr. fine worked ruffles at 20s. pr. pair; 2 setts compleat shoe brushes;  $\frac{1}{2}$  doz. pr. Thread Hose, at 5s.; 1 compleat saddle and bridle, and 1 sett Holster caps, and Housing of fine Blew cloth with a small edging of embroidery round them, &c.’ And ‘if worked ruffles should be out of fashion,’ the London merchant ‘is desired to send such as are not.’ After this comes ‘As much of the best super-

---

\* *Memoirs of Washington.* By Mrs. C. M. Kirkland.

fine blew Cotton Velvet as will make a Coat, Waistcoat, and Breeches, for a Tall Man, with a fine silk Button to suit it, and all other necessary trimmings and linings, together with garters for the Breeches.' 'Six pairs of the very neatest shoes, viz.: 2 pr. double channelled pumps; two pr. turned ditto, and two pair stitched shoes; to be made by one Didsbury, over Col. Beiler's last; but to be a little wider over the instep;' and afterwards, '6 pr. gloves, 3 pairs of which to be proper for riding, and to have slit tops; the whole larger than y<sup>e</sup> middle size.'

"Of the same date we have a characteristic little letter about the furniture at Mount Vernon, when the young bachelor was evidently thinking of a possible lady, or he could hardly have been so particular:

*'September, 1757.*

'To MR. RICHARD WASHINGTON, LONDON:

'DEAR SIR:—Be pleased over and above what I wrote for in a letter of the 13th of April, to send me 1 doz. strong chairs of about 15 shillings a piece—the bottoms to be exactly made by the enclosed dimensions, and of three different colors, to suit the paper of three of the bed-chambers, also wrote for in my last. I must acquaint you, sir, with the reason of this request. I have one dozen chairs that were made in the country; neat, but too weak for common sitting. I therefore propose to take the bottoms out of those and put them into these new ordered, while

the bottoms which you will send will do for the former, and furnish the chambers. For this reason the Workmen must be very exact, neither making the bottoms larger nor smaller than the dimensions, otherwise the change can't be made. Be kind enough to give directions that these chairs, equally with the others and the Tables, be carefully packed and stowed. Without this caution they are liable to infinite damage.  
G. W.'

"But in 1759 we come to some new matters:

'A sammon-colored Tabby' (not cat but velvet) 'of y<sup>e</sup> enclosed pattern, with Sattin flowers; to be made in a sack and coat. 1 Cap, hkf., and Tucker and Ruffles, to be made of Brussels lace or Point, proper to be worn with the above negligée; to cost £20.

2 fine flowered lawn aprons.

2 prs. women's white silk hose.

2 pr. fine cotton do.

4 pr. thread do., four threaded.

1 pr. black and 1 pr. white sattin shoes of the smallest fives.

4 pr. Callimanco do.

1 fashionable Hatt or Bonnet.

6 pr. women's best kid gloves.

6 pr. ditto mitts.

$\frac{1}{2}$  doz. Knots and Breast-knots.

1 doz. round silk laces (stay-laces).

1 black mask (which ladies of the time used to ride in).

1 doz. most fashionable cambric pocket hkf.

2 pr. neat small scissors.



Real Miniken pins and hair-pins, and 6 lbs. perfumed powder. 3 lbs. best Scotch snuff.

3 lbs. best violette Strasburg (snuff too).

1 ps. narrow white sattin ribbon, pearl edge.'

"Besides curious evidence as to the fashions of the day, the voluminous orders, of which we give but a specimen, show also what were the habits of Colonel and Mrs. Washington and their family at Mount Vernon. Only people who visited a good deal and entertained in proportion, could need so great a variety of handsome things from England every year.

"In writing for the finery of the ladies of the family, Washington evidently took the names of the different articles from *viva voce* communication, and wrote them down as he could best guess at the spelling. As '6 yds. Jackeynot muslin,'—'1 pr. corded Dimothy,' (a farmer being more familiar with Timothy than with Dimity)—'a garnet whoop' (meaning a hoop-ring, or one set all round with the stones),—'Pinns,'—'Jarr Raisons,'—'Callimanca,'—'Calamanca,'—'Calamanco,'—'Philigree shoe-buckles.'

"We think we see him with Mrs. Washington standing by giving the items as he writes:

'A puckered petticoat of a fashionable color.

A silver Tabby petticoat.

2 handsome breast-flowers.

Hair-pins,—sugar candy.

2 pr. small silver earrings for servants.

Miniken pins, Masks, bonnets, bibs, tuckers, aprons, pack-thread stays—a Sett of china for a little miss—a Book of newest and best Songs, set to music for the Spinnet.'

"The word 'fashionable' occurs many, perhaps hundreds of times in these invoices. And the impression left on the reader's mind is that of a rather gay and dressy family, visiting and seeing company in the best style of the day, and unwilling to be behindhand in any thing that related to personal appearance or domestic accommodation. It is because these seeming trifles do assist in forming an estimate of Washington's condition, character, and tastes at that period, that I have thought it worth while to cite these specimens of the annual invoice."\*

In a letter to his London agent, dated 10th August, 1760, Washington says: "My indulging myself in a trip to England depends upon so many contingencies, which, in all probability, may never occur, that I dare not even think of such a gratification." If the visit thus referred to had ever taken place, we cannot doubt of the cordiality of his reception. His character and public services were well known in the mother country; but we cannot admit the probability, suggested by some writers, that any

---

\* According to Sparks, the invoice was semi-annual. Mrs. Kirkland's authority for the details above quoted is a collection of private papers of Washington in the Department of State at Washington.

tokens of royal favor which he might have received, would have attached him to the cause of Great Britain in the approaching contest between her and her American colonies. Washington, notwithstanding the conspicuous positions which he occupied at different periods of his life, appears to have been by no means ambitious of public tokens of applause; and if he had a strong desire to visit Europe, it was undoubtedly with a view to enlarge his knowledge by personal observation of European life.

He had, it must be admitted, many strong reasons for declining to travel abroad. Every imaginable external means of happiness appears to have been at his disposal. An independent fortune, a beautiful and amiable wife, interesting and lovely children, to whom, though not his own, he stood in a paternal relation, agreeable and distinguished neighbors, an employment peculiarly suited to his taste, and a residence which has always been admired as one of the most delightful in the world, and which was endeared to him by recollections of his early life.

Of Mount Vernon he speaks in strong terms of praise, in a letter to Arthur Young (1783). "No estate," he says, "in United America is more pleasantly situated than this. It lies in a high, dry, and healthy country, three hundred miles by water from the sea, and as you will see by the plan, on one of the finest rivers in the world. Its margin is washed by more than ten miles of tide-water; from the bed of which, and the

innumerable coves, inlets, and small marshes with which it abounds, an inexhaustible fund of rich mud may be drawn, as a manure, either to be used separately, or in a compost, according to the judgment of the farmer. It is situated in a latitude between the extremes of heat and cold, and is the same distance by land and water, with good roads and the best navigation, to and from the federal city, Alexandria, and Georgetown; distant from the first twelve, from the second nine, and from the last sixteen miles.

\* \* \* \* \*

"This river, which encompasses the land the distance above mentioned, is well supplied with various kinds of fish at all seasons of the year; and, in the spring, with the greatest profusion of shad, herrings, bass, carp, perch, sturgeon, &c. Several valuable fisheries appertain to the estate; the whole shore, in short, is one entire fishery."

At the time when Washington was passing his time in cultivating the fertile lands of Mount Vernon, the neighboring estates were large, and their owners wealthy; and among them the practice of a liberal hospitality was universal. Many of the planters were connected with the old cavalier families in England; descendants of the men who, in Governor Berkeley's time, were the first to proclaim the accession of Charles the Second to the throne. It is not surprising, that among them it was a common practice to send their sons to England to receive their education. The

tone of society was English, and, to tell the truth, rather aristocratic. The Episcopal Church was as firmly established in Virginia as that of the Congregational Puritans in New England. The parishes were large, being in proportion to the large plantations of which they were composed. Washington held the office of vestryman in two of them, Truro and Fairfax. The place of worship of Truro parish was at Pohick, seven miles distant from the mansion of Mount Vernon; and the pastor, during a part of the time when Washington was a vestryman, was the Reverend Mason L. Weems, so well and extensively known through his lively and eccentric biography of his illustrious parishioner. The place of worship for Fairfax county was Alexandria, ten miles from Mount Vernon.

Washington took a lively interest in the affairs of the church at Pohick.

About 1764, the old church, which stood in a different part of the parish, had fallen into decay, and it was resolved to build a new one. Its location became a matter of considerable excitement in the parish, some contending for the site on which the old edifice stood, and others for one near the centre of the parish, and more conveniently situated. Among the latter was Washington. A meeting for settling the question was finally held. George Mason, who led the party favorable to the old site, made an eloquent harangue, conjuring the people not to desert the sacred spot, consecrated by the bones of their an-

cestors. It had a powerful effect, and it was thought that there would not be a dissenting voice. Washington then arose, and drew from his pocket an accurate survey which he had made of the whole parish, in which was marked the site of the old church, and the proposed location of the new one, together with the place of residence of each parishioner. He spread this map before the audience, briefly explained it, expressed his hope that they would not allow their judgments to be guided by their feelings, and sat down. This mode of argument, so perfectly characteristic of Washington, decided the question. The new site was adopted by a decisive majority, and Pohick church was built in 1765.

Among the neighbors and occasional visitors of Washington were George Mason, of Gunston Hall, his fellow-vestryman, mentioned above, Lord Fairfax, his early friend and patron, Captain Hugh Mercer, already noted for his adventures among the Indians,\* and Dr. Craik, who had attended Washington in Braddock's expedition, and was his family physician through life.

With these and others he exchanged those liberal and rather magnificent hospitalities so prevalent in Virginia in the old colonial times. In their spacious mansions guests were entertained in the English style for weeks together, and the English nobility were rivalled in the gentlemanly amusements of hunt-

---

\* Afterwards General Mercer. He was killed at the battle of Princeton.



ing and horse-racing. Washington himself took delight in hunting, and always kept a splendid stud of horses, many of them of high blood and breeding, imported from the mother country. He sometimes visited Lord Fairfax at Greenway Court, and joined in the hunting expeditions of that eccentric but accomplished and courteous nobleman. "Lord Fairfax was passionately fond of hunting, and often passed weeks together in the pleasures of the chase. When on these expeditions he made it a rule, that he who got the fox, cut off his tail, and held it up, should share in the jollification which was to follow free of expense. Soon as the fox was started, the young men of the company dashed after him with great impetuosity, while Fairfax leisurely waited behind with a favorite servant, who was familiar with the water-courses, and of a quick ear to discover the course of the fox. Following his directions, his lordship would start after the game, and, in most instances, secure the prize, and stick the tail of the fox in his hat in triumph."<sup>o</sup>

Lord Fairfax returned the visits of Washington, and often joined the numerous company who were entertained at Mount Vernon, and engaged with them in hunting over the extensive domain of that and the neighboring estates.

Washington occasionally amused himself with the sport so distasteful to

Franklin. He sometimes engaged in fishing. The waters about Mount Vernon, as we have already seen, were stocked with fish in great abundance and variety; Washington caught them with the usual angling apparatus; and large supplies of them were sometimes obtained by his servants with the seine.

Fowling and duck-shooting in particular were also favorite amusements with him, and in the late and winter months the waters of the Potomac River abounded with flocks of canvas-back ducks, the favorite object of the sportsman in that region. In connection with this subject, Mr. Sparks<sup>†</sup> records a characteristic anecdote of Washington. Like Jackson, he was always roused to instant, resolute, and decisive action by any show of insulting opposition. The grounds about Mount Vernon were infested by a poacher in pursuit of ducks, and this in defiance of previous warnings not to repeat his trespass. One day, Washington, hearing the discharge of his gun, mounted his horse and riding in the direction of the sound, soon found the intruder, who jumped into his canoe and pushed it off a few yards from the shore. On Washington's approach the man took aim at him with his gun. His object probably was to intimidate the man he had injured and prevent further pursuit. But he made a slight mistake in his calculations. Washington, on seeing the insulting movement, instantly rode into the wa-

<sup>o</sup> Lossing, *Field-Book of the Revolution*.—Howe, *Hist. Coll. of Virginia*.

<sup>†</sup> *Life of Washington*.

ter, drew the boat on shore, disarmed the poacher, and gave him a sound thrashing on the spot. History does not record any subsequent visits of this personage to the domain of Mount Vernon.

One of Washington's habits shows the same disinterested character which marked his great public acts. This is his invariable willingness to make himself useful to his friends and neighbors by acts of kindness. His correspondence abounds with evidence of the readiness with which he undertook trusts, acted in arbitrations, executed commissions for persons at a distance, gave information on disputed points, and answered with courtesy the letters of persons who really had no particular claim to his attention. All such offices of kindness he found time to discharge, notwithstanding the many and various demands upon his time arising from the personal oversight of his estate, the management of his shipments abroad and imports of his own supplies, and the keeping of his own accounts,—to say nothing of his duties as host to the many visitors whom his well-known hospitality attracted to Mount Vernon.

Among the tasks which he voluntarily imposed upon himself in this spirit of disinterested kindness, was that of taking care that justice was done to the Virginia soldiers who had served under his command in the Seven Years' War, and who had thus become entitled to certain grants of land. His office of commissioner for settling the military accounts of the colony enabled him to exert himself effectually in this matter.

During the early part of the period which followed his marriage and settlement at Mount Vernon, he joined a company who had undertaken to drain the Great Dismal Swamp, on the borders of Virginia and North Carolina, with a view of using the land for agricultural purposes; and he actually visited and explored this formidable and almost inaccessible tract. The chartering of the Dismal Swamp Company by the Virginia House of Burgesses at its next session, led to important results. We shall see, in the sequel, that this was by no means the only instance of Washington's active promotion of the cause of internal improvement.

## CHAPTER III.

1763—1765.

### CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION.

Indian War of 1763.—Alliance of the Shawanese, Delawares, and other tribes.—Concerted attack on the English settlements.—Capture of Le Boeuf and other forts.—General Amherst sends detachments against them.—Defeat and death of Captain Dalyell.—Colonel Bouquet advances to the relief of Fort Pitt.—Falls into an ambuscade.—Second battle with the Indians.—Colonel Bouquet adopts the Indian mode of warfare.—Repulses the Indians.—Indians operate against Niagara.—Colonels Bouquet and Bradstreet receive reinforcements and harass the Indians.—Termination of the war.—Washington in retirement during this war.—His sentiments on the commencing revolutionary movements.—His course in the House of Burgesses of Virginia.—Treatment of the colonists by Great Britain previous to 1765.—Monopoly of trade.—Internal restrictions.—Disregarded by the colonists.—Trade with the Spanish colonies nearly destroyed by new regulations.—Writs of assistance.—Their illegality shown by James Otis.—Effect of his extraordinary eloquence.—Spirit of resistance awakened.—Injurious effects of the breaking up of the contraband trade with the French and Spanish colonies.—Apprehensions of the colonists.—Great advantages resulting to England from the colonial trade.—Debts incurred by Great Britain during the French War.—Plan for raising a revenue in the colonies.—Arguments for and against it.—Resolutions of Parliament relative to stamp duties.—The Americans object.—Popularity of the measure in England.—Passage of the Stamp Act.—Franklin's opinion.—Thomson's.—Opinion of the government that the law would execute itself.—Consternation of the colonists on its first reception in America.—Opposition to it openly commenced in Virginia.—Patrick Henry's celebrated resolutions.—Washington present at the debate on them.—Henry's eloquence.—The resolutions everywhere adopted by the colonists.—Dissolution of the Assembly.—Proceedings in Massachusetts.—Rhode Island.—Connecticut.—New York.—The West Indies.—Philadelphia Continental Congress proposed by Massachusetts.—Seconded by North Carolina.—The Congress meets at New York.—Its proceedings.—Popular opposition to the Stamp on the first of November.—In Boston.—Portsmouth.—Maryland.—Practical nullification of the Act by the courts.—The printers.—Men of business.—Associations against importing British manufactures.—Effects of this measure in England.—The colonists commence domestic manufactures and abstain from foreign luxuries.—The Sons of Liberty.—Their daring proceedings.—Dr. Franklin at the bar of the House of Commons.—Opinions of Lord Camden and Mr. Pitt.—Repeal of the Stamp Act.—Effects of the Repeal.

At the time when Washington was interesting himself in the project for draining the Great Dismal Swamp, a new Indian war broke out on the western border. This took place just after the news of the definitive treaty of Fontainebleau between France and England had been signed, and the colonists of North America were flattering themselves with the prospect of a long course of peace and tranquillity. In order to

understand the origin of this new Indian war, it is necessary to go back to a review of their affairs for the previous two years.

In a conference between several American governors and the Six Nations, soon after the peace of 1761, a warm dispute arose concerning certain lands, which, the Indians asserted, had been seized by some English settlers, under a fraudulent conveyance. Population, too,



augmented so rapidly during peace, that the colonists overran their prescribed limits; and, as a chain of forts had been constructed around the most important hunting-lands of the Indians, they perceived that the English, by fate, or by design, were about to extirpate them, and take possession of their territory. The Shawanese, Delawares, the tribes along the Ohio, this side of the Mississippi, and about Detroit, concerted a plan in 1763, to attack, at one and the same time, all the English posts and settlements in their neighborhood. Harvest was the time agreed upon; and so effectually was the design concealed, that the first notice was in the yells of the Indians. The settlers were surprised at work in the field; their crops devastated, and their houses burnt. The Indians made themselves masters of Forts Le Boeuf, Venango, Presqu' Isle, and Michilimackinack; and attempted to reduce Pitt, Detroit, and Niagara.

General Amherst immediately detached strong reinforcements to the three latter forts. The one destined for Detroit was put under the command of Captain Dalyell; who was so little acquainted with Indians as to imagine that he might take them by surprise, and at once relieve the fort from further annoyance. About two o'clock in the morning, he started from the fort with two hundred and seventy men; and, while he supposed he was advancing entirely unobserved, received a fire in his front, and, before his men had recovered the shock, another in the rear,

and, immediately after, one on each flank. He fell; and the command devolved upon Captain Grant, who extricated himself by a resolute charge, and was enabled to make his way back to the fort. The Indians knew that the garrison was now strong and well supplied, and, as they could not endure a protracted siege, the enterprise was abandoned.

The reinforcement for Fort Pitt was intrusted to Colonel Bouquet, who started about the end of July with a large quantity of provisions and military stores. Like Captain Dalyell, he fancied it possible to elude the observation of the enemy; and, the more effectually to secure his purpose, he resolved to pass the defile of Turtle Creek in the night. On the 5th of August his men had marched seventeen miles, over a rough and mountainous country, and were just preparing to rest and refresh themselves, when a sudden yell and fire in front announced the presence of the savages, and threw the army again upon their legs. A vigorous charge drove back the Indians, but it was only to lead the troops into an ambuscade; and whatever might be the glory of the conquest, they were satisfied to regain their former position. Similar charges were made in every direction; but the troops seemed only to beat the air, or fight an invisible enemy. The Indians gave way in one place, merely to fall on in another; and what would have been defeat to others was victory to them. The action was con-

tinued from one in the afternoon till evening; and, though the troops were successful in every attack, they gained nothing in the end.

The men slept little during the night; and, on the first dawn of the morning, the Indians aroused them with the whoop of battle, and the roar of their guns. The taste of blood seemed to have given them new ferocity; and even the English themselves, exhausted as they were, recommenced the action with additional vigor,—some stimulated by the hopes of revenge, and others by a spirit of desperation. The Indians were regularly driven at the point of the bayonet; and as regularly turned upon their pursuers as soon as the chase was over. These efforts were repeated till the men became hopeless; they saw their strength thrown away, and their courage exerted in vain; and they stood, remembering the fate of Braddock, and perhaps trembling at their own,—when Colonel Bouquet, availing himself of his dear-bought experience, resolved to fight the Indians in their own way.

The army was encamped in a circle. Two companies, who had been posted without the circumference, were ordered to retire within; the two ends of the broken circle to close up in their rear; and, after making a show of resistance, to give way and retreat. The two first companies, at the same time, were joined by one company of grenadiers, and another of light-infantry. The thin ranks gave ground, according to orders; the Indians followed with headlong im-

petuosity, and, supposing themselves masters of the field, began what they meant for a slaughter rather than an action. Two of the companies already mentioned made a sudden turn upon their flank, while the two remaining attacked them in front. For a moment they were not undeceived, and returned the fire with activity and resolution. But a short time served to convince them of their mistake; they betook themselves to their swiftness of foot, and the four companies pursued them so closely, that they never looked behind until they got beyond the probability of annoyance. But this conquest was, in truth, a defeat. The great object of the expedition was to supply Fort Pitt with stores; and so many of the pack-horses were killed in these several engagements, that Colonel Bouquet was obliged to destroy the greatest part of the provisions. The army advanced about two miles, pitched their tents, and imagined that they might take some rest. Scarcely had they finished their preparations, when the Indians again made their appearance. They seemed not to be yet certain that they were the weakest; but a few discharges completed their conviction; and, for the four remaining days, they suffered the troops to march unmolested.

Having succeeded so ill against Forts Detroit and Pitt, the Indians now concentrated their forces for an attack upon Niagara. Their object was to isolate the fort, and intercept its reinforcements and supplies. On the 14th of Septem-

ber, 1764, they annihilated a convoy which was marching to its relief; and, not long after, made an unsuccessful attack, in canoes, upon a schooner, which was carrying provisions to Detroit. All the northern colonies were called upon to contribute their quotas of men for the prosecution of the war; and, among the rest, Connecticut raised a battalion, and put it under the command of Colonel Israel Putnam. Strengthened by these reinforcements, Colonels Bouquet and Bradstreet so harassed the Indians during the spring and summer of 1765, that in September they were willing to bury the hatchet, and conclude a peace.\*

Washington, holding no military command at the time, took no active part in this war, although the Indians, who were concerned in it, were the same who had been engaged either as his allies or enemies in the former wars in which he had served; and the theatre of their operations was not unfamiliar to him.

While this war was still in progress, the course of public affairs was gradually tending towards that far more important contest in which Washington was destined to act so conspicuous a part—the War of the Revolution. Mr. Sparks, than whom there can be no more competent authority, assures us that notwithstanding the contrary assertions of certain British writers, who question his patriotism at the beginning of the dispute, “no man in America

took a more early, open, and decided part in asserting and defending the rights of the colonies, and opposing the pretensions set up by the British government.”

As a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, he was placed in a position where his political sentiments could not but be publicly known; and the record of the proceedings shows that he acted with Henry, Randolph, Lee, Wythe, Pendleton, and other patriotic opponents of the oppressive measures of the British parliament. It is necessary, for a proper understanding of the origin of these measures, to examine the history and character of the connection between the colonies and the mother country for a considerable period.

From the first settlement of the English colonies in America, till the close of the year 1755, the conduct of Great Britain towards them was that of a kind parent towards dutiful children. As her main object was commerce, without charging herself with the care of their internal police, or seeking a revenue from them, she contented herself with a monopoly of their trade. They shared in the privileges of native subjects, and felt but slight inconvenience from the regulations imposed by the mother country.

Until 1759, the only acts of parliament which were considered grievances, were such as a prohibition of cutting down pitch and tar trees not within a fence or inclosure, and certain restrictions which acted against colonial manu-

\* Sanford, *History of the United States*.



factures, particularly those of iron and woollen.

Though these restrictions were a species of affront, by their implying that the colonists had not sense enough to discover their own interest, and though they seemed calculated to crush their native talents, and to keep them in a constant state of inferiority, without any hope of arriving at those advantages, to which, by the native riches of their country, they were prompted to aspire; yet, if no other grievances had been superadded, to what existed in 1763, these would have been soon forgotten, for their pressure was neither great nor universal. The good resulting to the colonies from their connection with Great Britain, infinitely outweighed the evil.

Till the year 1764, the colonial regulations seemed to have no other object, but the common good of the whole empire. Exceptions to the contrary were few, and had no appearance of system. When the approach of the colonies to manhood made them more capable of resisting imposition, Great Britain changed the ancient system under which her colonies had long flourished. When policy would rather have dictated a relaxation of authority, she rose in her demands and multiplied her restraints.

For some time before and after the termination of the war of 1755, a considerable trade had been carried on between the British and Spanish colonies, in the manufactures of Great Britain, imported by the former and sold by the

latter, by which the British colonies acquired gold and silver, and were enabled to make remittances to the mother country. This trade, though it did not clash with the spirit of the British navigation laws, was forbidden by their letter.

On account of the advantage which all parties, and particularly Great Britain, reaped from this trade, it had long been winked at by persons in power, but at the period before mentioned, some new regulations were adopted by which it was almost destroyed. This was effected by armed cutters, whose commanders were enjoined to take the usual custom-house oaths, and to act in the capacity of revenue officers.

The officers of the customs began to enforce with strictness all the acts of parliament regulating the trade of the colonies, several of which had been suspended, or had become obsolete. Governor Bernard, of Massachusetts, who was always a supporter of the royal prerogative, appears to have entered fully into these views, and to have indicated, by his appointment of confidential advisers, that his object would be to extend the power of the government to any limits which the ministry might require. The first demonstration of the new course intended to be pursued, was the arrival of an order in council to carry into effect the acts of trade, and to apply to the supreme judicature of the province for writs of assistance, to be granted to the officers of the customs. According to the ordinary course

of law, no searches or seizures could be made without a special warrant issued upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, particularly designating the place to be searched and the goods to be seized. But the writ of assistance was to command all sheriffs and other civil officers to assist the person to whom it was granted, in breaking open and searching every place where he might suspect any prohibited or uncustomed goods to be concealed. It was a sort of commission, during pleasure, to ransack the dwellings of the citizens, for it was never to be returned, nor any account of the proceedings under it rendered to the court whence it issued. Such a weapon of oppression in the hands of the inferior officers of the customs might well alarm even innocence, and confound the violators of the law.

The mercantile part of the community united in opposing the petition, and was in a state of great anxiety as to the result of the question. The officers of the customs called upon Mr. Otis\* for his

official assistance, as advocate-general, to argue their cause; but, as he believed these writs to be illegal and tyrannical, he resigned the situation, though very lucrative, and if filled by a compliant spirit, leading to the highest favors of government. The merchants of Salem and Boston applied to Otis and Thacher, who engaged to make their defence. The trial took place in the council-

who had the courage to affix his name to a production that stood forth against the pretensions of the parent State. He was a member of the Congress which was held at New York, in 1765, in which year his "Rights of the Colonies Vindicated," a pamphlet, occasioned by the Stamp Act, and which was considered as a masterpiece, both of good writing and of argument, was published in London. For the boldness of his opinions he was threatened with arrest; yet he continued to support the rights of his fellow-citizens. He resigned the office of judge-advocate in 1767, and renounced all employment under an administration which had encroached upon the liberties of his country. His warm passions sometimes betrayed him into unguarded epithets, that gave his enemies an advantage, without benefit to the cause which lay nearest his heart.

Being vilified in the public papers, he in return published some severe strictures on the conduct of the commissioners of the customs, and others of the ministerial party. A short time afterwards, on the evening of the 5th of September, 1769, he met Mr. John Robinson, one of the commissioners, in a public room, and an affray followed, in which he was assaulted by a number of ruffians, who left him and a young gentleman, who interposed in his defence, covered with wounds. The wounds were not mortal, but his usefulness was destroyed, for his reason was shaken from its throne, and the great man in ruins lived several years the grief of his friends. In an interval of reason he forgave the men who had done him an irreparable injury, and relinquished the sum of five thousand pounds sterling, which Mr. Robinson had been, by a civil process, adjudged to pay, on his signing a humble acknowledgment. He lived to see, but not fully to enjoy, the independence of America, an event towards which his efforts had greatly contributed. At length on the 23d of May, 1783, as he was leaning on his cane at the door of Mr. Osgood's house in Andover, he was struck by a flash of lightning; his soul was instantly liberated from its shattered tenement, and sent into eternity.

\* James Otis, a distinguished patriot and statesman, was the son of the Honorable James Otis, of Barnstable, Massachusetts, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1743. After pursuing the study of the law under Mr. Gridley, the first lawyer and civilian of his time, at the age of twenty-one he began the practice at Plymouth. In 1761, he distinguished himself by pleading against the writs of assistance, which the officers of the customs had applied for to the judges of the Supreme Court. His antagonist was Mr. Gridley. He was in this or the following year chosen a member of the legislature of Massachusetts, in which body the powers of his eloquence, the keenness of his wit, the force of his arguments, and the resources of his intellect, gave him a most commanding influence. When the arbitrary claims of Great Britain were advanced, he warmly engaged in defence of the colonies, and was the first champion of American freedom

chamber of the old Town House in Boston. The judges were five in number, including Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, who presided as chief-justice; and

1761. the room was filled with all the officers of government and the principal citizens, to hear the arguments in a cause that inspired the deepest solicitude. The case was opened by Mr. Gridley, who argued it with much learning, ingenuity, and dignity, urging every point and authority that could be found, after the most diligent search, in favor of the custom-house petition; making all his reasoning depend on this consideration—"if the parliament of Great Britain is the sovereign legislator of the British empire." He was followed by Mr. Thacher on the opposite side, whose reasoning was ingenious and able, delivered in a tone of great mildness and moderation. "But," in the language of President Adams, "Otis was a flame of fire; with a promptitude of classical allusion, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance into futurity, and a rapid torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away all before him. American independence was then and there born. The seeds of patriots and heroes, to defend the *Non sine Diis animosus infans*, to defend the vigorous youth, were then and there sown. Every man of an immense crowded audience appeared to me to go away as I did, ready to take arms against writs of assistance. Then and there was the

first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there the child Independence was born. In fifteen years, i. e. in 1776, he grew up to manhood and declared himself free."

The restrictions on the trade of the colonists and the unusual mode of enforcing them, which Otis so eloquently opposed, awakened a spirit of resistance that never was allayed. Nor should this be a matter of surprise.

So sudden a stoppage of an accustomed and beneficial commerce, by an unusually rigid execution of old laws, was a serious blow to the northern colonies. It was their misfortune, that though they stood in need of vast quantities of British manufactures, their country produced very little that afforded a direct remittance to pay for them. They were, therefore, under a necessity of seeking elsewhere a market for their produce, and, by a circuitous route, acquiring the means of supporting their credit with the mother country. This they found by trading with the Spanish and French colonies in their neighborhood. From them they acquired gold, silver, and valuable commodities, the ultimate profits of which centred in Great Britain.

This intercourse gave life to business of every denomination, and established a reciprocal circulation of money and merchandise, to the benefit of all parties concerned. Why a trade, essential to the colonies, and which, so far from being detrimental, was indirectly advan-



tageous to Great Britain, should be so narrowly watched, and so severely restrained, could not be accounted for by the Americans, without supposing that the rulers of Great Britain were jealous of their adventurous commercial spirit, and of their increasing number of seamen.

Their actual sufferings were great, but their apprehensions were greater. Instead of viewing the parent state, as formerly, in the light of an affectionate mother, they conceived her as beginning to be influenced by the narrow views of an illiberal step-dame.

After the 29th of September, 1764, the trade between the British and the French and Spanish colonies was in some degree legalized, but under circumstances that brought no relief to the colonists, for it was loaded with such enormous duties as were equivalent to a prohibition.

While Great Britain attended to her first system of colonization, her American settlements, though exposed in unknown climates and unexplored wildernesses, grew and flourished, and in the same proportion the trade and riches of the mother country increased. Some estimate may be made of this increase from the following statement: the whole export trade of England, including that to the colonies, in the year 1704, amounted to £6,509,000 sterling; but so immensely had the colonies increased, that the exports to them alone, in the year 1772, amounted to £6,022,132, and they were yearly increasing.

In the short space of 68 years, the colonies added nearly as much to the export commerce of Great Britain, as she had grown to by a progressive increase of improvement in 1700 years. And this increase of colonial trade was not at the expense of the general trade of the kingdom, for that increased at the same time from six millions to sixteen millions.

In this auspicious period, the mother country contented herself with exercising her supremacy in superintending the general concerns of the colonies, and in harmonizing the commercial interest of the whole empire. To this the most of them bowed down with such filial submission as demonstrated that they, though not subjected to parliamentary taxes, could be kept in subordination, and in perfect subserviency to the grand views of colonization.

Immediately after the peace of Paris, 1763, a new scene was opened. The national debt of Great Britain then amounted to one hundred and forty-eight millions, for which an interest of nearly five millions was annually paid. While the British minister was digesting plans for diminishing this amazing load of debt, he conceived the idea of raising a substantial revenue in the British colonies, from taxes laid by the parliament of the parent state. On the one hand it was urged that the late war originated on account of the colonies—that it was reasonable, more especially as it had terminated in a manner so favorable to their interest, that they

should contribute to the defraying of the expenses it had occasioned.

Thus far both parties were agreed; but Great Britain contended that her parliament, as the supreme power, was constitutionally vested with an authority to lay them on every part of the empire. This doctrine, plausible in itself, and conformable to the letter of the British constitution, when the whole dominions were represented in one assembly, was reprobated in the colonies as contrary to the spirit of the same government, when the empire became so far extended, as to have many distinct representative assemblies. The colonists believed that the chief excellence of the British constitution consisted in the right of the subjects to grant, or withhold, taxes, and in their having a share in enacting the laws by which they were to be bound.

The English colonies were originally established, not for the sake of revenue, but on the principles of a commercial monopoly. While England pursued trade and forgot revenue, her commerce increased at least fourfold. The colonies took off the manufactures of Great Britain, and paid for them with provisions, or raw materials. They united their arms in war, their commerce and their councils in peace, without nicely investigating the terms on which the connection of the two countries depended.

A perfect calm in the political world is not long to be expected. The reciprocal happiness, both of Great Britain

and of the colonies, was too great to be of long duration. The calamities of the war of 1755 had scarcely ended, when the germ of another war was planted, which soon grew up and produced deadly fruit.

At that time sundry resolutions passed the British parliament, relative to the imposition of a stamp duty in America, which gave general alarm. By them the right, the equity, the policy, and even the necessity, of taxing the colonies was formally avowed. These resolutions being considered as the preface of a system of American revenue, were deemed an introduction to evils of much greater magnitude. They opened a prospect of oppression, boundless in extent, and endless in duration. They were, nevertheless, not immediately followed by any legislative act. Time, and an invitation were given to the Americans, to suggest any other mode of taxation, that might be equivalent in its produce to the stamp act; but they objected, not only to the mode, but the principle; and several of their assemblies, though in vain, petitioned against it.

An American revenue was, in England, a very popular measure. The cry in favor of it was so strong, as to confound and silence the voice of petitions to the contrary. The equity of compelling the Americans to contribute to the common expenses of the empire, satisfied many who, without inquiring into the policy or justice of taxing their unrepresented fellow-subjects, readily

assented to the measures adopted by the parliament for this purpose.

The prospect of easing their own burdens at the expense of the colonists dazzled the eyes of gentlemen of landed interest, so as to keep out of their view the probable consequences of the innovation. The omnipotence of parliament was so familiar a phrase on both sides of the Atlantic, that few in America, and still fewer in Great Britain, were impressed, in the first instance, with any idea of the illegality of taxing the colonists.

The illumination on that subject was gradual. The resolutions in favor of an American stamp-act, which passed in March, 1764, met with no opposition. In the course of the year which intervened between these resolutions and the passing of a law grounded upon them, the subject was better understood, and constitutional objections against the measure were urged by several, both in Great Britain and America. This astonished and chagrined the British ministry; but as the principle of taxing America had been for some time determined upon, they were unwilling to give it up.

Impelled by partiality for a long cherished idea, Mr. Grenville brought into the House of Commons his long expected bill for imposing a stamp duty on America. By this act, after passing through the usual forms, it was enacted that the instruments of writing which are in daily use among a commercial people should be null and void, unless

they were executed on stamp paper or parchment, charged with a duty imposed by the British parliament.

During the debate on the bill, the supporters of it insisted much on the colonies being virtually represented in the same manner as Leeds, Halifax, and some other towns were. A recurrence to that plea was a virtual acknowledgment that there ought not to be taxation without representation. It was replied, that the connection between the electors and non-electors of parliament in Great Britain was so interwoven, from both being equally liable to pay the same common tax, as to give some security of property to the latter; but with respect to taxes laid by the British parliament, and paid by the Americans, the situation of the parties was reversed. Instead of both parties bearing a proportionable share of the same common burden, what was laid on the one was exactly so much taken off the other.

The bill met with no opposition in the House of Lords, and on the 22d of March it received the 1765. royal assent. The night after it passed, Dr. Franklin wrote to Mr. Charles Thomson: "The sun of liberty is set, you must light up the candles of industry and economy." Mr. Thomson answered, "he was apprehensive that other lights would be the consequence," and foretold the opposition that shortly took place.

On its being suggested from authority, that the stamp officers would not be sent from Great Britain, but selected



from among the Americans, the colonial agents were desired to point out proper persons for the purpose. They generally nominated their friends, which affords a presumptive proof that they supposed the act would be carried into effect. In this opinion they were far from being singular.

That the colonists would be ultimately obliged to submit to the stamp-act, was at first commonly believed, both in England and America. The framers of it in particular, flattered themselves that the confusion which would arise upon the disuse of writings and the insecurity of property, which result from using any other than those required by law, would compel the colonies, however reluctant, to use the stamp paper, and consequently to pay the taxes imposed thereon. They therefore boasted that it was a law that would execute itself.

By the terms of the stamp-act, it was not to take effect till the first day of November, a period of more than seven months after its passing. This gave the colonists an opportunity for leisurely canvassing the new subject, and examining it fully on every side.

In the first part of this interval, struck with astonishment, they lay in silent consternation, and could not determine what course to pursue. By degrees they recovered their self-possession.

The first strong and decisive opposition to the stamp-act took place in Virginia. On the 20th of May, the  
 1765. subject was brought forward in the House of Burgesses by the intro-

duction of the celebrated resolutions of Patrick Henry, claiming for the local government of that colony the exclusive right of taxing its inhabitants. These resolutions were, in fact, an expression of the public sentiment throughout all the colonies; and their publication instantly set the country in a flame. They are given in "Ramsay's History of the American Revolution," in the following terms:\*

*Resolved*, That the first adventurers, settlers of this his majesty's colony and dominion of Virginia, brought with them and transmitted to their posterity and all other his majesty's subjects since inhabiting in this his majesty's said colony, all the liberties, privileges, and immunities, that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

*Resolved*, That by two royal charters, granted by King James the First, the colonies aforesaid are declared and entitled to all liberties, privileges, and immunities of denizens and natural subjects, to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

*Resolved*, That his majesty's liege people of this his ancient colony, have enjoyed the rights of being thus governed by their own Assembly in the

\* This is probably the version of the resolutions which was published at the time. They are said, however, to have been modified before passing the House, and still further altered before publication. We give, as an illustrative document, at the close of this chapter, a particular account of the debate on these resolutions, with Mr. Henry's own transcript of them.

article of taxes and internal police, and that the same have never been forfeited or yielded up, but have been constantly recognized by the king and people of Britain.

*Resolved*, therefore, That the General Assembly of this colony, together with his majesty, or his substitutes, have, in their representative capacity, the only exclusive right and power to lay taxes and imposts upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any other person or persons whatsoever, than the General Assembly aforesaid, is illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and hath a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American liberty.

*Resolved*, That his majesty's liege people, the inhabitants of this colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatever, designed to impose any taxation whatever upon them, other than the laws or ordinances of the General Assembly aforesaid.

*Resolved*, That any person who shall, by speaking or writing, assert or maintain, that any person or persons, other than the General Assembly of this colony, have any right or power to impose or lay any taxation on the people here, shall be deemed an enemy to this his majesty's colony.

As a member of the House of Burgesses, it was Washington's good fortune to witness the splendid and momentous debate which followed the moving of these resolutions. His position as a wealthy planter would nat-

urally have led him to take part with the aristocratic and loyal party who opposed them. But his habits and character were such as to produce an earnest sympathy with the people. Like Henry himself, he was born a patriot, and like him he was what is called a self-made man. His opinions on the stamp-act are expressed without reserve in his correspondence; and though no record of his vote on this occasion is preserved, there can be no doubt that it was cast on the popular side. We may therefore easily imagine what his feelings must have been in witnessing the debate, which is thus described by Mr. Wirt:\*

"By these resolutions," says Mr. Jefferson, "and his manner of supporting them, Mr. Henry took the lead out of the hands of those who had, theretofore, guided the proceedings of the House; that is to say, of Pendleton, Wythe, Bland and Randolph." It was, indeed, the measure which raised him to the zenith of his glory. He had never before had a subject which entirely matched his genius, and was capable of drawing out all the powers of his mind. It was remarked of him throughout his life, that his talents never failed to rise with the occasion, and in proportion with the resistance which he had to encounter. The nicety of the vote on his last resolution, proves that this was not a time to hold in reserve any part of his forces. It was, indeed, an

---

\* *Life of Patrick Henry.*

Alpine passage, under circumstances even more unpropitious than those of Hannibal; for he had not only to fight, hand to hand, the powerful party who were already in possession of the heights, but, at the same instant, to cheer and animate the timid band of followers, that were trembling, fainting, and drawing back, below him. It was an occasion that called forth all his strength, and he did put it forth in such a manner as man never did before. The cords of argument with which his adversaries frequently flattered themselves they had bound him fast, became packthreads in his hands. He burst them with as much ease as the unshorn Samson did the bands of the Philistines. He seized the pillars of the temple, shook them terribly, and seemed to threaten his opponents with ruin. It was an incessant storm of lightning and thunder, which struck them aghast. The faint-hearted gathered courage from his countenance, and cowards became heroes while they gazed upon his exploits.

It was in the midst of this magnificent debate, while he was descanting on the tyranny of the obnoxious Act, that he exclaimed, in a voice of thunder and with the look of a god, "Cæsar had his Brutus—Charles the First his Cromwell—and George the Third"—("Treason!" cried the Speaker—"treason! treason!" echoed from every part of the House.—It was one of those trying moments which is decisive of character.—Henry faltered not an instant;

but, rising to a loftier attitude and fixing on the Speaker an eye of the most determined fire, he finished his sentence with the firmest emphasis)—"*may profit by their example! If this be treason, make the most of it.*"

The importance of this debate and of the vote by which the resolutions were passed, was shown by their effects. They were forthwith "adopted everywhere with progressive variations." The spirit of resistance became stronger and stronger, and by the 1st of November, when the stamp-act was, according to its provisions, to have taken effect, its execution had become utterly impracticable.

Immediately after the passage of Mr. Henry's resolutions, the lieutenant-governor (Fauquier) dissolved the Assembly and issued writs for a new election. But this was only a fruitless opposition to the popular will, which was bearing down all before it. In point of fact, "the minds of the Americans underwent a total transformation. Instead of their late peaceable and steady attachment to the British nation, they were daily advancing to the opposite extreme."

The historian, Dr. Ramsay, who was a student at Princeton College when the stamp-act was passed, thus records the manner of its reception by the colonists:

A new mode of displaying resentment against the friends of the stamp-act began in Massachusetts, and was followed by the other colonies. A few







*Sherry*

gentlemen hung out, early in the morning, on the limb of a large tree, towards the entrance of Boston, two effigies,

one designed for the stamp-master, the other for a jack-boot,

with a head and horns peeping out at the top. Great numbers both from town and country came to see them. A spirit of enthusiasm was diffused among the spectators. In the evening the whole was cut down, and carried in procession by the populace, shouting "liberty and property forever, no stamps." They next pulled down a new building, lately erected by Mr. Oliver, the stamp-master. They then went to his house, before which they beheaded his effigy, and at the same time broke his windows.

Eleven days after, similar violences were repeated. The mob attacked the house of Mr. William Story, deputy-register of the court of admiralty,—shattered his windows,—broke into his dwelling-house, and destroyed the books and files belonging to the said court, and ruined a great part of his furniture. They next proceeded to the house of Benjamin Hallowel, comptroller of the customs, and repeated similar excesses, and drank and destroyed his liquors. They afterwards proceeded to the house of Mr. Hutchinson, and soon demolished it. They carried off his plate, furniture, and apparel, and scattered or destroyed manuscripts and other curious and useful papers, which for thirty years he had been collecting. About half a dozen of the meanest of the mob were

soon after taken up and committed; but they either broke jail, or otherwise escaped all punishment. The town of Boston condemned these proceedings, and, for some time, private gentlemen kept watch at night, to prevent further violence.

Similar disturbances broke out in the adjacent colonies, nearly about the same time. On the 27th of August, the people of Newport, in Rhode Island, exhibited three effigies, intended for Messrs. Howard, Moffatt, and Johnson, in a cart, with halters about their necks, and after hanging them on a gallows for some time, cut them down and burnt them, amid the acclamations of thousands. On the day following, the people collected at the house of Mr. Martin Howard, a lawyer, who had written in defence of the right of parliament to tax the Americans, and demolished every thing that belonged to it. They proceeded to Dr. Moffatt's, who in conversation had supported the same right, and made a similar devastation of his property.

In Connecticut, they exhibited effigies in various places, and afterwards committed them to the flames.

In New York, the stamp-master having resigned, the stamp papers were taken into Fort George by Lieutenant-governor Colden.

The people, disliking his political sentiments, broke open his stable, took out his coach, and carried it in triumph, through the principal streets, to the gallows. On one end of this they sus



pended the effigy of the lieutenant-governor, having in the right hand a stamped bill of lading, and in the other a figure of the devil. After some time they carried the apparatus to the gate of the fort, and from thence to the bowling-green, under the muzzles of the guns, and burned the whole, amid the acclamations of many thousands. They went thence to Major James's house, stripped it of every article, and consumed the whole, because he was a friend to the stamp-act.

The next evening the mob reassembled, and insisted upon the lieutenant-governor delivering the stamped papers into their hands, and threatened, in case of a refusal, to take them by force. After some negotiation, it was agreed that they should be delivered to the Corporation, and they were deposited in the City Hall. Ten boxes of the same, which came by another conveyance, were burned.

The stamp-act was not less odious to many of the inhabitants of the British West India Islands, than to those on the continent of North America. The people of St. Kitts obliged the stamp officer and his deputy to resign. Barbadoes, Canada, and Halifax submitted to the act.

When the ship which brought the stamp papers to Philadelphia first appeared round Gloucester point, all the vessels in the harbor hoisted their colors half-mast high. The bells were rung muffled till evening, and every countenance added to the appearance of sin-

cere mourning. A large number of people assembled, and endeavored to procure the resignation of Mr. Hughes, the stamp distributor. He held out long, but at length found it necessary to comply.

As opportunities offered, the assemblies generally passed resolutions, asserting their exclusive right to lay taxes on their constituents. The people, in their town-meetings, instructed their representatives to oppose the stamp-act.

The expediency of calling a continental congress, to be composed of deputies from each of the prov- June 6,  
1765.inces, had early occurred to the people of Massachusetts. The Assembly of that province passed a resolution in favor of that measure, and fixed on New York as the place, and the second Tuesday of October as the time, for holding the same. Soon after, they sent circular letters to the speakers of the several Assemblies, requesting their concurrence. This first advance towards continental union was seconded in South Carolina, before it had been agreed to by any colony to the southward of New England. The example of this province had considerable influence in recommending the measure to others, who were divided in their opinions on the propriety of it.

The Assemblies of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, were prevented, by their governors, from sending a deputation to this congress. Twenty-eight deputies from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New

Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, met at New York; and, after mature deliberation, agreed on a declaration of their rights, and on a statement of their  
**Oct. 7, 1765.** grievances. They asserted, in strong terms, their exemption from all taxes not imposed by their own representatives. They also concurred in a petition to the king, and memorial to the House of Lords, and a petition to the House of Commons. The colonies that were prevented from sending their representatives to this congress, forwarded petitions similar to those which were adopted by the deputies which attended.

While a variety of legal and illegal methods were adopted to oppose the stamp-act, the first of November, on which it was to commence its operation, approached. The day, in Boston, was ushered in by a funereal tolling of bells. Many shops and stores were shut. The effigies of the planners and friends of the stamp-act were carried about the streets in public derision, and then torn in pieces by the enraged populace. It was remarkable that though a large crowd was assembled, there was not the least violence or disorder.

**Nov. 1, 1765.** At Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, the morning was ushered in with tolling all the bells in town. In the course of the day, notice was given to the friends of Liberty to attend her funeral. A coffin, neatly ornamented, inscribed with the word *Liberty* in large letters, was carried to

the grave. The funeral procession began from the State-house, attended with two unbraced drums. While the inhabitants who followed the coffin were in motion, minute-guns were fired, and continued till the corpse arrived at the place of interment. Then an oration in favor of the deceased was pronounced. It was scarcely ended before the corpse was taken up, it having been perceived that some remains of life were left, at which the inscription was immediately altered to "*Liberty revived.*" The bells immediately exchanged their melancholy for a more joyful sound, and satisfaction appeared in every countenance. The whole was conducted with decency, and without injury or insult to any man's person or property.

In Maryland, the effigy of the stamp-master, on one side of which was written "*Tyranny,*" on the other "*Oppression,*" was carried through the streets from the place of confinement to the whipping-post, and from thence to the pillory. After suffering many indignities, it was first hanged and then burnt.

The general aversion to the stamp-act was, by similar methods, in a variety of places, demonstrated. It is remarkable that the proceedings of the populace, on these occasions, were carried on with decorum and regularity. They were not ebullitions of a thoughtless mob, but, for the most part, planned by leading men of character and influence, who were friends to peace and order. These, knowing well that the bulk of mankind are more led by their feelings

than by their reason, conducted the public exhibitions on that principle, with a view of making the stamp-act, and its friends, both ridiculous and odious.

Though the stamp-act was to have operated from the first of November, yet legal proceedings in the courts were

carried on as before. Vessels

1765. entered and departed without stamped papers. The printers boldly

printed and circulated their newspapers, and found a sufficient number of readers, though they used common paper, in defiance of the act of parliament. In most departments, by common consent, business was carried on as though no stamp-act had existed. This was accompanied by spirited resolutions to risk all consequences, rather than submit to use the paper required by law. While these matters were in agitation, the colonists entered into associations against importing British manufactures till the stamp-act should be repealed. In this manner British liberty was made to operate against British tyranny. Agreeably to the free constitution of Great Britain, the subject was at liberty to buy or not to buy, as he pleased.

By suspending their future purchases on the repeal of the stamp-act, the colonists made it the interest of merchants and manufacturers to solicit for that repeal. They had usually taken off so great a proportion of British manufactures, that the sudden stoppage of all their orders, amounting annually to several millions sterling, threw some

thousands in the mother country out of employment, and induced them, from a regard to their own interest, to advocate the measures wished for by America. The petitions from the colonies were seconded by petitions from the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain. What the former prayed for as a matter of right, and connected with their liberties, the latter also solicited from motives of immediate advantage.

In order to remedy the deficiency of British goods, the colonists betook themselves to a variety of necessary domestic manufactures. In a little time, large quantities of coarse and common cloths were brought to market, and these, though dearer, and of a worse quality, were cheerfully preferred to similar articles imported from Britain. That wool might not be wanting, they entered into resolutions to abstain from eating lamb. Foreign elegancies were generally laid aside.

The women were as exemplary as the men in various instances of self-denial. With great readiness they refused every article of decoration for their persons, and of luxury for their tables. These restrictions, which the colonists had voluntarily imposed on themselves, were so well observed that multitudes of artificers in England were reduced to great distress, and some of their most flourishing manufactories were, in a great measure, at a stand. An association was entered into by many of the Sons of Liberty, the name given to those who were opposed to the stamp-act, by



which they agreed "to march with the utmost expedition, at their own proper costs and expense, with their whole force, to the relief of those that should be in danger from the stamp-act, or its promoters and abettors, or any thing relative to it, on account of any thing that may have been done, in opposition to its obtaining." This was subscribed by so many in New York and New England, that nothing but a repeal could have prevented the immediate commencement of a civil war.

From the decided opposition to the stamp-act which had been adopted by the colonies, it became necessary for Great Britain to enforce or to repeal it. Both methods of proceeding had supporters. The opposers of a repeal urged arguments, drawn from the dignity of the nation, the danger of giving way to the clamors of the Americans, and the consequences of weakening parliamentary authority over the colonies.

On the other hand, it was evident, from the determined opposition of the colonies, that it could not be enforced without a civil war, by which in every event the nation must be a loser. In the course of these discussions, Dr. Franklin was examined at the bar of the House of Commons, and gave extensive information on the state of American affairs, and the impolicy of the stamp-act, which contributed much to remove prejudices, and to produce a disposition that was friendly to a repeal.

Some speakers of great weight, in both Houses of Parliament, denied their

right of taxing the colonies. The most distinguished supporters of this opinion were Lord Camden, in the House of Peers, and Mr. Pitt, in the House of Commons. The former, in strong language, said: "My position is this, I repeat it, I will maintain it to my last hour: Taxation and representation are inseparable. This position is founded on the laws of nature. It is more, it is itself an eternal law of nature. For whatever is a man's own, is absolutely his own. No man has a right to take it from him without his consent. Whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury; whoever does it, commits a robbery."

Mr. Pitt, with an original boldness of expression, justified the colonists in opposing the stamp-act. "You have no right," said he, "to tax America. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of our fellow-subjects, so lost to every sense of virtue as tamely to give up their liberties, would be fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." He concluded with giving his advice, that the stamp-act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately—that the reason for the repeal be assigned, that it was founded on an erroneous principle. "At the same time," said he, "let the sovereign authority of this country, over the colonies, be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power, except that of

taking their money out of their pockets without their consent."

The approbation of this illustrious statesman, whose distinguished abilities had raised Great Britain to the highest pitch of renown, inspired the Americans with additional confidence in the rectitude of their claims of exemption from parliamentary taxation, and emboldened them to farther opposition, when, at a future day, as shall be hereafter related, the project of an American revenue was resumed.

After much debating, and two protests in the House of Lords, and passing an act "for securing the dependence of America on Great Britain," the  
**Mar. 18,**  
**1766.** repeal of the stamp-act was finally carried.

This event gave great joy in London. Ships in the river Thames displayed their colors, and houses were illuminated in every part of the city. It was no sooner known in America, than the colonists rescinded their resolutions, and recommenced their mercantile intercourse with the mother country. They presented their homespun clothes to the poor, and imported more largely than ever. The churches resounded with thanksgivings, and their public and private rejoicings knew no bounds. By letters, addresses, and other means, almost all the colonies showed unequivocal marks of acknowledgment and gratitude.

So sudden a calm recovered after so violent a storm, is without a parallel in history. By the judicious sacrifice of

one law, the parliament of Great Britain procured an acquiescence in all that remained.

There were enlightened patriots, fully impressed with an idea, that the immoderate joy of the colonists was disproportioned to the advantage they had gained.

The stamp-act, though repealed, was not repealed on American principles. The preamble assigned as the reason thereof, "That the collecting the several duties and revenues, as by the said act was directed, would be attended with many inconveniences, and productive of consequences dangerous to the commercial interests of these kingdoms."

Though this reason was a good one in England, it was by no means satisfactory in America. At the same time that the stamp-act was repealed, the absolute, unlimited supremacy of parliament was, in words, asserted. The opposers of the repeal contended for this as essential; the friends of that measure acquiesced in it to strengthen their party, and make sure of their object. Many of both sides thought that the dignity of Great Britain required something of the kind to counterbalance the loss of authority that might result from her yielding to the demands of the colonists. The act for this purpose was called the declaratory act, and was in principle more hostile to American rights than the stamp-act; for it annulled those resolutions and acts of the provincial assemblies, in which they had asserted their right to exemption from

all taxes not imposed by their own representatives; and also enacted, "That the parliament had, and of right ought to have, power to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever."

The bulk of the Americans, intoxicated with the advantage they had gained, overlooked this statute, which in one comprehensive sentence not only deprived them of liberty and property, but of every right incident to humanity.

They considered it as a salvo for the honor of parliament, in repealing an act which had so lately received their sanction, and flattered themselves it would remain a dead letter, and that although the right of taxation was in words retained, it would never be exercised. Unwilling to contend about paper claims of ideal supremacy, they returned to their habits of good-humor with the parent state.



## DOCUMENT ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER III.

---

### DEBATE ON PATRICK HENRY'S RESOLUTIONS ON THE STAMP-ACT.

THE gentlemen of the country\* had, at that time, become involved in that state of indebtedness, which has since ended in so general a crash of their fortunes. Mr. Robinson, the speaker, was also the treasurer, an officer always chosen by the Assembly. He was an excellent man, liberal, friendly, and rich. He had been drawn in to lend on his own account great sums of money to planters who were deeply involved in debt, and especially those who were of the Assembly. He used freely for this purpose the public money, confiding for its replacement in his own means, and the securities he had taken on these loans. About this time, however, he became sensible that his *deficit* to the public was become so enormous, as that a discovery must soon take place, for as yet the public had no suspicion of it. He devised, therefore, with his friends in the Assembly, a plan for a public loan-office, to a certain amount, from which moneys might be lent on public account, and on good landed security, to individuals. I find in "Royle's Virginia Gazette" of the 17th of May, 1765, this proposition for a loan-office presented, its advantages detailed, and the plan explained.

It seems to have been done by a borrowing member, from the feeling with which the motives are expressed, and to have been preparatory to the intended motion. Between the 17th and 30th (the latter being the date of Mr. Henry's resolutions on the stamp-act), the motion for a loan-office was accordingly brought forward in the House of Burgesses; and had it succeeded, the debts due to Robinson on these loans would have been transferred to the public,

---

\* Virginia.

and his *deficit* thus completely covered. This state of things, however, was not yet known; but Mr. Henry attacked the scheme on other general grounds, in that style of bold, grand, and overwhelming eloquence, for which he became so justly celebrated afterwards. I had been intimate with him from the year 1759-60, and felt an interest in what concerned him; and I can never forget a particular exclamation of his in the debate, which electrified his hearers. It had been urged, that from certain unhappy circumstances of the colony, men of substantial property had contracted debts, which, if exacted suddenly, must ruin them and their families, but with a little indulgence of time, might be paid with ease. "What, sir," exclaimed Mr. Henry, in animadverting on this, "is it proposed, then, to reclaim the spendthrift from his dissipation and extravagance, by filling his pockets with money?" These expressions are indelibly impressed on my memory. He laid open with so much energy the spirit of favoritism, on which the proposition was founded, and the abuses to which it would lead, that it was crushed in its birth. He carried with him all the members of the upper counties, and left a minority composed merely of the aristocracy of the country. From this time his popularity swelled apace; and Mr. Robinson dying the year afterwards, his *deficit* was brought to light, and discovered the true object of the proposition.

The exclamation above quoted by my correspondent as having electrified Mr. Henry's hearers, is a striking specimen of one of his great excellences in speaking; which was the power of condensing the substance of a long argument into one short, pithy question. The hearer was surprised at finding himself brought so suddenly and so clearly to a just conclusion.

He could hardly conceive how it was effected; and could not fail to regard, with high admiration, the power of that intellect, which could come at its ends by so short a course, and work out its purposes with the quickness and certainty of magic.

The aristocracy were startled by such a *phenomenon* from the plebeian ranks. They could not be otherwise than indignant at the presumption of an obscure and unpolished rustic, who, without asking the support or countenance of any patron among themselves, stood upon his own ground, and bearded them even in their stronghold. That this rustic should have been able, too, by his single strength, to baffle their whole phalanx and put it to rout, was a mortification too humiliating to be easily borne. They affected to ridicule his vicious and depraved pronunciation, the homespun coarseness of his language, and his hypocritical canting in relation to his humility and ignorance. But they could not help admiring and envying his wonderful gift; that thorough knowledge of the human heart which he displayed; that power of throwing his reasoning into short and clear aphorisms, which, desultory as they were, supplied, in a great degree, the place of method and logic; that imagination so copious, poetic, and sublime; the irresistible power with which he caused every passion to rise at his bidding; and all the rugged might and majesty of his eloquence. From this moment he had no friends on the aristocratic side of the House. They looked upon him with envy and with terror. They were forced at length to praise his genius; but that praise was wrung from them with painful reluctance. They would have denied it if they could. They would have overshadowed it; and did at first try to overshadow it, by magnifying his defects; but it would have been as easy for them to have eclipsed the splendor of the sun by pointing to his spots.

If, however, he had lost one side of the House by his undaunted manner of blowing up this aristocratic project, he had made the other side his fast friends. They had listened with admiration unmixed with envy. Their souls had been struck with amazement and rapture, and thrilled with unspeakable sensations which they had

never felt before. The man, too, who had produced these effects, was *one of themselves*. This was balm to them; for there is a wide difference between that distant admiration which we pay as a tax due to long-standing merit in superior rank, and that throbbing applause which rushes spontaneously and warm from the heart towards a new man and an equal.

There is always something of latent repining, approaching to resentment, mingled with that respect which is exacted from us by rank, and we feel a secret gratification in seeing it humbled. In the same proportion we love the man who has given us this gratification, and avenged, as it were, our own past indignities. Such was precisely the state of feeling which Mr. Henry produced on the present occasion. The lower ranks of the House beheld and heard him with gratitude and veneration. They regarded him as a sturdy and wide-spreading oak, beneath whose cool and refreshing shade they might take refuge from those beams of aristocracy that had played upon them so long with rather an unpleasant heat.

After this victorious sally upon their party, the former leaders of the House were not very well disposed to look with a favorable eye on any proposition which he should make. They had less idea of contributing to foster the popularity and pamper the power of a man who seemed born to be their scourge, and to drag down their ancient honors to the dust. It was in this unpropitious state of things, after having waited in vain for some step to be taken on the other side of the house, and when the session was within three days of its expected close, that Mr. Henry introduced his celebrated resolutions on the stamp-act.

I will not withhold from the reader a note of this transaction from the pen of Mr. Henry himself. It is a curiosity, and highly worthy of preservation. After his death, there was found among his papers one sealed, and thus endorsed: "Inclosed are the resolutions of the Virginia Assembly in 1765, concerning the stamp-act. Let my executors open this paper." Within was found the following copy of the resolutions in Mr. Henry's handwriting:

*Resolved*, That the first adventurers and set-

tlers of this, his majesty's colony and dominion, brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, and all other his majesty's subjects, since inhabiting in this his majesty's said colony, all the privileges, franchises, and immunities, that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and possessed, by the people of Great Britain.

*Resolved*, That by two royal charters granted by King James the First, the colonists aforesaid are declared entitled to all the privileges, liberties, and immunities of denizens and natural born subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

*Resolved*, That the taxation of the people by themselves to represent them, or by persons chosen by themselves to represent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear, and the easiest mode of raising them, and are equally affected by such taxes themselves, is the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, and without which the ancient constitution cannot subsist.

*Resolved*, That his majesty's liege people of this most ancient colony, have uninterruptedly enjoyed the right of being thus governed by their own Assembly in the article of their taxes and internal police, and that the same hath never been forfeited, or in any other way given up, but hath been constantly recognized by the king and people of Great Britain.

*Resolved, therefore*, That the General Assembly of this colony have the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom.

On the back of the paper containing those resolutions is the following endorsement, which is also in the handwriting of Mr. Henry himself: "The within resolutions passed the House of Burgesses in May, 1765. They formed the first opposition to the stamp-act, and the scheme of taxing America by the British parliament. All the colonies, either through fear or want of opportunity to form an opposition, or from influence of some kind or other, had remained silent.

I had been for the first time elected a burgess a few days before, was young, inexperienced, unacquainted with the forms of the House, and the members that composed it. Finding the men of weight averse to opposition, and the commencement of the tax at hand, and that no person was likely to step forth, I determined to venture, and alone, unadvised, and unassisted, on a blank leaf of an old law-book wrote the within. Upon offering them to the House, violent debates ensued. Many threats were uttered, and much abuse cast on me, by the party for submission. After a long and warm contest, the resolutions passed by a very small majority, perhaps of one or two only. The alarm spread throughout America with astonishing quickness, and the ministerial party were overwhelmed. The great point of resistance to British taxation was universally established in the colonies. This brought on the war, which finally separated the two countries, and gave independence to ours. Whether this will prove a blessing or a curse, will depend upon the use our people make of the blessings which a gracious God hath bestowed on us. If they are wise, they will be great and happy. If they are of a contrary character, they will be miserable. Righteousness alone can exalt them as a nation. Reader! whoever thou art, remember this; and in thy sphere practice virtue itself, and encourage it in others."

Such is the short, plain, and modest account which Mr. Henry has left of this transaction. But other interesting particulars have been handed down by tradition, and still live in the recollection of one, at least, now in life, as the reader will presently see, by his own statement.

The resolutions, having been prepared in the manner which has been mentioned, were shown by Mr. Henry to two members only, before they were offered to the House; these were, John Fleming, a most respectable member for the county of Cumberland, and George Johnston, for that of Fairfax.

The reader will remark that the first four resolutions, as left by Mr. Henry, do little more than reaffirm the principles advanced in the address, memorial, and remonstrance of the preceding year; that is, they deny the right assumed by the British parliament, and assert the



exclusive right of the colony to tax itself. There is an important difference, however, between those State papers and the resolutions, in the point of time and the circumstances under which they were brought forward, for the address and the other State papers were prepared before the stamp-act had passed; they do nothing more, therefore, than call in question, by a course of respectful and submissive reasoning, the propriety of exercising the right before it had been exercised; and they are, moreover, addressed to the legislature of Great Britain, *by the way of prevention*, and in a strain of decent remonstrance and argument. But at the time when Mr. Henry offered his resolutions, the stamp-act had passed, and the resolutions were intended for the people of the colonies. It will, also, be observed that the fifth resolution, as given by Mr. Henry, contains the bold assertion, that every attempt to vest the power of taxation over the colonies in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly, had a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom; which was asserting, in effect, that the act which had passed was an encroachment on the rights and liberties of the people, and amounted to a direct charge of tyranny and despotism against the British king, lords, and commons.

It is not wonderful that even the friends of colonial rights, who knew the feeble and defenceless situation of this country, should be startled at a step so bold and daring. That effect was produced; and the resolutions were resisted not only by the aristocracy of the House, but by many of those who were afterwards distinguished among the brightest champions of American liberty.

The following is Mr. Jefferson's account of this transaction:

"Mr. Henry moved and Mr. Johnston seconded these resolutions successively. They were opposed by Messrs. Randolph, Bland, Pendleton, Wythe, and all the old members whose influence in the House had, till then, been unbroken. They did it, not from any question of our rights, but on the ground that the same sentiments had been, at their preceding session, expressed in a more conciliatory form, to which the answers

were not yet received. But torrents of sublime eloquence from Henry, backed by the solid reasoning of Johnston, prevailed. The last, however, and strongest resolution, was carried but by a single vote. The debate on it was most bloody. I was then but a student, and stood at the door of communication between the House and the lobby (for as yet there was no gallery), during the whole debate and vote; and I well remember, that after the numbers on the division were told and declared from the chair, Peyton Randolph (the attorney-general) came out at the door where I was standing, and said, as he entered the lobby, "by G—d, I would have given five hundred guineas for a single vote;" for one vote would have divided the House, and Robinson was in the chair, who he knew would have negatived the resolution. Mr. Henry left town that evening; and the next morning, before the meeting of the House, Colonel Peter Randolph, then of the council, came to the hall of Burgesses and sat at the clerk's table till the House bell rang, thumbing over the volumes of journals to find a precedent of expunging a vote of the House, which, he said, had taken place while he was a member, or clerk of the House, I do not recollect which. I stood by him at the end of the table a considerable part of the time, looking on as he turned over the leaves; but I do not recollect whether he found the erasure. In the mean time some of the timid members who had voted for the strongest resolution had become alarmed; and, as soon as the House met, a motion was made and carried to expunge it from the journals. There being at that day but one printer, and he entirely under the control of the governor, I do not know that this resolution ever appeared in print. I write this from memory; but the impression made on me at the time was such as to fix the facts indelibly in my mind. I suppose the original journal was among those destroyed by the British, or its obliterated face might be appealed to. And here I will state that Burke's statement of Mr. Henry's consenting to withdraw two resolutions, by way of compromise with his opponents, is entirely erroneous."

The manuscript journal of the day is not to be found; whether it was suppressed, or casually

lost, must remain a matter of uncertainty; it disappeared, however, shortly after the session, and therefore could not have been among the documents destroyed by the British during the Revolutionary war, as conjectured by Mr. Jefferson.

In the interesting fact of the erasure of the fifth resolution, Mr. Jefferson is supported by the distinct recollection of Mr. Paul Carrington,

late a judge of the Court of Appeals of Virginia, and the only surviving member, it is believed, of the House of Burgesses of 1765. The statement is also confirmed, if indeed further confirmation were necessary, by the circumstance that instead of the five resolutions, so solemnly recorded by Mr. Henry as having passed the House, the journal of the day only exhibits four. — *Wirt's Patrick Henry*.

## CHAPTER IV.

1766—1768.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY STORM INCREASING.

Washington's pursuits at Mount Vernon.—His opinion of the Stamp-Act and of the commercial regulations for the colonies.—His remarks on the repeal of the Stamp-Act.—His foresight of coming troubles.—Views of Grenville and Townshend's plan.—Colonial views on Chatham's declaratory act.—Lord Shelburne receives intelligence respecting the complaints of the colonists.—Chatham's remarks.—Shelburne's remarks.—Chatham's reply.—Beckford's remarks.—Sound views of Gerard Hamilton.—Shelburne foresees that in case of war, France and Spain will aid the Americans.—Townshend's bill, imposing duties on glass, paper, pasteboard, white and red lead, painters' colors, and tea, is passed.—Also an act for putting all duties and customs in the American colonies under the management of the king's resident commissioners.—Also an act to suspend legislative proceedings in New York.—The Mutiny Act.—Lord Shelburne's remarks on it.—Effects of Townshend's bills in the colonies.—The colonists protest against them.—Meeting in Boston for forming a non-importation association.—John Dickinson.—The American Farmer.—The Assembly of Massachusetts invites the co-operation of the other colonies in measures of opposition to British oppression.—Lord Hillsborough requires the Massachusetts Assembly to *rescind*.—Their spirited reply to Governor Bernard.—The Assembly dissolved.—Affair of the sloop *Liberty*.—Proceedings of the Sons of Liberty.—The rioters escape.—The commissioners of customs apply for military aid.—Scheme for quartering troops in Boston.—Troops ordered to Boston.—Remonstrances of the people.—New articles of association for non-importation signed.—Their tenor.—Meeting of the 12th of September, 1768.—Its proceedings.—Meeting at Faneuil Hall votes to request the people to provide themselves with arms.—Arrival of British troops at Boston.—The local authorities refuse to furnish them with quarters.—Troops quartered in the State House and in Faneuil Hall.—The Massachusetts men send complaints to the other colonies.

DURING the period which has just been passed in review, Washington was quietly residing with his family at Mount Vernon, his pursuits as a planter being varied by occasional visits to his friends in the neighborhood; and to Annapolis, the capital of Maryland, as well as to Williamsburg, where his attendance on the sessions of the House of Burgesses was constant and assiduous. In his visits to Annapolis during the season of gayety, he was accompanied by Mrs. Washington; and both enjoyed in a high degree the cultivated and refined society of that capital.

Still, Washington was by no means an unobservant or uninterested spectator of what was passing in the political world at this time. That his views were coincident with those of the leading patriots of the time is apparent in his correspondence. Writing to Francis Dandridge, London, in September, 1765, when the stamp-act was the principal topic in all political circles, he says:\*

"The stamp-act, imposed on the colonies by the parliament of Great Britain, engrosses the conversation of the specu-

---

\* Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, vol. ii. p. 343.



lative part of the colonists, who look upon this unconstitutional method of taxation as a direful attack upon their liberties, and loudly exclaim against the violation. What may be the result of this and of some other (I think I may add ill-judged) measures, I will not undertake to determine; but this I may venture to affirm, that the advantage accruing to the mother country will fall greatly short of the expectations of the ministry; for certain it is, that our whole substance, in a manner, flows to Great Britain, and that whatsoever contributes to lessen our importations must be hurtful to her manufacturers. The eyes of the people already begin to be opened; and they will perceive, that many luxuries, for which we lavish our substance in Great Britain, can well be dispensed with, whilst the necessities of life are mostly to be had within ourselves. This, consequently, will introduce frugality; and be a necessary incitement to industry. If Great Britain, therefore, loads her manufacturers with heavy taxes, will it not facilitate such results? They will not compel us, I think, to give our money for their exports, whether we will or not; and I am certain, that none of their traders will part with them without a valuable consideration. Where, then, is the utility of these restrictions?

As to the stamp-act, regarded in a single view, one, and the first bad consequence attending it, is, that our courts of judicature must inevitably be shut up; for it is impossible, or next to

impossible, under our present circumstances, that the act of parliament can be complied with, were we ever so willing to enforce its execution. And, not to say (which alone would be sufficient) that we have not money to pay for the stamps, there are many other cogent reasons, which prove that it would be ineffectual. If a stop be put to our judicial proceedings, I fancy the merchants of Great Britain trading to the colonies, will not be among the last to wish for a repeal of the act."

The same opinion of the stamp-act is expressed in a letter to a London correspondent after the repeal: "Unseasonable as it may be, to take any notice of the repeal of the stamp-act at this time, yet I cannot help observing, that a contrary measure would have introduced very unhappy consequences. Those, therefore, who wisely foresaw such an event, and were instrumental in procuring the repeal of the act, are, in my opinion, deservedly entitled to the thanks of the well-wishers of Britain and her colonies, and must reflect with pleasure, that, through their means, many scenes of confusion and distress may have been prevented. Mine they accordingly have, and always shall have, for their opposition to any act of oppression, and that act could be looked upon in no other light, by every person who would view it in its proper colors. I could wish it were in my power to congratulate you on the success of having the commercial system of these colonies

July 25.  
1767.

put upon a more enlarged and extensive footing than it is; because I am well satisfied, that it would ultimately rebound to the advantage of the mother country so long as the colonies pursue trade and agriculture, and would be an effectual let to manufacturing among them. The money which they raise, would centre in Great Britain as certainly as the needle will settle to the pole."

The last passages of this letter show that Washington was by no means satisfied with the existing state of things. He evinces a foreboding of trouble with respect to the commerce of the colonies. As usual, his presentiment was verified. The clause in the repeal of the stamp-act, declaring that the king and parliament had power and authority to make laws which should bind the colonies and people of America in all cases whatever, was reduced to practice in 1767.

As early as the month of January, 1767. George Grenville, the foster-father of the stamp-act, had proposed "saddling America with four hundred thousand pounds per annum, for the support of the troops," &c. The chancellor of the exchequer, Charles Townshend, in answering him, fully agreed as to the principle of the stamp-act itself, only adding that the heats which had prevailed had made it an improper time to press that tax. He treated the distinction between external and internal taxation as ridiculous in the opinion of everybody except the Americans; and he, in short, *pledged*

*himself* to the House to find a revenue in the colonies to meet the expenses. Lord Shelburne, like others, was at a loss to conceive what he meant. His lordship, however, heard from general conversation, that Mr. Townshend had a plan for establishing a board of customs in America, and, by a new regulation of the tea duty in England, and some other alterations, to produce a revenue on imports in America.

"This," added Lord Shelburne, "in many views appears a matter that will *require the deepest consideration, at this time especially*. Besides, I believe the speech I have just mentioned is not the way to make any thing go down well in North America."

In fact, at this moment, the colonies, having had time to consider the Earl of Chatham's declaratory bill, were still more dissatisfied with its extreme principles and strong expressions. Lord Shelburne had letters from the king's governors inveighing against the insubordinate spirit of the people, and complaining of the resolutions of the Houses of Assembly not to provide the troops with vinegar and other articles, lest their compliance should be deemed a precedent for some new tax act.

Chatham, excited by the communication of this intelligence, replied to Lord Shelburne in a violent passion against the Americans, and without expressing any disapprobation of Townshend's exasperating speech and avowed determination of a new taxation scheme. "America," he says, "affords a gloomy

prospect; a spirit of infatuation has taken possession of New York. \* \* \* I foresee confusion will ensue. \* \* \* What demon of discord blows the coals in that devoted province I know not; but they are doing the work of their worst enemies themselves. The torrent of indignation in parliament will, I apprehend, become irresistible, and they will draw upon their heads national resentment by their ingratitude, and ruin, I fear, upon the whole State by the consequences. But I will not run before the event, as it is possible your lordship may receive an account more favorable."

Meanwhile fresh petitions and remonstrances, and bitter complaints against a new mutiny-act, kept pouring in from the colonies. Shelburne found himself obliged to speak of the declaratory act in a style which could not have been very agreeable to the Earl of Chatham:

"That act," says his lordship, "asserting the right of parliament, has certainly spread a most unfortunate jealousy and diffidence of government throughout America, and makes them jealous of the least distinction between this country and that, *lest the same principle may be extended to taxing them.*"

Replying, from his easy-chair at Bath, Chatham was more irate than before against the Americans; but he seems to have discovered nothing wrong either in the declaratory bill or in the scheme of his colleague and nominee, Townshend. He threw the whole blame

upon George Grenville: "The advices from America," he says, "afford unpleasant views. New York has drunk the deepest of the baneful cup of infatuation; but none seem to be quite sober and in full possession of reason. It is a literal truth to say, that the stamp-act, of most unhappy memory, has frightened those irritable and unbrave people out of their senses. I foresee that, determined not to listen to their *real* friends, a little more frenzy and a little more time will put them into the hands of their enemies."

His friend Beckford joined in these sentiments; and in the belief, implied by Chatham, that the Americans in making any attempt at resistance would only seal their ruin, Beckford,—they all seem to have regarded the matter in a frenzy of passion,—exclaims, "The devil has possessed the minds of the North Americans. George Grenville and his stamp-act raised the foul fiend; a prudent firmness will lay him, I hope, forever."

But there was one public man who took a more correct view of the spirit and power of the American people. He calculated that there were in the provinces at least two hundred thousand men fit to bear arms, and not only to bear arms, but having arms in their possession, unrestrained by any game-laws. "In the Massachusetts government in particular," writes Gerard Hamilton\* to Mr. Calcraft, "there is

\* This is the gentleman known as Single Speech Hamilton.



an express law, by which every man is obliged to have a musket, a pound of powder, and a pound of bullets always by him; so there is nothing wanting but knapsacks (or old stockings, which will do as well), to equip an army for marching, and nothing more than a Sartorius or a Spartacus at their head requisite to beat your troops and your custom-house officers out of the country, and set your laws at defiance. There is no saying what their leaders may put them upon; but if they are active, clever people, and love mischief as well as I do peace and quiet, they will furnish matter of consideration to the wisest among you, and perhaps dictate their own terms at last, as the Roman people formerly in their famous secession upon the Sacred Mount. For my own part, I think you have no right to tax them, and that every measure built upon this supposed right stands upon a rotten foundation, and must, consequently, tumble down, perhaps upon the heads of the workmen."

But few Englishmen, either in parliament or out, felt these convictions; and though Lord Shelburne clearly foresaw that if the Americans should be driven into insurrection, there was every probability that France and Spain would break a peace, the days of which they had already begun to count, Townshend's bill, imposing duties on glass, paper, pasteboard, white and red lead, painters' colors, and tea, payable upon the importation into the colonies, and to be applied to the purposes specified

in the stamp-act, was carried through both houses of parliament with as much ease as if it had been a turnpike bill. And the same facility attended another act by which these duties, and all other customs and duties in the American colonies, were put under the management of the king's resident commissioners. Moreover, a third bill was passed, prohibiting the governor, council, and Assembly of New York from passing any legislative act for any purposes whatsoever, till satisfaction should be given as to the treatment of the commissioners and troops, and submission paid to the mutiny-act.

The reader has seen how little the Americans were satisfied with the declaratory bill which accompanied the repeal of the stamp-act. "The discontents," says a recent writer, "were increased by the endeavors of government to enforce what was styled the mutiny-act, but what was more properly an act for quartering and better providing for the troops at the expense of the colonies."

It was an act carried through in a hurry at the fag-end of a session, and yet blindly persevered in.

Lord Shelburne thus describes it in 1767: "It was first suggested by the military, and intended to give a power of billeting on private houses, as was done in the war. It was altered by the merchants and agents, who substituted empty houses, provincial barracks, and barns, in their room, undertaking that the Assembly should supply them

with the additional necessities; and it passed, I believe, without that superintendence or attentive examination on the part of government, which is so wanting in all cases where necessity requires something different from the general principles of the constitution. I am told that it was carried through by Mr. Ellis without the entire conviction or cordial support of Mr. Grenville, who made it a separate bill, lest it might embarrass the general mutiny-act."

In depriving the Assembly of New York of its legislative faculties for opposing this act, ministers threw fresh materials into the black cauldron; and then came Charles Townshend's taxes to make it boil over; and then again, as fuel to keep up the fire beneath it, there arrived at Boston the newly formed American board of commissioners to enforce the payment of the new duties, and to put an end to all smuggling.

Had the Americans admitted the propriety of raising a parliamentary revenue from the colonies, the appointment of an American board of commissioners among them for managing it, would have been a convenience rather than an injury. But, regarding the tax itself as oppressive and illegal, they were offended at the new mode of collecting it. As it was coeval with the new duties, they considered it as a certain evidence that the project of an extensive American revenue, notwithstanding the repeal of the stamp-act, was still in con-

templation. A dislike to British taxation naturally produced a dislike to a board which was to be instrumental in that business, and occasioned many insults to the commissioners.

These commissioners could not possibly have been sent to a worse place than Boston. New York for many reasons was preferable; but whenever there was a choice to make, the cabinet committed a blunder. The colonists read in the preamble to Charles Townshend's\* act, that the duties were laid for "the better support of government and the administration of the colonies;" and they detected a clause in the bill which seemed to enable the king, by sign-manual, to establish a general civil list in every province in North America, with salaries, pensions, &c., &c. They instantly declared that all this was unnecessary, unjust, and dangerous to their most important rights; and they insisted that the establishment of any civil list in America independent of the Assemblies was altogether illegal.

On the 28th of October, 1767, a few gentlemen met at a private club in Boston, the great centre of discontent and pivot of resistance, and arranged plans for making real and effectual the non-importation agreements which had been before suggested. They drew up a bond or subscription-paper, whereby the parties signing engaged to encourage the use and consumption of native manufactures only, and to cease importing, buy-

\* See Document [A] at the end of this chapter

ing, or selling any thing from Great Britain except a few named indispensable articles; and they appointed a committee to obtain subscriptions to this agreement. In this they were successful; but in some instances they found it necessary to employ means for obtaining subscriptions which were decidedly coercive.

In the mean time various individuals took up the pen and employed the press to demonstrate the iniquity of the taxing acts, and the little that the American people had to expect from a corrupt and subservient British parliament. The foremost of these writers was Mr. John Dickinson,\* whose "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies," made a deep and lasting impression. Dickinson, however, recommended his countrymen still to have recourse to petitions to the crown and parliament, and to strong instructions to their agents in England, which, in his opinion, would have the same effect now as they had at the time of the stamp-act. Other writers suggested more violent measures, but not one of them ventured to hint at the disseverance of the colonies from the mother country.

On the 15th of February, 1768, the Assembly of Massachusetts addressed a circular letter to all the other colonies, inviting them to combine in taking measures to defeat the obnoxious act. The Speaker of the New Hampshire

Assembly immediately replied, by order of his House, that the sentiments contained in the circular letter were highly approved of; but that, as the time of that House's existence was near expiring, they could not engage for their successors. But other colonies readily adopted the sentiments and the plan contained in the letter, and passed votes of thanks to the authors of it.

In the month of April, Lord Hillsborough instructed Bernard, the governor of Massachusetts, to require the House of Representatives, in the king's name, to rescind the resolution which gave birth to the circular letter, and to declare their disapprobation of that rash and hasty proceeding. The House refused compliance, and sent this answer to the governor: "If the votes of this House are to be controlled by the direction of a minister, we have left us but a vain semblance of liberty. We have now only to inform you, that this House has voted *not to rescind*, and that on a division of the question, there were ninety-two nays and seventeen yeas."

The very next day, Governor Bernard, in pursuance of Lord Hillsborough's positive instructions, dissolved the Assembly. By this time associations and committees were formed in most of the provinces.

In the month of June, the sloop *Liberty* arrived at Boston with a cargo of choice Madeira. The commissioners sent an excise officer on board, but the skipper and his crew

\* See Document [B] at the end of this chapter.



confined the man below deck, and smuggled the wine on shore, without entering at the custom-house or any other formula. The officer was then liberated; and the following morning, the skipper of the sloop entered at the custom-house four or five pipes, swearing that that was all his cargo. But the commissioners, aware of the truth, ordered a comptroller to seize the sloop and clap the king's broad arrow upon her. As a crowd assembled on the wharfs, the comptroller made signals to the Romney man-of-war, which was lying at anchor off Boston, and the captain manned his boats and sent them to assist the excise.

A mob of people attempted to prevent the seizure of the sloop, and pelted the exciseman and the sailors with stones and dirt; but the man-of-war's boats presently cut the sloop from her moorings and carried her under the guns of the Romney.

The mob on shore continued their riot, beating and nearly killing several of the revenue-officers. The commissioners applied to the governor for protection; but the governor told them he had no troops, no force of any kind, and thereupon they fled on board the Romney. The capture of the sloop Liberty was made on a Friday; Saturday was a busy day, and Sunday was kept very strictly by the New Englanders; but on Monday an immense mob gathered in the streets of Boston; and in the afternoon of that day placards were stuck up to call a meeting of "The Sons

of Liberty" on Tuesday, at ten o'clock. At this meeting they appointed a committee to wait upon the governor, to inquire why the sloop had been seized in so arbitrary a manner, which they declared to be an affront to the town of Boston. They declared that she might have been left with perfect safety at the wharf.

The leading men of the town expressed disapprobation of a riot, which not a few of them were suspected of having promoted; but they took care to mention, in extenuation, the extraordinary circumstances of the said seizure, and the violence and unprecedentedness of that procedure. They offered a reward for the discovery of the ringleaders, and a few persons were pointed out, but the grand jury quashed all prosecution. It was this fact which seems to have persuaded the British ministry that offences in America would not be punished by American juries, and which seems to have recommended to their attention the statute of Henry the Eighth, by virtue of which the offenders might be removed to Great Britain, and tried there.

The commissioners, who had left the Romney man-of-war to take up their quarters in Castle William, now applied to General Gage, Colonel Dalrymple, and Commodore Wood, for troops to support them in their office.

Previously, however, to this application, and even a month or six weeks before the news of these Boston riots could have reached London, ministers

had resolved to employ force, and Lord Hillsborough, in a secret and confidential letter, had told General Gage that it was his majesty's pleasure that he should forthwith send from Halifax one regiment or more to Boston, to be quartered in that town, to assist the civil magistrates and the officers of revenue.

This letter was dated on the 8th of June; and on the 11th, his lordship informed Governor Bernard that his majesty had directed one regiment at least to be stationed in Boston, and had ordered a frigate, two sloops, and two armed cutters, to repair to and remain in the harbor of Boston, in order to support and assist the officers of the customs.

Fresh appeals were made by those who had put themselves in the van of the movement, to the hopes, fears, and strongest passions of the American people; and these addresses usually concluded with the significant truism: "United we conquer, divided we fall." They called upon all the colonies to resist to the utmost the mutiny-act, which granted power to every officer, upon obtaining a warrant from any justice, to break into any house by day or by night in search of deserters. They represented that, if the colonists would only cordially agree as to the non-importation, multitudes in Great Britain who lived and thrived by their trade, would be reduced to want, and would then, in their desperation, force from parliament the repeal of the acts.

In the month of August, the mer-

chants and traders of Boston agreed upon a new subscription paper to this effect: "We will not send for, or import from, Great Britain, either upon our own account, or upon commission this fall, any other goods than what are already ordered for the fall supply. We will not send for or import any kind of goods or merchandise from Great Britain, &c., from the 1st of January, 1769, to the 1st of January, 1770, except salt, coals, fish-hooks and lines, hemp and duck, bar-lead and shot, wool-cards, and card-wire. We will not purchase of any factor or others any kind of goods imported from Great Britain, from January, 1769, to January, 1770. We will not import on our own account or on commission, or purchase of any who shall import from any other colony in America, from January, 1769, to January, 1770, any tea, paper, glass, or other goods, commonly imported from Great Britain. We will not, from and after the 1st of January, 1769, import into this province any tea, glass, paper, or painters' colors, until the act imposing duties on these articles shall be absolutely repealed."

Although this paper was generally subscribed, several respectable merchants refused their signatures. In the course of the same month the merchants of Connecticut and New York 1768. made similar agreements, and in the beginning of September the merchants of Salem did the same. It appears that it was not till the beginning of September that the people of Bos-

ton became fully aware of the intention of government to send troops. On the 12th of that month a meeting was called, and a committee appointed to make inquiries of the governor, and to pray him at the same time to convene a general Assembly.

Governor Bernard said that he had intelligence, of a private nature, that a military force was coming; and that, as to the calling of another Assembly, it was a measure not to be complied with till he had received the commands of his majesty. It was then resolved, "That the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston will, at the peril of their lives and fortunes, take all legal and constitutional measures to defend the rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities granted in their royal charter."

The inhabitants further agreed, that a suitable number of persons should now be chosen to act for them as a committee in convention, and to consult and to advise with such as might be sent to join them from the other towns of the province. They fixed a convention to be held at Faneuil Hall, in Boston, on the 22d of September; and, before breaking up, they voted, "That as there is an apprehension in the minds of many of an approaching war with France, those inhabitants who are not provided, be requested to furnish themselves forthwith with arms." This was significant! The approaching war with France was nothing but an ingenious device.

On the 22d of September, the day

appointed, the convention, consisting of deputies from eight districts and ninety-six towns met at Faneuil Hall; but the day before the men-of-war and transports had arrived in Nantasket Roads, a few miles below Boston. The convention merely conferred and consulted, petitioned the governor, expressed their aversion to standing armies, tumults and disorders of all kinds, and then adjourned.

Governor Bernard then attempted to prevail upon the town-council to provide quarters for the troops in Boston; but they refused, and stated that the troops, by act of parliament, were to be quartered in the barracks; that there were barracks enough at Castle William to hold them all, and that it was against law to bring any of them into the town.

Colonel Dalrymple, who held the command, had positive orders to land at least one regiment at Boston, and he of himself, concluded it would be better not to separate his small force. Accordingly, on the last day of September, he left Nantasket Roads and sailed up to Boston. The ships-of-war, consisting of the *Romney* of sixty guns, the *Launcester* of forty, the *Mermaid* of twenty-eight, the *Beaver* of fourteen, the *Senegal* of fourteen, the *Boreta* of ten, and several armed schooners, came to anchor with springs on their cables, with their guns ready shotted, and their broadsides covering the town.

Resistance was expected, but none offered; and, on the following day, the 1st of October, 1768, Colonel Dalrym-



ple landed the two regiments he had brought with him, the twenty-seventh and the fourteenth, who, with train of artillery and all, did not much exceed seven hundred men. They marched from the landing-place up to the common on the outside of Boston, with drums beating, fifes playing, and colors flying.

In the evening the town-council was again required to quarter the two regiments in the town, and again they refused, quoting charters and acts of parliament. One of the regiments, who had brought with them no tents or camp-equipage of any kind, were permitted, or, which is more probable, took permission themselves, to occupy Faneuil Hall; the other regiment lay out all night on the cold common. The following being the Lord's day, no business could be done; and the puritanical Bostonians were seriously annoyed at the desecration of the Sabbath-day by drums and fifes—sounds hitherto unknown on that day in the provinces of New England.

Pressed by Colonel Dalrymple and his officers, the governor, towards evening, ordered the State House to be opened to the regiment which was encamped on the common. The soldiers instantly came in and took possession of every part of that public building except the great council-chamber. Two field-pieces were placed in front of the edifice, and the main guard was posted at a few yards' distance.

These proceedings excited deep re-

sentment, and caused, besides, many inconveniences; for the lower part of the State House had been used by the merchants as an exchange, and the members of the town-council could no longer get to their hall to transact their business without passing through files of soldiers. Having thus obtained quarters, the governor and Colonel Dalrymple required the council to provide barrack provisions, as regulated by the mutiny-act. The council resolutely replied that they would furnish nothing, and do nothing that might be construed into a submission to that obnoxious law.

For the present, the Bostonians and their neighbors suppressed their vindictive feelings; but the tranquillity was every moment exposed to the chances of sudden interruption and bloodshed: every one of them looked upon the soldiers as forcible intruders, slavish instruments of tyranny, men without faith or morals; and every soldier had been taught to consider the colonists as smugglers, canting hypocrites, and rebels to a most gracious king.

At the same time, all possible care was taken by the Bostonians to impart a highly-colored picture of the injuries and insults they endured to every part of British America. Philadelphia, which had hitherto been inclined to moderation and compromises, now spoke in a louder tone; and other towns which had been violent from the beginning, now became still more decided in their opposition to the acts of parliament.

Meanwhile the storm thickened at

Boston. At the end of May, the Assembly being called together, a committee from the House of Representatives remonstrated with the governor, complaining of an armament investing their metropolis, of the military guard, of cannon pointed at the door of their State House, and requesting his excellency, as his majesty's representative, to give effectual orders for the removal of the ships and troops. Governor Bernard, who had certainly become less courteous since the arrival of the armament, replied dryly, "Gentlemen, I have no authority over his majesty's ships in this port, or over his troops within this town."

A few days after, the House declared that the use of the military power to enforce the execution of the laws was inconsistent with the spirit of a free constitution, and that they would not do any business, surrounded as they were with an armed force, threatening their privileges and their personal security. The governor thought to remove the latter strong objection, by adjourning the Assembly to Cambridge, a village situated at a distance of three miles from Boston, in which there were no troops. But they were not likely to be more compliant at Cambridge than they

had been at Boston. They voted, "That the establishment of a standing army in this colony, in time of peace, is an invasion of natural rights; that a standing army is not known as a part of the British constitution; that sending an armed force into the colony, under a pretence of assisting the civil authority, is highly dangerous to the people, unprecedented, and unconstitutional."

They refused to make any provision for the troops, and they were thereupon prorogued by the governor, to meet at Boston in the month of January, 1770.

The king, to testify his approbation, created Governor Bernard a baronet, and took upon himself the whole expense of passing the patent. Sir Francis left the colony on the 1st of August as poor as when he came there eleven years before, and followed by few regrets. His departure for England was signalized in Boston by public rejoicings, the firing of cannon, bonfires, ringing of bells, and display of flags.\*

---

\* Mr. Bancroft, in his "History of the United States," gives Governor Bernard a very bad character, charging him with avarice, duplicity, and bad faith towards his own government as well as the colonists. His bad conduct in the government was ultimately serviceable, however, by widening the breach between the colonists and the mother country.

## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER IV.

---

[A.]

CHARLES TOWNSHEND.

THIS statesman became very conspicuous among the contemporaries of Washington, by originating the duties on tea, painters' colors, &c., which caused so much trouble. He was the second son of Charles, the third Viscount Townshend; and was born on the 29th of August, 1725. He evinced great quickness of conception and extraordinary curiosity in his childhood: at school and college,—although notorious for his utter defiance of discipline,—he was eminent for his acquirements in various branches of knowledge. In 1747, he went into parliament as member for Yarmouth, for which place he sat until 1761, when he was elected for Harwich, and continued its representative until he died.

On his entrance into public life he joined the opposition; but his political connections soon brought him into office. In June, 1749, he was appointed a commissioner of trade and plantations; in the following year, a commissioner for executing the office of lord high admiral; in 1756, a member of the privy-council; in March, 1761, secretary at war; in February, 1763, first lord of trade and plantations; in June, 1765, paymaster-general and chancellor of the exchequer; and a lord of the treasury in August, 1766, from which period he remained in office until his decease, which took place on the 4th of September, 1767.

In person Charles Townshend was tall and beautifully proportioned; his countenance was manly, handsome, expressive, and prepossessing. He was much beloved in private life, and enjoyed an unusual share of domestic happiness. On the 15th of August, 1755, he married Caro-

line, eldest daughter of the Duke of Argyle, and widow of Francis, Earl of Dalkeith, by whom he had two sons and a daughter. His conduct as a husband and a father is said to have been exceedingly amiable.

Burke, in his speech on American taxation, thus admirably depicted the general character of Charles Townshend: "Before this splendid orb (alluding to the great Lord Chatham) had entirely set, and while the western horizon was in a blaze with his descending glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens arose another luminary, and for his hour became lord of the ascendant. This light, too, is passed and set forever. I speak of Charles Townshend, officially the reproducer of this fatal scheme (American taxation); whom I cannot even now remember without some degree of sensibility. In truth, he was the light and ornament of this House, and the charm of every private society which he honored with his presence. Perhaps there never arose in this country, nor in any country, a man of more pointed and finished wit, and (where his passions were not concerned) of a more refined, exquisite, and penetrating judgment. If he had not so great a stock, as some have had who flourished formerly, of knowledge long treasured up, he knew better by far than any man I ever was acquainted with, how to bring together, within a short time, all that was necessary to establish, to illustrate, and to decorate that side of the question he supported. He stated his matter skilfully and powerfully; he particularly excelled in a most luminous explanation and display of his subject. His style of argument was neither trite and vulgar, nor subtle and abstruse. He hit the House just between wind and water; and not being troubled with too anxious a zeal for any matter



in question, he was never more tedious or more earnest than the preconceived opinions and present temper of his hearers required, with whom he was always in perfect unison. He conformed exactly to the temper of the House, and he seemed to guide, because he was always sure to follow it. Many of my hearers who never saw that prodigy, Charles Townshend, cannot know what a ferment he was able to excite in every thing, by the violent ebullition of his mixed virtues and failings; for failings he had undoubtedly. But he had no failings which were not owing to a noble cause, to an ardent, generous, perhaps an immoderate passion for fame—a passion which is the instinct of all great souls. He worshipped that goddess wheresoever she appeared; but he paid his particular devotions to her in her favorite habitation,—in her chosen temple, the House of Commons. That fear of displeasing those who ought most to be pleased, betrayed him sometimes into the other extreme. He had voted, and, in the year 1765, had been an advocate for the stamp-act. He therefore attended at the private meeting in which resolutions leading to its repeal were settled; and he would have spoken for that measure too, if illness had not prevented him. The very next session, as the fashion of this world passeth away, the repeal began to be in as bad odor as the stamp-act had been before. To conform to the temper which began to prevail, and to prevail mostly among those most in power, he declared that revenue must be had out of America. Instantly he was tied down to his engagements,—and the whole body of courtiers drove him onward. Here this extraordinary man, then chancellor of the exchequer, found himself in great straits: to please universally was the object of his life; but to tax and to please, no more than to love and be wise, is not given to men. However, he attempted it. He was truly the child of the House. He never thought, did, or said any thing, but with a view to you. He every day adjusted himself to your disposition, and adjusted himself before it as at a looking-glass. He had observed that several persons,—infinitely his inferiors in all respects,—had formerly reined themselves considerable in this House by one method alone. The for-

tune of such men was a temptation too great to be resisted by one to whom a single whiff of incense withheld gave much greater pain than he received delight in the clouds of it which daily rose around him from the prodigal superstition of innumerable admirers. He was a candidate for contradictory honors; and his great aim was to make those agree in admiration of him who never agreed in any thing else."

---

[B.]

JOHN DICKINSON.

John Dickinson was a distinguished political writer and friend of his country. He was the son of Samuel Dickinson, Esq., of Delaware. He was a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, in 1764, and of the General Congress, in 1765. In November, 1767, he began to publish his celebrated letters against the acts of the British parliament, laying duties on paper, glass, &c. They supported the liberties of his country, and contributed much to the American Revolution. He was a member of the first Congress, in 1774, and the petition to the king, which was adopted at this time, and is considered as an elegant composition, was written by him.

He was the author of the declaration adopted by the Congress of 1775, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms, which declaration was directed to be published by General Washington, upon his arrival at the camp before Boston, in July, 1775. He also wrote the second petition to the king, adopted by the same Congress, stating the merits of their claims, and soliciting the royal interposition for an accommodation of differences on just principles. These several addresses were executed in a masterly manner, and were well calculated to make friends to the colonies. But their petition to the king, which was drawn up at the same time, produced more solid advantages in favor of the American cause, than any other of their productions. This was, in a great measure, carried through Congress by Mr. Dickinson. Several members, judging from the violence with which parliament proceeded against the

colonies, were of opinion that further petitions were nugatory ; but this worthy citizen, a friend to both countries, and devoted to a reconciliation on constitutional principles, urged the expediency and policy of trying, once more, the effect of an humble, decent, and firm petition, to the common head of the empire. The high opinion that was conceived of his patriotism and abilities, induced the members to assent to the measure, though they generally conceived it to be labor lost.

In June, 1776, he opposed openly, and upon principle, the declaration of independence, when the motion was considered by Congress. His arguments were answered by John Adams, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and others, who advocated a separation from Great Britain. The part which Mr. Dickinson took in this debate occasioned his recall from Congress, as his constituents did not coincide with him in political views, and he was absent several years. Perceiving, at length, that his countrymen were unalterably fixed in their system of independence, he fell in with it, and was as zealous in supporting it in Congress, about the year 1780, as any of the members. He was President of Pennsylvania from November, 1782, to October, 1785, and was succeeded in this office by Dr. Franklin. Soon after 1785, it is believed, he removed to Delaware, by which State he was appointed a member of the old Congress, and of which State he was president.

The following is an extract from an address of Congress to the several States, dated May 26, 1779, which was also from the pen of Mr. Dickinson :

"Infatuated as your enemies have been from the beginning of this contest, do you imagine they can now flatter themselves with a hope of conquering you, unless you are false to yourselves ?

When unprepared, undisciplined, and unsupported, you opposed their fleets and armies in full conjoined force, then, if at any time, was conquest to be apprehended. Yet, what progress towards it have their violent and incessant efforts made ? Judge from their own conduct. Having devoted you to bondage, and after vainly wasting their blood and treasure in the dishon-

orable enterprise, they deigned at length to offer terms of accommodation, with respectful addresses, to that once despised body the Congress, whose humble supplications only for peace, liberty, and safety, they had contemptuously rejected, under pretence of its being an unconstitutional assembly. Nay, more, desirous of seducing you into a deviation from the paths of rectitude, from which they had so far and so rashly wandered, they made most specious offers to tempt you into a violation of your faith given to your illustrious ally. Their arts were as unavailing as their arms. Foiled again, and stung with rage, embittered by envy, they had no alternative but to renounce the inglorious and ruinous controversy, or to resume their former modes of prosecuting it. They chose the latter. Again the savages are stimulated to horrid massacres of women and children, and domestics to the murder of their masters. Again our brave and unhappy brethren are doomed to miserable deaths in jails and prison-ships. To complete the sanguinary system, all the 'EXTREMITIES of war' are by authority denounced against you.

Piously endeavor to derive this consolation from their remorseless fury, that 'the Father of Mercies' looks down with disapprobation on such audacious defiance of his holy laws ; and be further comforted with recollecting that the arms assumed by you in your righteous cause have not been sullied by any unjustifiable severities.

Your enemies despairing, however, as it seems, of the success of their united forces against our main army, have divided them, as if their design was to harass you by predatory, desultory operations. If you are assiduous in improving opportunities, *Saratoga* may not be the only spot on this continent to give a new denomination to the baffled troops of a nation, impiously priding herself in notions of her omnipotence.

Rouse yourselves, therefore, that this campaign may finish the great work you have so nobly carried on for several years past. What nation ever engaged in such a contest under such a complication of disadvantages, so soon surmounted many of them, and in so short a period of time had so certain a prospect of a

speedy and happy conclusion? We will venture to pronounce, that so remarkable an instance exists not in the annals of mankind. We will remember what you said at the commencement of this war. You saw the immense difference between your circumstances and those of your enemies, and you knew the quarrel must decide on no less than your lives, liberties, and estates. All these you greatly put to every hazard, resolving rather to die freemen than to live slaves; and justice will oblige the impartial world to confess you have uniformly acted on the same generous principle. Consider how much you have done, and how comparatively little remains to be done, to crown you with success. Persevere, and you insure peace, freedom, safety, glory, sovereignty, and felicity to yourselves, your children, and your children's children.

Encouraged by favors already received from Infinite Goodness, gratefully acknowledging them, earnestly imploring their continuance, constantly endeavoring to draw them down on your heads by an amendment of your lives, and a conformity to the Divine will, humbly confiding in the protection so often and wonderfully experienced, vigorously employ the means placed by Providence in your hands, for completing your labors.

Fill up your battalions; be prepared in every part to repel the incursions of your enemies; place your several quotas in the continental

treasury; lend money for public uses; sink the emissions of your respective States; provide effectually for expediting the conveyance of supplies for your armies and fleets, and for your allies; prevent the produce of the country from being monopolized; effectually superintend the behavior of public officers; diligently promote piety, virtue, brotherly love, learning, frugality, and moderation; and may you be approved before Almighty God worthy of those blessings we devoutly wish you to enjoy."

He was distinguished by his strength of mind, miscellaneous knowledge, and cultivated taste, which were united with an habitual eloquence; with an elegance of manners, and a benignity which made him the delight as well as the ornament of society. The infirmities of declining years had detached him long before his death from the busy scenes of life; but in retirement his patriotism felt no abatement. The welfare of his country was ever dear to him, and he was ready to make any sacrifices for its promotion. Unequivocal in his attachment to a republican government, he invariably supported, as far as his voice could have influence, those men and those measures, which he believed most friendly to republican principles. He was a member of the Society of Friends, and was esteemed for his uprightness and the purity of his morals. He died at Wilmington, in the State of Delaware, February 15, 1808, at an advanced age.



## CHAPTER V.

1769.

### WASHINGTON'S PLAN OF ASSOCIATION.

The associations for non-importation.—Washington's support of the system.—His letter to George Mason on that subject.—Mason's reply.—Washington's scheme for an association in Virginia.—Lord Botetourt governor of Virginia.—His popularity.—Proceedings in the British parliament.—More coercion to be employed against the colonies.—Offenders against the revenue laws to be sent to England for trial.—Colonial commentaries on these proceedings.—The House of Burgesses of Virginia meet, and pass high-spirited resolutions on the proceedings of the British parliament.—Lord Botetourt dissolves the Assembly.—The House reassembles and adopts the scheme of association planned by Washington and Mason, and now offered to the House by Washington.—Pennsylvania and the Southern States follow the example of Virginia.

It will have been observed by the reader, that the principal means upon which the colonists relied for coercing the British government into a repeal of Townshend's oppressive revenue bill, was the forming of associations, bound by voluntary engagement, not to import or use the articles which were loaded with the obnoxious duty. This was more efficient than petitions and remonstrances, or even mobs and riots in resistance to the law. It was carrying the war into the enemy's country by bringing loss and distress on British manufacturers and merchants, and thus rendering the revenue laws unpopular in the mother country.

This non-importation system was cordially approved by Washington, as we shall presently see. He and his friend, George Mason, were in favor of going a step further, and establishing what would nearly have amounted to com-

plete non-intercourse with England, by refusing to export to that country the commodities which they were accustomed to receive from this country, and especially tobacco, from which the British government derived an immense revenue.

Washington, writing to George Mason under date of January 29th, 1767, thus expresses himself:

"At a time when our lordly masters in Great Britain will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of American freedom, it seems highly necessary that something should be done to avert the stroke, and maintain the liberty which we have derived from our ancestors. But the manner of doing it, to answer the purpose effectually, is the point in question.

That no man should scruple, or hesitate a moment, to use arms in defence of so valuable a blessing, is clearly my

opinion. Yet arms, I would beg leave to add, should be the last resource, the *dernier ressort*. We have already, it is said, proved the inefficacy of addresses to the throne, and remonstrances to parliament. How far, then, their attention to our rights and privileges is to be awakened or alarmed, by starving their trade and manufacturers, remains to be tried.

The northern colonies, it appears, are endeavoring to adopt this scheme. In my opinion it is a good one, and must be attended with salutary effects, provided it can be carried pretty generally into execution. But to what extent it is practicable to do so, I will not take upon me to determine. That there will be a difficulty attending the execution of it everywhere, from clashing interests, and selfish, designing men, ever attentive to their own gain, and watchful of every turn that can assist their lucrative views, cannot be denied; and in the tobacco colonies, where the trade is so diffused, and in a manner wholly conducted by factors for their principals at home (in England), these difficulties are certainly enhanced, but I think not insurmountably increased, if the gentlemen in their several counties will be at some pains to explain matters to the people, and stimulate them to cordial agreements to purchase none but certain enumerated articles out of any of the stores after a definite period, and neither import nor purchase any themselves. This, if it should not effectually withdraw the factors from their importations, would at

least make them extremely cautious in doing it, as the prohibited goods could be vended to none but the non-associators, or those who would pay no regard to their association; both of whom ought to be stigmatized, and made the objects of public reproach.

The more I consider a scheme of this sort, the more ardently I wish success to it, because I think there are private as well as public advantages to result from it—the former certain, however precarious the other may prove. In respect to the latter, I have always thought that, by virtue of the same power which assumes the right of taxation, the parliament may attempt, at least, to restrain our manufacturers, especially those of a public nature, the same equity and justice prevailing in the one case as the other, it being no greater hardship to forbid my manufacturing, than it is to order me to buy goods loaded with duties, for the express purpose of raising a revenue. But as a measure of this sort would be an additional exertion of arbitrary power, we cannot be placed in a worse condition, I think, by putting it to the test.

On the other hand, that the colonies are considerably indebted to Great Britain, is a truth universally acknowledged. That many families are reduced almost, if not quite, to penury and want by the low ebb of their fortunes, and that estates are selling for the discharge of debts, the public papers furnish too many melancholy proofs. That a scheme of this sort will contribute more effect-

ually than any other that can be devised to extricate the country from the distress it at present labors under, I most firmly believe, if it can be generally adopted. And I can see but one class of people, the merchants excepted, who will not, or ought not, to wish well to the scheme, namely, they who live genteelly and hospitably on clear estates. Such as these, were they not to consider the valuable object in view, and the good of others, might think it hard to be curtailed in their living and enjoyments. As to the penurious man, he would thereby save his money and his credit, having the best plea for doing that, which before, perhaps, he had the most violent struggles to refrain from doing. The extravagant and expensive man has the same good plea to retrench his expenses. He would be furnished with a pretext to live within bounds, and embrace it. Prudence dictated economy before, but his resolution was too weak to put it in practice; 'For how can I,' says he, 'who have lived in such and such a manner, change my method? I am ashamed to do it, and, besides, such an alteration in the system of my living will create suspicions of the decay of my fortune, and such a thought the world must not harbor.' He continues his course, till at last his estate comes to an end, a sale of it being the consequence of his perseverance in error. This, I am satisfied, is the way that many who have set out in the wrong track have reasoned, till ruin has stared them in the face. And in respect to the needy

man, he is only left in the same situation that he is found in—better, I may say, because, as he judges from comparison, his condition is amended in proportion as it approaches nearer to those above him.

Upon the whole, therefore, I think the scheme a good one, and that it ought to be tried here, with such alterations as our circumstances render absolutely necessary. But in what manner to begin the work is a matter worthy of consideration. Whether it can be attempted with propriety or efficacy, further than a communication of sentiments to one another, before May, when the Court and Assembly will meet at Williamsburg, and a uniform plan can be concerted, and sent into the different counties to operate at the same time, and in the same manner, everywhere, is a thing upon which I am 'somewhat in doubt, and I should be glad to know your opinion.'\*

The following is an extract from Mr. Mason's reply to this letter, dated the same day:

"I entirely agree with you, that no regular plan of the sort proposed can be entered into here, before the meeting of the General Court at least, if not of the Assembly. In the mean time, it may be necessary to publish something preparatory to it in our gazettes, to warn the people of the impending danger, and induce them the more readily and cheerfully to concur in the proper measures to

---

\* Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, vol. ii. p. 351.



avert it; and something of this sort I had begun, but am unluckily stopped by a disorder, which affects my head and eyes. As soon as I am able I shall resume it, and then write you more fully, or endeavor to see you. In the mean time, pray commit to writing such hints as may occur.

Our all is at stake, and the little conveniences and comforts of life, when set in competition with our liberty, ought to be rejected, not with reluctance, but with pleasure. Yet, it is plain, that in the tobacco colonies we cannot at present confine our importations within such narrow bounds as the northern colonies. A plan of this kind, to be practicable, must be adapted to our circumstances; for if not steadily executed, it had better have remained unattempted. We may retrench all manner of superfluities, finery of all descriptions, and confine ourselves to linens, woollens, &c., not exceeding a certain price. It is amazing how much this practice, if adopted in all the colonies, would lessen the American imports, and distress the various traders and manufacturers in Great Britain.

This would awaken their attention. They would see, they would feel, the oppressions we groan under, and exert themselves to procure us redress. This once obtained, we should no longer discontinue our importations, confining ourselves still not to import any article that should hereafter be taxed by act of parliament for raising a revenue in America; for, however singular I may be in

my opinion, I am thoroughly convinced that, justice and harmony happily restored, it is not the interest of these colonies to refuse British manufactures. Our supplying our mother country with gross materials and taking her manufactures in return, is the true chain of connection between us. These are the bands, which, if not broken by oppression, must long hold us together, by maintaining a constant reciprocation of interest. Proper caution should, therefore, be used in drawing up the proposed plan of association. It may not be amiss to let the ministry understand, that, until we obtain a redress of grievances, we will withhold from them our commodities, and particularly refrain from making tobacco, by which the revenue would lose fifty times more than all their oppressions could raise here.

Had the hint, which I have given with regard to taxation of goods imported into America, been thought of by our merchants before the repeal of the stamp-act, the late American revenue acts would probably never have been attempted.”\*

Mason was not a member of the House of Burgesses at this time, but Washington held a seat in that Assembly, and, soon after expressing these opinions, he was to support them there by public acts. The result of this conference with Mason was a scheme, prepared by him to be offered by Wash-

---

\* Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, vol. ii. p. 354, note.

ington, at the coming session of the House of Burgesses.\*

The governor of Virginia at this time was the liberal and courteous Lord Botetourt.† Governor Fauquier, of whom we have frequently made mention, died early in 1768, and Lord Botetourt was his successor. He was extremely anxious to promote a reconciliation between Great Britain and the colonies. He had become the most popular of all the royal governors, from not seeming to make the matter, at present in dispute, personal to himself, or losing his temper, or acting unwisely or unjustly towards the colonies. As a servant of the crown he did his duty; but always courteously, and with an honest endeavor to allay excitement and prevent those overt acts, which his position would require him to censure. We shall presently see him placed in circumstances which called for the exercise of all his good qualities. Had the British parliament adopted his policy towards the colonists, the controversy might have terminated peacefully. But the members of this body seemed bent upon sustaining their oppressive system by force.

In February, 1769, both houses of parliament went one step beyond all that had preceded. They then concurred in a joint address to his majesty, in which they expressed their satisfaction in the measures his majesty had pursued,—gave the strong-

est assurances that they would effectually support him in such further measures as might be found necessary, to maintain the civil magistrates in a due execution of the laws in Massachusetts Bay, and besought him "to direct the governor to take the most effectual methods for procuring the fullest information touching all treasons, or misprisions of treason, committed within the government since the 30th day of December, 1767; and to transmit the same, together with the names of the persons who were most active in the commission of such offences, to one of the secretaries of state, in order that his majesty might issue a special commission for inquiring of, hearing, and determining the said offences, within the realm of Great Britain, pursuant to the provision of the statute of the 35th of King Henry the Eighth."‡ The latter part of this address, which proposed the bringing of delinquents from Massachusetts, to be tried at a tribunal in Great Britain for crimes committed in America, underwent many severe animadversions.

It was asserted to be totally inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution; for in England, a man charged with a crime had a right to be tried in the county in which his offence was supposed to have been committed. "Jus-

\* Bancroft, *History of the United States*, vol. vi. p. 273.

† See Document at the end of this chapter.

VOL. I.—27

‡ The real object of this proposed revival of the Act of 35th of King Henry the Eighth, was believed to be the arrest of the New England leaders, John Hancock, Samuel Adams, James Otis, Josiah Quincy, jr., and others, and their transportation to England, thus removing them effectually from the scene of action.

tice is regularly and impartially administered in our courts," said the colonists, "and yet, by direction of parliament, offenders are to be taken by force, together with all such persons as may be pointed out as witnesses, and carried to England, there to be tried in a distant land, by a jury of strangers, and subject to all the disadvantages which result from want of friends, want of witnesses, and want of money."

The House of Burgesses of Virginia met soon after official accounts of the joint address of Lords and Commons on this subject reached America; and, in a few days after their meeting, passed resolutions\* expressing "their exclusive right to tax their constituents, and their right to petition their sovereign for redress of grievances, and the lawfulness of procuring the concurrence of the other colonies in praying for the royal interposition in favor of the violated rights of America; and that all trials for treason, or for any crime whatsoever, committed in that colony, ought to be before his majesty's courts, within the said colony; and that the seizing any person residing in the said colony, suspected of any crime whatsoever, committed therein, and sending such person to places beyond the sea to be tried, was highly derogatory of the rights of British subjects." The next day, Lord Botetourt sent for the House of Burgesses, and addressed them as follows:

\* These resolutions were drafted by Thomas Jefferson, who had just been elected to a seat in the House of Burgesses.

"Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the House of Burgesses, I have heard of your resolves, and augur ill of their effects. You have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."†

Not in the least degree deterred from their purpose by this act of duty on the part of the governor, on the very next day the burgesses repaired to the Raleigh tavern, and in a room which bore the name of Apollo, they entered into the articles of agreement already referred to as Washington and Mason's scheme, by which they pledged their honor not to import British merchandise so long as the acts of parliament for raising a revenue in America remained unrepealed.

Among the eighty-eight signatures to this Virginia association were those of George Washington, Peyton Randolph, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, and others who afterwards took the lead in the great struggle. On returning to their respective counties, all these Virginia members were re-elected for the next Assembly; and the small minority who had opposed the resolutions were rejected to a man.

The gentlemen and merchants of Maryland and South Carolina followed the example of Virginia, and adopted the articles of association. Pennsylvania, through her merchants, expressed her approval. The Assembly of Delaware adopted the Virginia resolves,

† Ramsay, *History of the American Revolution*.



"and every colony south of Virginia," says Bancroft, "in due time followed the example."

Thus Virginia, under the leading of Washington, had nobly come forward to the aid of the New England colonies, who had recently borne the brunt of parliamentary indignation. This was done, too, in defiance of the recent threat of military coercion, and extradition of offenders against the revenue acts for trial in England.

"The non-importation agreement," says Ramsay, "was in this manner forwarded by the very measures which were intended to curb the spirit of American freedom, from which it sprung. Meetings of the associators were regularly held in the various provinces. Committees were appointed to examine all vessels arriving from Brit-

ain. Censures were freely passed on such as refused to concur in these associations, and their names published in the newspapers as enemies to their country. The regular acts of the provincial Assemblies were not so much respected and obeyed as the decrees of these committees; the associations were in general as well observed as could be expected; but nevertheless there were some collusions. The fear of mobs, of public resentment and contempt, co-operating with patriotism, preponderated over private interest and convenience."

Washington scrupulously observed this agreement; and enjoined upon his London factor to send him none of the interdicted goods, unless the offensive acts of parliament should in the mean time be repealed.

## DOCUMENT ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER V.

LORD BOTETOURT, GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA  
FROM 1768 TO 1770.

NORBORNE BERKELEY (Baron de Botetourt) was appointed governor of Virginia in July, 1768, and arrived at Williamsburg in October of the same year. On his first arrival, he affected the style of royalty, going to deliver his address at the opening of the House of Burgesses in a state carriage, and returning to his residence in the same pompous style after the opening speech was delivered, precisely as the King of Great Britain opens the sessions of parliament. He soon discovered, however, that the colonists, at the time when his government began, were engaged in too serious work to pay any regard to this amusing attempt to overawe them, and he wisely dropped the vice-royal style, and adopted the free, frank, and cordial manner, which prevailed among the gentlemen of Virginia. This change of manner, and an evident desire to serve the colony as well as the king by conciliatory measures, rendered him exceedingly popular. His administration was brought to a speedy termination by his decease. He died at Williamsburg, October 15th, 1770. His successor, John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, was of a directly opposite character.

In Howe's "Historical Collections of Virginia" we find an amusing account of the reception of Lord Botetourt on his first arrival in Virginia, copied from the Virginia Gazette (October, 1768):

"Last Tuesday evening arrived at Hampton Roads, in eight weeks from Portsmouth, the Rippon man-of-war, of sixty guns, Samuel Thompson, Esq., commander, having on board his Excellency, the Right Honorable Nor-

BORNE, Baron de BOTETOURT, his majesty's lieutenant and governor-general of this colony and dominion. Next morning, his Excellency landed at *Little England*, and was saluted with a discharge of the cannon there. After tarrying a few hours and taking a repast, his Excellency set out about noon for this city, where he arrived about sunset. His Excellency stopped at the capitol, and was received at the gate by his majesty's Council, the Honorable the Speaker, the Attorney-general, the Treasurer, and many other gentlemen of distinction, after which, being conducted to the council-chamber and having his commissions read, was qualified to exercise his high office by taking the usual oaths. His Excellency then swore in the members of his majesty's council, after which he proceeded to the *Raleigh Tavern*, and supped there with his majesty's council. His Excellency retired about ten, and took up his lodgings at the palace, which had been put in order for his reception. Immediately upon his arrival the city was illuminated, and all ranks vied with each other in testifying their gratitude and joy, that a nobleman of such distinguished merit and abilities is appointed to preside over and live among them."

In the description of Williamsburg by the authority above quoted, is the following notice of Lord Botetourt's statue in that town:

"In a beautiful square, fronting the college, stands the statue of Lord Botetourt, one of the colonial governors. It is much mutilated, though still presenting a specimen of elegant sculpture. He appears in the court-dress of that day, with a short-sword at his side. It was erected in 1774, at the expense of the colony, and removed in 1797 from the old capitol to its

present situation. Its pedestal bears the following inscription :

The Right Honorable Norborne Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt, his majesty's late lieutenant, and governor-general of the colony and dominion of Virginia.

[*Right side.*]—Deeply impressed with the warmest sense of gratitude for his Excellency's, the Right Honorable Lord Botetourt's, prudent and wise administration, and that the remembrance of those many public and social virtues which so eminently adorned his illustrious character might be transmitted to posterity, the General

Assembly of Virginia, on the xx. day July, Ann. Dom., M.DCC.LXXI, resolved, with one united voice, to erect this statue to his lordship's memory. Let wisdom and justice preside in any country, the people must and will be happy.

[*Left side.*]—America ! behold your friend, who, leaving his native country, declined those additional honors which were there in store for him, that he might heal your wounds and restore tranquillity and happiness to this extensive continent. With what zeal and anxiety he pursued these glorious objects, Virginia thus bears her grateful testimony."



## CHAPTER VI.

1769, 1770.

### THE DISCONTENTS PRODUCE VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED.

Position of affairs in Virginia and in New England.—Lord Hillsborough's professions of good-will to the American colonists.—How they were received in America.—Determination of the people to insist on a total repeal of the revenue laws.—Proceedings of the meeting of the trading classes in Boston.—New association for non-importation formed.—Lord Hillsborough's letter to the Governor of Virginia, Lord Botetourt, professing a desire to re-establish confidence by repealing the obnoxious acts of parliament.—Lord Botetourt's address to the Virginia Assembly.—Great joy of the Virginians.—Answer of the Assembly to Lord Botetourt's address.—Probable object of the government of Great Britain in these professions to the Virginians.—Franklin's opinion of Lord Hillsborough.—Lord North appointed premier.—Character of his administration.—His first measure.—Repeal of duties of 1767, with the exception of the duty on tea.—Reasons for that exception.—Remarks in parliament on the impolicy of his course.—His angry reply.—Governor Pownall's views.—His superior knowledge of American affairs.—Effect of the continued presence of the British troops in Boston.—Affrays between the soldiers and the people.—Samuel Adams's proposition for removing them to Castle William.—Hutchinson defeats it by pro-roguing the General Court.—Quarrel between Hutchinson and the merchants.—Hutchinson defeated.—News from New York increases the excitement in Boston.—Riot at Gray's ropewalk.—Boston Massacre.—Trial of Captain Preston and the soldiers.—Session of the General Court.—Its proceedings.—Death of George Grenville.

WHILE British troops were menacing the Bostonians without effect, and Virginia was leading the southern colonies on to the support of refractory New England, the British government, still vacillating and uncertain, was already beginning to retract her late proceedings. It was on the 1st of August, 1769, that Sir Francis Bernard\* was recalled from the government of Massachusetts. A few days before his departure, he received letters from the secretary of state, which, being circular to the several governors of the continent, were apparently intended to be made public. One of the last acts of his administra-

tion was his directing, or authorizing, the publication of the assurance to the people of the colonies in those letters, "that the administration is well disposed to relieve the colonies from all 'real' grievances arising from the late acts of revenue. And though the present ministers have concurred in the opinion of the whole legislature, that no measure ought to be taken which can derogate from the legislative authority of Great Britain over the colonies, yet they have declared that they have at no time entertained a design to propose any further taxes upon America for the purpose of a revenue; and it is their intention to propose, in the next session of parliament, to take off the duties upon glass,

---

\* See Note at the end of this chapter.

paper, and colors, upon consideration of such duties being contrary to the true principles of commerce."

Government in England expected, by this assurance of intended favor, to incline the people to abate their opposition. But it had a very different effect. It was immediately the common language among the candidates for liberty, "Repealing the act upon principles of commerce is a mere pretence, calculated to establish the grievance we complain of. The true reason why the duty upon tea is to continue, is to save the 'right' of taxing. Our acquiescing in the repeal of the rest will be construed into an acknowledgment of this 'right.' The fear of trouble, from the discontent of merchants and manufacturers upon our non-importation agreements, has brought the ministry to consent to this partial repeal. A vigorous enforcement of these agreements will increase the fear, and we shall certainly carry the point we contend for, and obtain a repeal of the whole."

A meeting of the trading classes was called in Boston. The repeal of only part of the act was unanimously resolved to be a measure intended merely to quiet the manufacturers in Great Britain, and to prevent the setting up of manufactures in the colonies, and one that would by no means relieve trade from its difficulties; it was, therefore, further resolved, to send for no more goods from Great Britain, a few specified articles excepted, unless the revenue acts should be repealed.

A committee was appointed to procure a written pledge from the inhabitants of the town, not to purchase any goods from persons who have imported them, or who shall import them, contrary to the late agreement; and another committee to inspect the manifests of the cargoes of all vessels arriving from Great Britain, and to publish the names of all importers, unless they immediately delivered their goods into the hands of a committee appointed to receive them.

The intimations of a relaxation in the British system of oppression was received in a different spirit by the Virginians, who, at first, were effectually deceived by the bland professions of the ministry.

On the 9th of May, 1769, the king, in his speech to parliament, highly applauded their hearty concurrence, in maintaining the execution of the laws in every part of his dominions. Five days after this speech, Lord Hillsborough, secretary of state for the colonies, wrote to Lord Botetourt: "I can take upon me to assure you, notwithstanding informations to the contrary, from men with factious and seditious views, that his majesty's present administration have at no time entertained a design to propose to parliament to lay any further taxes upon America for the purpose of raising a revenue, and that it is at present their intention to propose to the next session of parliament to take off the duties upon glass, paper, and colors, upon considera-

tion of such duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce." The governor was also informed, that "his majesty relied upon his prudence and fidelity to make such an explanation of his majesty's measures as would tend to remove prejudices, and to re-establish mutual confidence and affection between the mother country and the colonies." In the exact spirit of his instructions, Lord Botetourt addressed the Virginia Assembly as follows: "It may possibly be objected, that as his majesty's present administration are not immortal, their successors may be inclined to attempt to undo what the present ministers shall have attempted to perform, and to that objection I can give but this answer, that it is my firm opinion, that the plan I have stated to you will certainly take place, and that it will never be departed from; and so determined am I forever to abide by it, that I will be content to be declared infamous, if I do not to the last hour of my life, at all times, in all places, and upon all occasions, exert every power with which I either am, or ever shall be, legally invested, in order to obtain and maintain for the continent of America that satisfaction which I have been authorized to promise this day, by the confidential servants of our gracious sovereign, who, to my certain knowledge, rates his honor so high that he would rather part with his crown than preserve it by deceit."

These assurances were received with

transports of joy by the Virginians. They viewed them as pledging his majesty for security, that the late design for raising a revenue in America was abandoned, and never more July,  
1769. to be resumed. The Assembly of Virginia, in answer to Lord Botetourt, expressed themselves thus: "We are sure our most gracious sovereign, under whatever changes may happen in his confidential servants, will remain immutable in the ways of truth and justice, and that he is incapable of deceiving his faithful subjects; and we esteem your lordship's information not only as warranted, but even sanctified by the royal word."

How far these promises made by Lord Hillsborough to the governor of Virginia, and by the governor to the Assembly, were founded in sincerity and good faith, will be demonstrated by subsequent events. They were probably made with a design to detach the Virginians from the earnest support which they had hitherto given to the people of Massachusetts, who were still the most decided opponents of the British ministry.

Of Lord Hillsborough, who, as colonial secretary, had written to Lord Botetourt in the conciliatory vein, Dr. Franklin thus speaks in a letter to Samuel Cooper: "His character is conceit, wrong-headedness, obstinacy, and passion. Those who would speak most favorably of him allow all this; they only add, that he is an honest man, and means well. If that be true, as per-



haps it may, I wish him a better place, where only honesty and well-meaning are required, and where his other qualities can do no harm. \* \* \* I hope, however, that our affairs will not much longer be perplexed and embarrassed by his perverse and senseless management."

The policy of Lord Hillsborough towards the colonies, bad as it was, was destined to be supported by Lord North, who came into the office of prime minister on the 28th of January, 1770.

Having been chancellor of the exchequer in the Duke of Grafton's administration, on his grace's resignation, which took place in the end of January, he succeeded him as first lord of the treasury, a pre-eminence he held till the close of the American Revolution. His administration will ever be celebrated by the fact, that during its existence Great Britain lost more territory and acquired more debt than in any previous period of her history. His first measure was partially, and, unhappily, only partially, of a conciliatory character,—a motion for the repeal of the port-duties of 1767, with the exception of the duty on tea, which his lordship expressly declared he desired to keep on as an assertion of the supremacy of the parliament. In vain it was contended that the reservation of this single article would keep up the contention which it was so desirable to allay; that after giving up the prospect of a revenue from the colonies, it was absurd

and impolitic to persevere in the assertion of an abstract claim of right, which, if attempted in any mode to be carried into practice, would produce nothing but civil discord and interminable opposition; that, in short, if nothing more was meant by this omission of the tea in the repeal, than the mere declaration of parliamentary supremacy, the law already in existence, under the title of the Declaratory Act, was abundantly sufficient for this purpose, and that the Americans had hitherto silently acquiesced in that law. To all these arguments Lord North replied, "Has the repeal of the stamp-act taught the Americans obedience? Has our lenity inspired them with moderation? Can it be proper, while they deny our legal power to tax them, to acquiesce in the argument of illegality, and, by the repeal of the whole law, to give up that power? No! the most proper time to exert our right of taxation is when the right is denied. To temporize is to yield; and the authority of the mother country, if it is now unsupported, will, in reality, be relinquished forever. A total repeal cannot be thought of till America is prostrate at our feet!"

Governor Pownall, who moved, as an amendment, to include the duty on tea, acknowledged, that even the total repeal of the duties in question, though it might be expected to do much, would not restore satisfaction to America. "If," said he, "it be asked, whether it will remove the apprehensions excited by your resolutions and address of the

last year, for bringing to trial in England persons accused of treason in America? I answer, No. If it be asked, if this commercial concession would quiet the minds of the Americans as to the political doubts and fears which have struck them to the heart, throughout the continent? I answer, No. So long as they are left in doubt whether the *habeas corpus* act, whether the bill of rights, whether the common law as now existing in England have any operation and effect in America, they cannot be satisfied. At this hour they know not whether the civil constitutions be not suspended and superseded by the establishment of a military force. The Americans think that they have, in return to all their applications, experienced a temper and disposition that is unfriendly, and that the enjoyment and exercise of the common rights of freemen have been refused to them. Never with these views will they solicit the favor of this House; never more will they wish to bring before parliament the grievances under which they conceive themselves to labor. Deeply as they feel, they suffer and endure with a determined and alarming silence; for their liberty they are under no apprehensions. It was first planted under the auspicious genius of the constitution; it has grown up into a verdant and flourishing tree; and should any severe strokes be aimed at the branches, and fate reduce it to the bare stock, it would only take deeper root, and spring out again more durable than before.

They trust to Providence, and wait with firmness and fortitude the issue."

The event proved that Mr. Pownall knew, incomparably better than Lord North, the character and state of the colonies. During his residence in America, while successively governor of two of the provinces, he acquired that knowledge which the British ministry could not, and some provincial governors would not, acquire.

It might have been supposed, that the very unsatisfactory result of the previous half-measures of this kind would have deterred any minister from a repetition of them. It displays as little knowledge of the construction of the human mind, as attention to the history of popular agitations, to intermingle professions of kindness with threats, or concessions with expressions of insult.

The colonies, however, would probably have assumed a less agitated aspect, had not other circumstances existed to ferment and perpetuate feelings of hostility. Among these, the continued presence of troops of the line in Boston was one of the most aggravating. The inhabitants felt that their remaining stationed in the place was designed to overawe and control the expression of their sentiments, and the military appear to have viewed the matter in the same light. Under the excitement that was thus occasioned, affrays were frequently occurring between the populace and the soldiers; and it would appear that, as might be expected, neither party conducted themselves with pru-

dence or forbearance. On the one hand, the soldiers are represented as parading the town armed with heavy clubs, insulting and seeking occasion to quarrel with the people;\* while, on the other, the populace are declared to be the aggressors, and the military to have acted on the defensive.† It was proposed by Samuel Adams, the most resolute and daring of the Boston patriots, that the General Court should have the soldiers removed to Castle William; but the meeting of that body appointed for

1770. the tenth of January, was prorogued by Hutchinson to the middle of March. This was said to be done under an arbitrary instruction of Lord Hillsborough.‡

A quarrel took place between the merchants who had signed the non-importation agreement and Hutchinson, whose sons had signed and broken it, by selling tea, in which the lieutenant-governor was obliged to yield. This was thought by the British party to furnish a good occasion for an attack on the people by the troops; and Colonel Dalrymple prepared his men for the purpose. But although repeated assemblages took place among the merchants and the people, Hutchinson was afraid to order an attack on them.

Intelligence received from New York of repeated affrays between the people and the soldiers stationed there, served to increase the ferment in Boston. The

soldiers in the latter place were more licentious, and under less restraint from their officers, than they had ever been before; and the boys and idlers exasperated them by calling them rascals, bloody backs, and lobster scoundrels. Matters were rapidly drawing to a crisis.

On the 2d of March, a private 1770. soldier of the twentieth regiment applying for employment at Gray's ropewalk was refused in an insulting manner, which led to a boxing-match with one of the ropemakers, in which the soldier was beaten and driven away. He returned with other soldiers. A riot ensued, in which clubs and cutlasses were employed, which was terminated by the interference of Mr. Gray and others.§ This trifling affair undoubtedly had an influence in producing the more serious collision which took place a few days afterwards. In the mean time, the people of the surrounding country sympathized deeply with the Bostonians, and were ready to support them against the soldiers. A great part of the people of Massachusetts had been engaged in military service in the colonial wars.

Early in the evening of the 5th of March, the inhabitants were observed to assemble in different quarters of the town; parties of soldiers were also driving about the streets, as if both the one and the other had something more than ordinary upon their minds. About eight o'clock, one of the bells of the

\* Bradford, *History of Massachusetts*, p. 205.

† Hutchinson, p. 270.

‡ Bancroft, *History of the United States*, vol. vi. p. 729.

§ Bancroft.



town was rung in such a manner as if for an alarm of fire. This called the people into the streets. A large number assembled in the market-place, not far from King-street, armed with bludgeons or clubs.

A small affray between some of the inhabitants and the soldiers arose at or near the barracks, at the west part of the town, but it was of little importance, and was soon over. A sentinel who was posted at the custom-house, not far from the main guard, was next insulted, and pelted with ice and other missiles, which caused him to call to the main guard to protect him.

Notice was soon given to Captain Preston, whose company was then on guard, and a sergeant with six men was sent to protect the sentinel; but the captain, to prevent any precipitate action, followed them himself. There seem to have been but few people collected when the assault was first made on the sentinel; but the sergeant's guard drew a greater number together, and they were more insulted than the sentinel had been, and received frequent blows from snowballs and lumps of ice. Captain Preston thereupon ordered them to charge; but this was no discouragement to the assailants, who continued to pelt the guard, daring them to fire. Some of the people who were behind the soldiers, and observed the abuse of them, called on them to do so. At length one received a blow with a club, which brought him to the ground; but, rising again, he immediately fired, kill-

ing a mulatto named Crispus Attucks: all the rest of the soldiers fired, except one.

This seems, from the evidence on the trials, and the observation of persons present, to have been the course of the material facts. Three men were killed, two mortally wounded, who died soon after, and several slightly wounded. The soldiers immediately withdrew to the main guard, which was strengthened by additional companies. Two or three of the persons who had seen the action ran to the lieutenant-governor's (Hutchinson's) house,\* which was about half a mile distant, and begged he would go to King-street,† where they feared a general action would come on between the troops and the inhabitants. He went immediately; and, to satisfy the people, called for Captain Preston, and inquired why he had fired upon the inhabitants without the direction of a civil magistrate. The noise was so great that his answer could not be understood; and some persons, who were apprehensive of the lieutenant-governor's danger from the general confusion, called out, "The town-house, the town-house!" when, with irresistible violence, he was forced up by the crowd into the council-chamber.

\* Hutchinson, as lieutenant-governor, had succeeded Sir Francis Bernard in the administration of affairs in Massachusetts. He was subsequently appointed governor. Although an American by birth, he was a bitter tory; and excelled even the Earl of Strafford himself in tyranny and duplicity. His character is well described by Mr. Bancroft in his "History of the United States," vol. vi. pp. 303-306.

† Now called State-street.







There demand was immediately made of him to order the troops to withdraw from the town-house into their barracks. He refused; but calling from the balcony to the great body of people who remained in the street, he expressed his great concern at the unhappy event; assured them he would do every thing in his power to obtain a full and impartial inquiry, that the law might have its course; and advised them to go peaceably to their homes. Upon this there was a cry, "Home, home!" and a great part separated, and went home. He then signified his opinion to Lieutenant-colonel Carr, that if the companies in arms were ordered to their barracks the streets would be cleared, and the town in quiet for that night. Upon their retiring, the rest of the inhabitants, except those in the council-chamber, retired also.

Lieutenant-colonel Dalrymple, at the desire of the lieutenant-governor, came to the council-chamber, where several justices were examining persons who were present at the transaction of the evening. From the evidence, it was apparent that the justices would commit Captain Preston if taken. Several hours passed before he could be found, and the people suspected that he would not run the hazard of a trial; but at length he surrendered himself to a warrant for apprehending him, and, having been examined, was committed to prison. The next morning, the soldiers who were upon guard surrendered also, and were committed.

This was not sufficient to satisfy the people, and early in the forenoon they were in motion again. The lieutenant-governor caused his council to be summoned, and desired the two lieutenant-colonels of the regiments to be present. The selectmen of Boston were waiting for the lieutenant-governor's coming to council, and, being admitted, made their representation, that, from the contentions arising from the troops quartered in Boston, and, above all, from the tragedy of the last night, the minds of the inhabitants were exceedingly disturbed; that they would presently be assembled in a town-meeting; and that, unless the troops should be removed, the most terrible consequences were to be expected.

The justices, also, of Boston and several of the neighboring towns had assembled and desired to signify their opinion, that it would not be possible to keep the people under restraint if the troops remained in town. The lieutenant-governor acquainted both the selectmen and the justices, that he had no authority to alter the place of destination of the king's troops; but that he had expected the commanding officers of the two regiments, and would let them know the applications which had been made. Presently after their coming, a large committee from the town-meeting presented an address to the lieutenant-governor, declaring it to be the unanimous opinion of the meeting, that nothing could rationally be expected to restore the peace of the

town, "and prevent blood and carnage," but the immediate removal of the troops.

The committee withdrew into another room to wait for an answer. Some of the council urged the necessity of complying with the people's demand; but the lieutenant-governor declared that he would, upon no consideration whatever, give orders for their removal. Lieutenant-colonel Dalrymple then signified, that, as the 29th regiment had originally been designed to be placed at the castle, and was now peculiarly obnoxious to the town, he was content that it should be removed to the castle until the general's pleasure should be known.

The committee was informed of this offer, and the lieutenant-governor rose from council, intending to receive no further application upon this subject; but the council prayed that he would meet them again in the afternoon, and Colonel Dalrymple desiring it also, he complied.

Before the council met again, it had been intimated to them, that the "desire" of the governor and council to the commanding officer to remove the troops, would cause him to do it, though he should receive no authoritative "order." As soon as they met, a committee from the town-meeting attended with a second message, to acquaint the lieutenant-governor that it was the unanimous voice of the people assembled, consisting, as they said, of near three thousand persons, that nothing less than a total and immediate removal

of the troops would satisfy them.\* Ultimately the scruples of the lieutenant-governor were overcome, and he expressed his desire that the troops should be wholly withdrawn from the town to the castle, which was accordingly done. The funeral of the victims was attended with extraordinary pomp. Most of the shops were closed, all the bells of the town tolled on the occasion, and the corpses were followed to the grave by an immense concourse of people, arranged six abreast, the procession being closed by a long train of carriages belonging to the principal gentry of the town.† Captain Preston and the party of soldiers were afterwards tried. The captain and six of the men were acquitted, and two were brought in guilty of manslaughter; a result which reflected great honor on John Adams and Josiah Quincy, the counsel for prisoners, and on the jury.‡

The General Court met in March, soon after the affair of the Boston massacre. Hutchinson had appointed Cambridge as the place of meeting, and a great part of the session, which lasted till November, was consumed in altercations between him and the members in discussions on the constitutionality of his changing the place where the session was to be held. At length the General Court closed its session by prorogation, after having resolved, among other things, to promote industry and fru-

\* Hutchinson, pp. 272-275.

† Gordon's History, vol. i. p. 200.

‡ Quincy's Life of Josiah Quincy, pp. 31-66.

gality, and to encourage the use of domestic manufactures throughout the province; and having appointed a committee of correspondence to communicate with the agents of Great Britain, and with the committees of the colonies. The first of these resolutions of the Massachusetts Assembly, namely, to discourage the use of foreign articles, had been adopted in consequence of a determination of the merchants of Boston, made during the present session, by which they agreed to alter their non-importation agreement, and to adopt the plan, which had been for some time followed in New York and in Philadelphia, of importing all the usual articles of trade except tea, which it was unanimously agreed should not be brought into the country unless it could be smuggled.\*

The same month that witnessed the close of this session of the Massachusetts General Court, was marked by the decease of the celebrated George Grenville, who had made himself so conspicuous as the originator of the stamp-act.

Lord Botetourt, governor of Virginia, also died in the autumn of this year (Oct. 15). The close of his administration was darkened by events which gave him great uneasiness. The Virginians, who had received with so much gratification the announcement made through him of the good intentions of the ministry towards the colonists, were deeply disgusted with the partial repeal of the

revenue laws, and loudly expressed their discontent. Lord Botetourt, conceiving himself to have been deceived by the ministry, demanded his discharge; but before its arrival, he fell sick of a bilious fever which soon terminated his life. The statue erected to his memory by order of the House of Burgesses, is still standing at Williamsburg.

NOTE.—Francis Bernard, governor of Massachusetts, frequently mentioned in this chapter, was the governor of New Jersey after Governor Belcher, in 1758. He succeeded Governor Pownall, of Massachusetts, in 1760. He governed the province for nine years, during one of the most interesting periods of American history. The first part of his administration was very agreeable to the General Court, and much harmony prevailed for two or three years.

Two parties had long existed in the province, the advocates of the crown, and the defenders of the rights of the people. Governor Bernard was soon classed with those who were desirous of strengthening the royal authority in America; the Sons of Liberty, therefore, uniformly opposed him. His indiscretion in appointing Mr. Hutchinson chief-justice, instead of giving that office to Colonel Otis, of Barnstable, to whom it had been promised by Shirley, proved very injurious to him. In consequence of this appointment he lost the influence of Colonel Otis, and by yielding himself to Mr. Hutchinson, drew upon himself the hostility of James Otis, the son, a man of great talents, who soon became the leader on the popular side.

The causes which finally brought on the American Revolution were then operating. Governor Bernard possessed no talent for conciliation; he endeavored to accomplish ministerial purposes by force; and the spirit of freedom gained strength from the open manner in which he attempted to crush it. He was the principal means of bringing the troops to Boston, that he might overawe the people; and it was owing to him that they were retained in the town. He endeavored to obtain an alteration of the charter, in order to transfer the right of electing the council from the General Court to the crown.

This attempt, though it drew upon him the indignation of the province, was so pleasing to the ministry that he was created a baronet in 1769. One of his last public measures was the proroguing of the General Court, in consequence of their refusing to make provision for the support of the troops. It was found necessary to recall him. He died in England, in June, 1779.

\* Allen, *History of the American Revolution*, vol. i. p. 149.



## CHAPTER VII.

1770.

### WASHINGTON VISITS THE WESTERN COUNTRY.

Washington plans a tour to the Western country to inspect certain lands which had been promised to the Virginian soldiers of the Seven Years' War.—Origin of the soldiers' claims.—Interfered with by Walpole's grant, and resisted by the British ministry and the government of Virginia.—Washington's exertions in behalf of the soldiers.—His correspondence with Lord Botetourt respecting Walpole's grant.—His final success.—Case of Vanbraam.—Washington and Dr. Craik set out on the tour to the West.—Arrival at Fort Pitt.—Entertained by the officers of the garrison.—Meets Colonel George Croghan.—Live at an inn in Pittsburg near Fort Pitt.—Invited by Croghan to a talk with chiefs of the Six Nations.—Speech of the White Mingo.—Washington's answer.—Washington dines with Colonel Croghan.—Returns to Pittsburg and engages an interpreter and other attendants.—Canoe voyage down the Ohio commences.—Its inconveniences and dangers.—Hunting.—First day on the river.—Persons of the party.—Scenery on the Ohio.—Arrival at Logstown.—Observations on the quality of the land.—Croghan offers a speculation in land.—Washington's remarks on it.—Arrival at the mouth of Yellow Creek.—At Mingo Town.—Indians of the Six Nations.—Character of the river.—Scenery on its banks.—News of Indian hostilities in the neighborhood.—The report proves to be a false alarm.—Great abundance of game.—The party come upon the camp of Kishshuta and his hunting party.—His hospitality.—Washington meets an old acquaintance.—Long conference with Kishshuta.—His friendly professions.—Arrival at the mouth of the Great Kanhawa.—Description of the country in that neighborhood.—Ascent of the Great Kanhawa.—Hunting party on its banks.—Great quantities of buffaloes and wild game.—Return voyage.—Washington marks boundaries on the trees.—The party again meet with Kishshuta, who gives Washington much information about the lands in Ohio.—Return to Mingo Town.—End of the canoe voyage.—Dr. Connolly gives Washington valuable information about lands.—Washington returns to Mount Vernon.—His intention to make another tour.—Governor Dunmore to go with him.—Design abandoned in consequence of the sickness of Miss Custis.—Her death.

In the autumn of 1770, Washington made a tour in the western country which lasted nine weeks (Oct. 5 to Dec.). His immediate object was to inspect certain lands which had been designated to be granted to the officers and soldiers of Virginia, who had served in the French war.

An order of Council of the 18th of February, 1754, followed by a proclamation of Governor Dinwiddie, promising some two hundred thousand acres of what we now call military bounty lands, had its effect in inducing the en-

listment of soldiers who had subsequently "behaved so much to the satisfaction of the country, as to be honored with the most public acknowledgments of it by the Assembly."<sup>\*</sup> The claims of the officers and soldiers to these lands had long been resisted by the British ministry and the authorities in Virginia; and were now threatened with defeat by a proposed grant of land to a Mr. Walpole (a British banker) and others, which would have comprehended at

<sup>\*</sup> Washington's letter to Lord Botetourt, April 15, 1770. See Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, vol. ii. p. 358.

least four-fifths of this very land, properly belonging to the officers and soldiers, for the purchase and survey of which the government had recently voted two thousand five hundred pounds sterling.\*

Washington had used great exertions and spent a large sum of money in urging these claims. He had set forth their justice and equity in a correspondence with Lord Botetourt, whose intercession with the ministry he strongly solicited; and at a subsequent period (June 15, 1771), it formed the subject of a letter to Lord Dunmore, in which he requests to be informed respecting the truth of a report that the "Walpole Grant" had actually been made.

Washington's exertions in this good cause were crowned with success, and every officer and soldier received his proper share of the land. "Even Vanbraam," says Mr. Sparks,† "who was believed to have deceived him at the Great Meadows, and who went as a hostage to Canada, thence to England, and never returned to America, was not forgotten in the distribution. His share was reserved, and he was informed that it was at his disposal."

It was while this affair was in progress, that Washington made his tour to the West for the purpose of inspecting the bounty lands, and selecting for the surveys such tracts as were really valuable. It was one of those disin-

terested and public-spirited actions which abound throughout his whole career.

In this tour he was accompanied by his friend and physician, Dr. Craik, who had been with him in Braddock's expedition. They were attended by three negro servants, and the whole party was mounted. They set out on the 5th of October, and in twelve days arrived at Fort Pitt (old Fort Duquesne). The following extract from Washington's journal of the tour informs us how the party were entertained at Fort Pitt and in its neighborhood during their stay, by the officers of the garrison and Washington's old acquaintance, George Croghan, now Colonel Croghan, deputy-agent to Sir William Johnson:‡

"October 17th.—Dr. Craik and myself, with Captain Crawford and others, arrived at Fort Pitt, distant from the Crossing forty-three and a half measured miles. In riding this distance we passed over a great deal of exceedingly fine land, chiefly white oak, especially from Sewickly Creek to Turtle Creek; but the whole broken, resembling, as I think all the lands in this country do, the Loudoun lands. We lodged in what is called the town, distant about three hundred yards from the fort, at one Mr. Semple's, who keeps a very good house of public entertainment. The houses, which are built of logs and ranged in streets, are on the Monongahela, and I

\* Washington's letter to Lord Botetourt, April 15, 1770. See Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, vol. ii. p. 357.

† *Life of Washington*.

VOL. I.—29

‡ The "Journal" is given in Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, vol. ii. p. 516.

suppose may be about twenty in number, and inhabited by Indian traders. The fort is built on the point between the rivers Alleghany and Monongahela, but not so near the pitch of it as Fort Duquesne stood. It is five-sided and regular, two of which, near the land, are of brick; the others stockade. A moat encompasses it. The garrison consists of two companies of Royal Irish, commanded by Captain Edmondson.

18th.—Dined in the Fort with Colonel Croghan and the officers of the garrison; supped there also, meeting with great civility from the gentlemen, and engaged to dine with Colonel Croghan the next day at his seat, about four miles up the Alleghany.

19th.—Received a message from Colonel Croghan, that the White Mingo and other chiefs of the Six Nations had something to say to me, and desiring that I would be at his house about eleven, where they were to meet. I went up and received a speech, with a string of wampum, from the White Mingo, to the following effect:

‘That, as I was a person whom some of them remember to have seen when I was sent on an embassy to the French, and most of them had heard of, they were come to bid me welcome to this country, and to desire that the people of Virginia would consider them as friends and brothers, linked together in one chain; that I would inform the governor, that it was their wish to live in peace and harmony with the white people, and that though there had been

some unhappy differences between them and the people upon our frontiers, they were all made up and they hoped forgotten; and concluded with saying, that their brothers of Virginia did not come among them and trade as the inhabitants of the other provinces did, from whence they were afraid that we did not look upon them with so friendly an eye as they could wish.’

To this I answered, after thanking them for their friendly welcome, ‘that all the injuries and affronts that had passed on either side were now totally forgotten, and that I was sure nothing was more wished and desired by the people of Virginia, than to live in the strictest friendship with them; that the Virginians were a people not so much engaged in trade as the Pennsylvanians, which was the reason of their not being so frequently among them; but that it was possible they might for the time to come have stricter connections with them, and that I would acquaint the government with their desires.’

After dining at Colonel Croghan’s we returned to Pittsburg, Colonel Croghan with us, who intended to accompany us part of the way down the river, having engaged an Indian called the Pheasant, and one Joseph Nicholson, an interpreter, to attend us the whole voyage; also a young Indian warrior.”

The party were now obliged to leave their horses, and descend the Ohio some two hundred and sixty-five miles to the Great Kenhawa. This part of the journey was through a perfect wilderness.



There were no settlers on the Ohio River below Pittsburg. The Indians were sole possessors of the country. A few adventurers in search of lands had been the only visitors to what is now one of the most cultivated, rich, and beautiful regions in the United States.

As they proceeded down the river in a large open canoe, entirely unprotected from the inclemency of the autumn weather, they were under the necessity of landing every night, and encamping in the woods. Occasionally they left the canoe in the daytime for the purpose of examining the lands or for hunting. This thickly wooded region, at that early time, abounded in choice game. Deer, buffaloes, wild turkeys, ducks, and geese were found in plenty; and Washington, who delighted in hunting, had ample opportunities for enjoying his favorite recreation.

The first two days of the voyage down the river are thus noticed in the journal:

"October 20th.—We embarked in a large canoe, with sufficient store of provision and necessaries, and the following persons, besides Dr. Craik and myself, to wit, Captain Crawford, Joseph Nicholson, Robert Bell, William Harrison, Charles Morgan, and Daniel Rendon, a boy of Captain Crawford's, and the Indians, who were in a canoe by themselves. From Fort Pitt we sent our horses and boys back to Captain Crawford's, with orders to meet us there again on the 14th day of November. Colonel Croghan, Lieutenant Hamilton, and Mr. Magee set out with us. At

two we dined at Mr. Magee's, and encamped ten miles below, and four above Logstown. We passed several large islands, which appeared to be very good, as the bottoms also did on each side of the river alternately; the hills on one side being opposite to the bottoms on the other, which seemed generally to be about three or four hundred yards wide, and so *vice versa*.

21st.—Left our encampment about six o'clock, and breakfasted at Logstown, where we parted with Colonel Croghan and company about nine o'clock. At eleven we came to the mouth of the Big Beaver Creek, opposite to which is a good situation for a house, and above it, on the same side, that is, the west, there appears to be a body of fine land. About five miles lower down, on the east side, comes in Racoon Creek, at the mouth of which and up it appears to be a body of good land also. All the land between this creek and the Monongahela, and for fifteen miles back, is claimed by Colonel Croghan under a purchase from the Indians, which sale, he says, is confirmed by his majesty. On this creek, where the branches thereof interlock with the waters of Shurtees Creek, there is, according to Colonel Croghan's account, a body of fine, rich, level land. This tract he wants to sell, and offers it at five pounds sterling per hundred acres, with an exemption of quit-rents for twenty years; after which, to be subject to the payment of four shillings and two pounds sterling per hundred acres; provided

he can sell it in ten-thousand-acre lots. At present the unsettled state of this country renders any purchase dangerous. From Racoon Creek to Little Beaver Creek appears to me to be little short of ten miles, and about three miles below this we encamped, after hiding a barrel of biscuit in an island to lighten our canoe."

In these extracts from the journal as well as in those that follow, it will be observed that Washington does not forget the main object of the tour, the selection, namely, of good lands for the soldiers of the Seven Years' War. His usual prudence is apparent in the remark on Croghan's offer of an opportunity for speculating in land. Washington was by no means averse, however, to investing his money in wild lands; and he subsequently, as we shall have occasion to remark, bought large tracts, and became interested in companies whose object it was to form settlements in the rich and beautiful region which he was now visiting.

The next extract from the journal refers to the dangers; but the writer does not complain, as travellers generally do, of the discomforts and hardships of the voyage. It also gives us a glimpse of the Indians, and a specimen of the hunting excursions of the voyagers. It also refers to an alarm of Indian hostility, which happily proved groundless:

"*October 22d.*—As it began to snow about midnight and continued pretty steadily, it was about half past seven

before we left our encampment. At the distance of about eight miles we came to the mouth of Yellow Creek, opposite to, or rather, below which, appears to be a long bottom of very good land, and the ascent to the hills apparently gradual. There is another pretty large bottom of very good land about two or three miles above this. About eleven or twelve miles from this, and just above what is called the Long Island (which, though so distinguished, is not very remarkable for length, breadth, or goodness), comes in on the east side of the river a small creek or run, the name of which I could not learn; and a mile or two below the island, on the west side, comes in Big Stony Creek (not larger in appearance than the other), on neither of which does there seem to be any large bottoms or bodies of good land. About seven miles from the last-mentioned creek, twenty-eight from our last encampment, and about seventy-five from Pittsburg, we came to the Mingo Town, situate on the west side of the river, a little above the Cross Creeks. This place contains about twenty cabins, and seventy inhabitants of the Six Nations. Had we set off early, and kept constantly at it, we might have reached lower than this place to-day, as the water in many places ran pretty swift, in general more so than yesterday. The river from Fort Pitt to Logstown has some ugly rifts and shoals, which we found somewhat difficult to pass, whether from our inexperience of the



channel, or not, I cannot undertake to say. From Logstown to the mouth of Little Beaver Creek is much the same kind of water; that is, rapid in some places, gliding gently along in others, and quite still in many. The water from Little Beaver Creek to the Mingo Town, in general, is swifter than we found it the preceding day, and without any shallows; there being some one part or another always deep, which is a natural consequence, as the river in all the distance from Fort Pitt to this town has not widened at all, nor do the bottoms appear to be any larger. The hills which come close to the river opposite to each bottom are steep, and, on the side in view, in many places rocky and cragged; but said to abound in good land on the tops. These are not a range of hills, but broken and cut in two, as if there were frequent water-courses running through, which, however, we did not perceive to be the case. The river abounds in wild geese and several kinds of ducks, but in no great quantity. We killed five wild turkeys to-day. Upon our arrival at the Mingo Town, we received the disagreeable news of two traders being killed at a town called the Grape-Vine Town, thirty-eight miles below this; which caused us to hesitate whether we should proceed or wait for further intelligence."

The sequel of this affair is thus noticed in the record of events on the 24th and 25th of October:

"Two or three miles below the Pipe

Creek is a pretty large creek on the west side, called by Nicholson, Fox-Grape-Vine, by others Captema, Creek, on which, eight miles up, is the town called the Grape-Vine Town; and at the mouth of it is the place where it is said the trader was killed. To this place we came about three o'clock in the afternoon, and finding nobody there, we agreed to encamp, that Nicholson and one of the Indians might go up to the town and inquire into the truth of the report concerning the murder.

25th.—About seven o'clock, Nicholson and the Indian returned; they found nobody at the town but two old Indian women (the men being a hunting); from these they learned that the trader was not murdered, but drowned in attempting to cross the Ohio; and that only one boy, belonging to the traders, was in these parts; the trader, his father, being gone for horses to take home their skins. About half an hour after seven we set out from our encampment, around which and up the creek is a body of fine land. In our passage down to this place we saw innumerable quantities of turkeys, and many deer watering and browsing on the shore-side, some of which we killed."

On the next day, near Long Reach, the party encountered traders, from whom they learn more particulars about the false alarm:

"At the end of this reach we found Martin and Lindsay, two traders, and from them learnt that the person drowned was one Philips, attempting,



in company with Rogers, another Indian trader, to swim the river with their horses at an improper place; Rogers himself narrowly escaping."

In the following record of the proceedings on the 28th of October, we find an exquisite picture of Indian life and manners:

"28th.—Left our encampment about seven o'clock. Two miles below, a small run comes in on the east side, through a piece of land that has a very good appearance, the bottom beginning above our encampment, and continuing in appearance wide for four miles down, where we found Kiashuta and his hunting party encamped. Here we were under the necessity of paying our compliments, as this person was one of the Six Nation chiefs, and the head of those upon this river. In the person of Kiashuta I found an old acquaintance, he being one of the Indians that went with me to the French in 1753. He expressed a satisfaction at seeing me, and treated us with great kindness, giving us a quarter of very fine buffalo. He insisted upon our spending that night with him, and, in order to retard us as little as possible, moved his camp down the river just below the mouth of a creek, the name of which I could not learn. At this place we all encamped. After much counselling over night, they all came to my fire the next morning with great formality, when Kiashuta, rehearsing what had passed between me and the sachems at Colonel Croghan's, thanked me for saying that

peace and friendship with them were the wish of the people of Virginia, and for recommending it to the traders to deal with them upon a fair and equitable footing; and then again expressed their desire of having a trade opened with Virginia, and that the governor thereof might not only be made acquainted therewith, but with their friendly disposition towards the white people. This I promised to do.

29th.—The tedious ceremony which the Indians observe, in their counselings and speeches, detained us till nine o'clock."

In the following record of the 31st of October, and the two following days, we find the travellers at the furthest point they had proposed to visit, the Great Kenhawa River:

"31st.—I sent the canoe down about five miles to the junction of the two rivers, that is, the Kenhawa with the Ohio, and set out upon a hunting party to view the land. We steered nearly east for about eight or nine miles, then bore southwardly and westwardly, till we came to our camp at the confluence of the rivers. The land from the rivers appeared but indifferent, and very broken; whether these ridges may not be those that divide the waters of the Ohio from the Kenhawa is not certain, but I believe they are; if so, the lands may yet be good; if not, that which lies beyond the river bottoms is worth little.

*November 1st.*—Before eight o'clock we set off with our canoe up the river,

to discover what kind of lands lay upon the Kenhawa. The land on both sides this river, just at the mouth, is very fine, but on the east side, when you get towards the hills, which I judge to be about six or seven hundred yards from the river, it appears to be wet, and better adapted for meadow than tillage. This bottom continues up the east side for about two miles; and by going up the Ohio a good tract might be got of bottom land, including the old Shawnee Town, which is about three miles up the Ohio, just above the mouth of a creek. We judged we went up the Kenhawa about ten miles to-day. On the east side appear to be some good bottoms, but small, neither long nor wide, and the hills back of them rather steep and poor.

2d.—We proceeded up the river with the canoe about four miles further, and then encamped, and went a hunting; killed five buffaloes and wounded some others, three deer, &c. This country abounds in buffaloes and wild game of all kinds; as also in all kinds of wild fowl, there being in the bottoms a great many small, grassy ponds, or lakes, which are full of swans, geese, and ducks of different kinds:”

The following notice of the first day on the return voyage, is exceedingly characteristic of Washington’s methodical and business-like habits:

“3d.—We set off down the river, on our return homewards, and encamped at the mouth. At the beginning of the bottom above the junction of the rivers,

and at the mouth of a branch on the east side, I marked two maples, an elm, and hoop-wood tree, as a corner of the soldiers’ land (if we can get it), intending to take all the bottom from hence to the rapids in the Great Bend into one survey. I also marked at the mouth of another run lower down on the west side, at the lower end of the long bottom, an ash and hoop-wood for the beginning of another of the soldiers’ survey, to extend up so as to include all the bottom in a body on the west side. In coming from our last encampment up the Kenhawa, I endeavored to take the courses and distances of the river by a pocket-compass, and by guessing.”

In the following memorandum, Kiashuta again comes upon the stage:

“6th.—We left our encampment a little after daylight, and after about five miles we came to Kiashuta’s hunting camp, which was now removed to the mouth of that creek, noted October 29th for having fallen timber at the mouth of it, in a bottom of good land. By kindness and idle ceremony of the Indians, I was detained at Kiashuta’s camp all the remaining part of this day.”

From Kiashuta, Washington on this occasion obtained much valuable information respecting the topography of that part of the neighboring country which he had not seen; and this information is entered in detail on the journal evidently for future reference. The portion of the journal from the 9th to the 17th of November was so much injured by an accident, that it could not



be transcribed for publication ; but the record for the 17th, the day of their arrival at Mingo Town, contains an extended notice of the rivers and lands the party had visited, as well as of the Indians and their disposition towards land-speculators and squatters, who had already commenced operations on the land lying between the Ohio River and the recognized boundary of Virginia.

At Mingo Town the party brought their boating excursion to an end. On the 18th of November, Washington agreed with two Delaware Indians to take the canoe up to Fort Pitt, and on the 20th, their horses having been brought to them, the party set forward for Fort Pitt, where they arrived the next day.

The record of the 22d mentions Dr. Connolly, afterwards distinguished in the history of the western country as a large operator in lands and in colonization. The reader will notice, that in this and several previous extracts *Pittsburg* is mentioned ; this name it seems being already given to the little cluster of log-cabins just commenced near the site of Fort Pitt (old Fort Duquesne) :

"22d.—Stayed at Pittsburg all day. Invited the officers and some other gentlemen to dinner with me at Semple's, among whom was one Dr. Connolly, nephew to Colonel Croghan, a very sensible, intelligent man, who had travelled over a good deal of this western country both by land and water, and who confirms Nicholson's account of the

good land on the Shawnee River, up which he had been near four hundred miles. This country (I mean on the Shawnee River), according to Dr. Connolly's description, must be exceedingly desirable on many accounts. The climate is fine, the soil remarkably good ; the lands well watered with good streams, and level enough for any kind of cultivation. Besides these advantages from nature, it has others not less important to a new settlement, particularly game, which is so plentiful as to render the transportation of provisions thither, bread only excepted, altogether unnecessary. Dr. Connolly is so much delighted with the lands and climate on that river, that he wishes for nothing more than to induce one hundred families to go there and live, that he might be among them. A new and most desirable government might be established there, to be bounded, according to his account, by the Ohio northward and westward, by the ridge that divides the waters of the Tennessee or Cherokee River southward and westward, and a line to be run from the Falls of the Ohio, or above, so as to cross the Shawnee River above the fork of it. Dr. Connolly gives much the same account of the land between Fort Chartres in the Illinois country and Post St. Vincent that Nicholson does, except in the article of water, which the doctor says is bad, and in the summer scarce, there being little else than stagnant water to be met with."

On the 23d of November, Washing-



ton set out on his return to Mount Vernon, which he reached on the 1st of

1770. December, after an absence of nine weeks and one day. The journal of his tour, from which we have made such copious extracts, shows the laborious and fatiguing nature of traveling in the wilderness; but it was also attended with a species of danger still more formidable than any which he actually encountered. This was the hostility of the Indians, who had recently been engaged in war with the British colonists; and who, soon after this tour of Washington, again attacked them, and a bloody war ensued, of which the principal battle took place on the banks of the Great Kenhawa, which had so recently been visited by Washington and his party.

Washington intended to make another tour to the West shortly after his return, in company with Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, successor to Lord Botetourt. But he was prevented by severe domestic affliction from fulfilling his purpose. This was occasioned by the death of Miss Custis, the only daughter of Mrs. Washington.

"The long, severe, and fatal illness of Mrs. Washington's daughter," says Mrs. Kirkland,\* "was the darkest cloud that

overspread Mount Vernon for many years of quiet time. The feeble child was the darling of her mother; and her prolonged suffering made large drafts, not only upon the tender mother, but upon the kind step-father; and when at length she died, Washington, who was just setting out upon a long journey of exploration, preparatory to the purchase of some tracts of land at the West, gave up the expedition, and staid at home to comfort and cheer his wife under her great affliction. Mrs. Lewis, granddaughter of Mrs. Washington, says that on the occasion of this young lady's death, Washington exhibited a passionate excess of feeling—falling on his knees at the bedside, and praying aloud and with tears that she might be spared, unconscious that, even as he spoke, life had departed. We find, by his diary after this time, that he took Mrs. Washington out every day, driving about the neighborhood and calling on intimate friends, endeavoring by exercise in the open air and by the society of those she loved, to turn her thoughts from the too constant contemplation of her loss. She was a woman of strong affections, very quiet and retiring in her habits, and devoted to her family; and Washington's sympathy was never wanting when she suffered from loss or separation."

---

\* *Memoirs of Washington*, p. 202.

## CHAPTER VIII.

1771—1773.

### POLITICAL UNION OF THE COLONIES.

Hutchinson appointed governor of Massachusetts.—He informs the legislature that the king had provided for his support.—Object of this innovation.—Decision of the legislature.—The judges also made independent of the people.—The legislature resolves that the acceptance of a salary from the king makes any one of the judges an enemy of his country.—Four judges accept compensation from the legislature.—Oliver refuses, and is impeached.—Samuel Adams invents the system of committees of correspondence.—The harbor of Boston made the general rendezvous for the British ships-of-war in America.—Castle William surrendered by Hutchinson to the king's troops.—Hutchinson seeks the subversion of the Massachusetts charter.—General Court meets at Cambridge and is adjourned to Boston.—Affair of the schooner *Gaspee*.—Vain attempts to discover the agents in it.—Hutchinson is desirous to hang them.—The General Court pronounces the system of rendering civil officers dependent on the crown for their salaries unconstitutional.—Lord Hillsborough resigns the secretaryship, and is succeeded by Lord Dartmouth.—Dr. Franklin obtains certain letters of Hutchinson, Oliver, and others, recommending coercive measures against the colonies, and sends them to Boston.—The General Court petition the king to remove them from office.—The petition discussed before the privy council, where Wedderburne grossly insults Franklin.—Indignation of the Americans.—Franklin dismissed from his office of postmaster-general.—Virginia consolidates the union of the colonies, by extending the system of committees of correspondence to them all.—Resolves of the House of Burgesses.—Supported by Washington, Henry, and Lee.—Effects of the measure.—Favorably received by the Bostonians and the Massachusetts Assembly.—Extract from their circular letter.—Hutchinson defeated by the Assembly in an argument on the legislative supremacy of parliament.

IN March, 1771, Hutchinson received his commission as governor of Massachusetts. It was unfortunate for his character that he accepted it, as it was destined to bring him nothing but disappointment and disgrace; but his maladministration was ultimately serviceable to the colonies, as it undoubtedly served to hasten the period of open hostilities and of consequent independence. One of the first incidents which followed his appointment was the announcement of a fresh attack on the chartered rights of the colony by the ministry.

He had enjoyed his commission as governor but a very short time, when

he acquainted the provincial Assembly that he no longer required a salary from them, as the king had made provision for his support. By this measure the British court expected gradually to introduce into practical operation the principle for which it had already contended, of rendering the emoluments, as well as the communication and endurance, of executive functions in America wholly dependent on the pleasure of the crown; and probably it was supposed that the Americans would give little heed to the principle of an innovation of which the first practical effect was to relieve them from a considerable burden.

But the Americans valued liberty more than money, and justly accounted it the political basis on which-reposed the stability of every temporal advantage. Hutchinson's communication was deliberately examined and discussed,

and a month afterwards (July 1771. 10) the Assembly by a message declared to him that the royal provision for his support, and his own acceptance of it, was an infraction of the rights of the inhabitants recognized by the provincial charter, an insult to the Assembly, and an invasion of the important trust which from the foundation of their commonwealth they had ever continued to exercise.

Hutchinson, who, like many scholars, entertained sentiments rather kindly than respectful of the mass of mankind, and never justly appreciated the fortitude, resolution, and foresight of his countrymen, appears to have been struck with surprise at their conduct on this occasion. This, at least, is the most intelligible explanation of his behavior, when, some time after, they desired his assent to the usual provision they made for the salaries of the judges. Instead of frankly granting or withholding his sanction, he continued to hesitate and temporize, until a remonstrance from the Assembly elicited from him the avowal, for which they were quite prepared, that he could no longer authorize a provincial provision for the judges, as the king had undertaken to provide for *their* remuneration also.

The Assembly instantly passed a

resolution declaring that this measure tended to the subversion of justice and equity; and that, while the tenure of judicial office continued to depend on the pleasure of the king, "any of the judges who shall accept of and depend upon the pleasure of the crown for his support, independent of the grants of the Assembly, will discover that he is an enemy to the constitution, and has it in his heart to promote the establishment of arbitrary power in the province."

We shall here so far overstep the march of time and order of events as to notice the issue of this particular dispute, which did not occur till the commencement of the year 1774, when four of the judges acquainted the Assembly that they had received the salary voted to them by the representatives of the people, and refused to accept emolument from any other quarter; but Oliver, the chief-justice, announced that he had received the king's salary, and without his majesty's permission could not accept any other emolument. The Assembly thereupon tendered an impeachment against Oliver to the governor and council; and as Hutchinson refused to receive it, they protested that his refusal was occasioned by his own dependence on the crown. They had never, indeed, any hope that it would be received, and were incited to these measures by the desire of rendering Hutchinson and Oliver additionally unpopular.\*

---

\* Graham, *History of the United States*, vol. ii. p. 470.



In the close of the present year, Samuel Adams suggested to his  
 1772. countrymen the expediency of a measure fitted to counteract the representations of Hutchinson and his adherents, who gave out that the popular opposition was more formidable in appearance than in reality, and was at bottom merely an intrigue of a few factious men; and in conformity with his suggestion, the inhabitants of Boston (November 22, 1772) elected twenty-one of their fellow-citizens as a committee empowered to correspond with the rest of the inhabitants of the province, to consider and represent the common grievances, and to publish to the world an account of their transactions. The committee thus elected prepared and dispersed throughout the province a report of all the encroachments that had been attempted or committed upon American liberty, together with a circular letter which concluded in these terms:—"Let us consider, brethren, that we are struggling for our best birth-right and inheritance, of which the infringement renders all other blessings precarious in their enjoyment, and consequently trifling in their value. *We are not afraid of poverty, but we disdain slavery.* Let us disappoint the men who are raising themselves on the ruin of this country. Let us convince every invader of our freedom that we will be as free as the constitution which our fathers recognized will justify."

The powerful influence of this measure was not confined to the province of

Massachusetts, nor even to the States of New England. It will be seen in the sequel that it was adopted by all the colonies.\*

---

\* The following extract, from a British writer, evinces how well the importance of Samuel Adams's invention of committees of correspondence was understood in England, where it was attributed to their "favorite aversion," Dr. Franklin:

"But the storm raised by the Whiteboys and Hearts of Steel was not to be compared to the tempest further west, conjured up by the Sons of Liberty upon the apparition of Lord North's tea, and upon his attempt at taking the payment of the colonial judges and governors out of the Houses of Assembly. While the British government argued that the salaries of the judges were inadequate to the dignity of their stations—that both judges and governors were too dependent upon the people to be able to execute justice impartially, or in any way to do their duty—the Americans declared that the design of the British government was to impose its own arbitrary instruments upon them, to destroy the very essence of their charters and liberties, by making the judges and governors wholly independent of the people, and wholly dependent upon the crown. A series of protests, begun at Boston, where the Assembly of Massachusetts had returned to sit, soon ran through all the colonies; and a general corresponding committee was established, with branches and ramifications reaching to nearly every town and village in the colonies. This committee of correspondence proved the great lever of revolution. The invention of it has been attributed to Franklin; but the thing itself, the uses to which it might be applied, and its absolute necessity in a country where the population was scattered over such immense tracts of land, with mighty rivers and forests, mountains and deserts, intervening, were all so obvious that they must have struck the dullest apprehension, and the idea no doubt sprung up spontaneously in thousands of minds at once. The effect was soon seen in a general combination of measures, a unanimity of language, and a general avoidance or persecution of all who presumed to side with the British government. The words and deeds of an individual at Boston were made known everywhere, and the tories, as they were called, could not travel or show their faces anywhere without being reviled and threatened as enemies to their country. Liberty has its arbitrary devices as well as despotism. Description of persons, like the *SIGNALEMENS* on a French passport, were scattered far and wide, so that the travelling tories found themselves recognized even where they least expected to be known."

During the month before Washington commenced his journey to the western country, another important change had taken place in the measures adopted by the British ministry for reducing the people of Massachusetts to obedience. While the General Court were in session for the third time at Cambridge, the lieutenant-governor, Hutchinson, had received an order which had been adopted by the king in council,\* making the harbor of Boston the rendezvous of all ships stationed in North America, and the fortress (Castle William), which commanded it, was to be delivered up to such officer as General Gage† should appoint, to be garrisoned by regular troops and put into a respectable state of defence. Gage directed Hutchinson to deliver up Castle William to Colonel Dalrymple.

This command of the king, Hutchinson, after one day's hesitation, carried into effect by a sort of stratagem; thus violating the charter of Massachusetts, which confided the military force of the colony and its forts to the governor alone. The civil power was thus brought into subjection to the military, and "the act," says Bancroft, "was a commencement of civil war."

No attempt was made by the Bostonians to displace the royal troops. The people understood the menace, but

"bided their time." The General Court protested; and then proceeded to institute an inquiry into the state of the province, with a view to the redress of grievances. Hutchinson in the mean time was secretly urging on Lord Hillsborough the complete subversion of the charter of Massachusetts, and the remodelling of its government on the principles of despotism.

In June, 1772, Hutchinson for the fourth time ordered the General Court to assemble in Cambridge. He persisted in this course, so vexatious to the members, merely as an assertion of prerogative, and it was precisely on this ground that the legislature remonstrated against being exiled from the proper seat of government for the province. Weary of the contest, he now put an end to discussion by adjourning the session to Boston.

Soon after, the famous affair of the schooner *Gaspee* took place. This vessel was commanded by Lieutenant Dudingston, who was loudly complained of by the people of Providence, Rhode Island, for obstructing the commerce of the place, without having shown any evidence of his authority. Chief-justice Hopkins pronounced this conduct a trespass, if not piracy; but he was sustained by the admiral, who threatened those persons who should rescue a vessel from any of the king's officers with being hung as pirates. Thus supported, Dudingston "insulted the inhabitants, plundered the island of sheep and hogs, cut down trees, fired at market-boats,

\* Bancroft, *History of the United States*, vol. vi. p. 369.

† Commander-in-chief of the royal forces in America: at this time he was in England. See Document [B] at the end of this chapter.



detained vessels without a colorable pretext, and made illegal seizures of goods, of which the recovery cost more than they were worth.”\*

On the 9th of June, the Providence packet was sailing into the harbor of Newport, and Lieutenant Dudingston thought proper to require the captain to lower his colors. This the captain of the packet deemed repugnant to his patriotic feelings, and the Gaspee fired at the packet to bring her to; the American, however, still persisted in holding on her course, and, by keeping in shoal water, dexterously contrived to run the schooner aground in the chase.

As the tide was upon the ebb, the Gaspee was set fast for the night, and afforded a tempting opportunity for retaliation; and a party of men led by John Brown and Joseph Brown, of Providence, and Simeon Potter, of Bristol, being determined to rid themselves of so uncivil an inspector, in the middle of the night manned several boats and boarded the Gaspee. The lieutenant was wounded in the affray; but, with every thing belonging to him, he was carefully conveyed on shore, as were all his crew. The vessel, with her stores, was then burnt; and the party returned unmolested to their homes. When the governor became acquainted with this event, he offered a reward of five hundred pounds for the discovery of the offenders, and the royal pardon to those who would confess their guilt. Com-

missioners were appointed also to investigate the offence, and bring the perpetrators to justice; but, after remaining some time in session, they reported that they could obtain no evidence, and thus the affair terminated; a circumstance which forcibly illustrates the inviolable brotherhood which then united the people against the government.†

Governor Hutchinson was anxious to have the persons concerned in the destruction of the Gaspee sent to England for trial and hung at Execution Dock, under an act recently passed for the protection of the king's dockyards, ships, and stores; and Lord Sandwich wished to have the charter of Rhode Island revoked.

Mean time the General Court were examining the subject of the recent attacks on the charter, in 1772 the provision for rendering civil officers independent of the people by making them dependent on the crown for their salaries. The House declared “that the innovation was an important change in the constitution, and exposed the province to a despotic administration of the government.”

Lord Hillsborough, who had been greatly influenced in his despotic measures against the colonies by the letter of Hutchinson, resigned his office of secretary for the colonies, and 1772. was succeeded by Lord Dartmouth,‡ an amiable and candid man, sincerely desirous of conciliation and peace,

\* Bancroft, *History of the United States*, vol. vi. p. 413.

† Hinton, *History of the United States*.

‡ Bancroft, *History of the United States*



but, like the other members of the British ministry, by no means well informed on the actual condition of the colonies, and the real disposition of the people.

A personal animosity between Governor Hutchinson and some distinguished patriots in Massachusetts, contributed to perpetuate a flame of discontent in that province, after it had elsewhere visibly abated. This was worked up, in the year 1773, to a high pitch by a singular combination of circumstances. Some letters had been written in the course of the dispute, by Governor Hutchinson,\* Lieutenant-governor Oliver, and others, in Boston, to persons in power and office in England, which contained a very unfavorable representation of the state of public affairs, and tended to show the necessity of coercive measures, and of changing the chartered system of government, to secure the obedience of the province. These letters fell into the hands of Dr. Franklin, agent of the province, who transmitted them to Boston. The indignation and animosity, which was excited on the receipt of them, knew no bounds. The House of Assembly agreed on a petition and remonstrance to his majesty, in which they charged their governor and lieutenant-governor with being betrayers of their trusts, and of the people they governed, and of giving private, partial, and false information. They also declared them enemies to the colonies, and prayed

for justice against them, and for their speedy removal from their places. These charges were carried through by a majority of eighty-two to twelve.

This petition and remonstrance being transmitted to England, the merits of it were discussed before his majesty's privy-council. After a hearing before that board, in which Dr. Franklin represented the province of Massachusetts, the governor and lieutenant-governor were acquitted. Mr. Wedderburne, who defended the accused royal servants, in the course of his pleadings, inveighed against Dr. Franklin, in the severest language, as the fomentor of the disputes between the two countries. It was no protection to this venerable sage, that being the agent of Massachusetts, he conceived it his duty to inform his constituents of letters, written on public affairs, calculated to overturn their chartered constitution. The age, respectability, and high literary character of the subject of Mr. Wedderburne's philippic, turned the attention of the public on the transaction. The insult offered to one of their public agents, and especially to one who was both the idol and ornament of his native country, sunk deep in the minds of the Americans. That a faithful servant, whom they loved and almost adored, should be insulted for discharging his official duty, rankled in their hearts. Dr. Franklin was also immediately dismissed from the office of postmaster-general, which he held under the crown. It was not only by his trans-

---

\* See Document [A] at the end of this chapter.

mission of those letters, that he had given offence to the British ministry, but by his popular writings in favor of America. Two pieces of his, in particular, had lately attracted a large share of public attention, and had an extensive influence on both sides of the Atlantic. The one purported to be an edict from the King of Prussia, for taxing the inhabitants of Great Britain, as descendants of emigrants from his dominions. The other was entitled, "Rules for reducing a great empire to a small one." In both of which he had exposed the claims of the mother country, and the proceedings of the British ministry, with the severity of poignant satire.

The system of committees of correspondence, invented by Samuel Adams, had hitherto been confined to the towns of Massachusetts. To Virginia, the credit is due of having extended it to all the colonies. The House of Burgesses, after being repeatedly prorogued by proclamations of the governor, Lord Dunmore, met on the 4th of March, 1773. On the twelfth of the same month, the Assembly unanimously adopted a series of resolutions, moved by Dabney Carr,\* providing for the appointment of a committee of the legislature to correspond with the legislatures of the other colonies, and recommending the same measure to be adopted by them, "thereby establishing channels of intelligence and a bond of union, which proved of the utmost importance

to the general cause. Washington was present, and gave his hearty support to these resolves."† They were also supported with great eloquence by Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee. Among the names of the Virginia committee of correspondence then appointed, are those of Bland, Lee, Henry, Carr, and Jefferson.‡

This measure, which produced an important effect in animating the resolution and harmonizing the proceedings of the Americans, was so grateful in particular to the citizens of Boston, that, in a letter of instructions which they addressed shortly after to their representatives in the Assembly, they desired them seriously to consider if the salvation of American liberty and the restoration of friendship between America and Britain did not demand an immediate concurrence with *the wise and salutary proposal of our noble patriotic sister colony of Virginia*.

The recommendation of the citizens of Boston was favorably received by the Assembly of Massachusetts, which instantly appointed a committee of correspondence with the other colonies. In a circular letter published shortly after by this committee, the prospect of a quarrel between England and Spain was remarked in these terms: "Should a war take place, which by many is thought to be probable, America will be viewed by the administration as important to Great Britain. Her aid will

\* Alexander H. Everett, *Life of Patrick Henry*, in Sparks' *American Biography*, 2d series, vol. i. p. 280.

† Sparks, *Life of Washington*, p. 113.

‡ Bancroft, *History of the United States*, vol. vi. p. 453.

be deemed necessary; her friendship will be courted. Would it not, then, be wise in the several American governments to withhold all kind of aid in a general war, till their rights and liberties are permanently restored and secured?" "With regard to the *extent of rights*," they added, "which the colonies *ought to insist upon*, it is a subject which requires the greatest attention and deliberation. This is a strong reason why it should claim the earliest consideration of every committee; that we may be prepared, when *time and circumstances* shall give to our claim the surest prospect of success. And when we consider how one great event has hurried on after another, *such a time may come sooner than we suppose*."

VOL. I.—31

Hutchinson, about this time, with a rash confidence in his own talents and an eager hope of recommending himself to the British court, undertook in his speeches to the Assembly of Massachusetts to support by argument the legislative supremacy of parliament,—a doctrine which we have seen that his own original opinions outstripped those of his countrymen in opposing. This misplaced exertion of zeal was generally disapproved, even in England, where it was remarked with displeasure that principles solemnly established by the crown and parliament were at once unhinged and degraded by the presumptuous argumentative patronage of a provincial governor.



## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER VIII.

---

[A.]

### GOVERNOR HUTCHINSON.

THOMAS HUTCHINSON, LL. D., Governor of Massachusetts while a province of England, graduated at Harvard College in 1727. He first applied himself to mercantile business, but soon commenced studying the common law of England, and the principles of the British constitution, with reference to his employment in public life. For ten years he was a representative from Boston in the General Court, and was three times chosen speaker. In 1752 he was appointed judge of probate; was a member of the council from 1749 to 1766; lieutenant-governor from 1758 to 1771; and in 1760 was appointed chief-justice. At one time he held the offices of councillor, judge of probate, chief-justice, and lieutenant-governor. He sided with the mother country in her attempts to raise a revenue from the colonies, and of course became extremely obnoxious to the people. A brother-in-law of Mr. Hutchinson being appointed distributor of stamps, the people, or rather the mob, after compelling him to resign his office, paid a visit to Governor Hutchinson's house, in consequence of a report that he had written letters in favor of the act; but the chief damage done on this occasion consisted in breaking his windows. A few evenings subsequently there was a more formidable assault. The merchants being displeased with the officers of the customs and the admiralty, a mob was collected in the evening of August 26, 1765, in King-street, and well supplied with strong drink. They first plundered the cellar of the comptroller of customs of the wine and spirits, and then proceeded with intoxicated rage to the house of Mr. Hutchinson, where, splitting the doors to pieces with

broad-axes, they destroyed or cast into the street every thing which was in the house, retaining possession until daylight. The damage was estimated at two thousand five hundred pounds, besides the loss of a great collection of public and private papers. He received a compensation for his losses. The governor was that night at the castle. The citizens the next day passed a vote of censure on the rioters, but no person was punished; even six or eight persons, who were imprisoned for participation in the disturbance, were released by another mob, who by threats obtained the keys of the prison from the prison-keeper. In 1768, the arrival of the troops at Boston increased the popular excitement against the lieutenant-governor. When Governor Bernard left the province in 1769, the administration devolved on the lieutenant-governor, and in the next year, the Boston massacre, as it was called, occurred, inflaming the public mind. He had a long controversy with the General Court, caused by his prorogation of it to Cambridge by order of the king. At this period, in meditating on the future, he concluded that it would be prudent for him to remain in the office of chief-justice—and pass his days in peace. In the mean time, however, March, 1771, his commission as governor was received. Unfortunately for himself he accepted the appointment; for, from this time till his departure for England in 1774, he was in constant dispute with the Assembly and Council. The discovery of his confidential letters to the British government, giving details of the position of affairs in the colony, accompanied by advice as to the measures to be pursued for coercion, caused him not a little trouble and uneasiness. The last public difficulty was the affair of the tea, a part of which had been consigned to two of his

sons. At this time the Sons of Liberty, as they were called, had nullified all the powers of government. No officer dared to issue or serve a precept. February 24th, 1774, the governor informed the legislature by message, that he had obtained his majesty's leave to return to England, and that he would soon avail himself of it; accordingly he sailed for England June 1st. After the publication of the letters in 1773, the Council and the House voted an address asking for the removal of the governor. A hearing was had before the privy council relative to the subject of their petition, who gave a decision in favor of "the honor, integrity, and conduct of the governor," which endorsement of his official acts was approved by the king. He was deprived of all his offices in America, but received in lieu therefor a pension from the British government. He died in 1780, aged 69. He published—"A Brief State of the Claim of the Colonies, 1764;" "The History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, from the first settlement thereof in 1628, until the year 1750," in 2 vols. 8vo., the first issued in 1760, and the second in 1767; "A Collection of Original Papers relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay," 8vo., 1769. These works are highly esteemed by those who are engaged in investigating the history of America. A third volume of the "History of Massachusetts from 1749 to 1774," was published from his manuscripts by his grandson. London, 8vo., 1828.

---

[B.]

GOVERNOR GAGE.

Thomas Gage, the last governor of Massachusetts appointed by the king, was a native of England, and an active officer during the Seven Years' War. He was appointed governor of

Montreal in 1760, and in 1763, at the departure of Amherst from America, was commissioned commander-in-chief of the British forces in that country. In 1774 he superseded Hutchinson as governor of Massachusetts, and arrived at Boston, May 13th. Several regiments soon followed him, and he began to repair the fortifications on Boston Neck. As precautionary measures, he caused the powder in the arsenal at Charlestown to be seized, and sent detachments of troops to take possession of the military stores deposited in Salem or its vicinity, and others were directed to proceed to Concord. The detachment sent to Concord encountered the Americans at Lexington early in the morning of April 19th, 1775, when hostilities commenced, which were renewed at Concord, and continued till the British troops reached their encampment at Charlestown, towards evening. In May, the Provincial Congress declared Gage to be an inveterate enemy of the country, disqualified to serve the colony as governor, and unworthy of obedience. It was his misfortune to enter upon the duties of his office at a time when it became necessary for him, as a faithful servant of his king, to execute laws framed expressly for the infliction of chastisement upon the people of the colony over which he was placed. He possessed a naturally amiable disposition, and his benevolence often outweighed his justice in the scale of duty. Under other circumstances, his name might have been sweet in the recollection of the Americans; now it is identified with oppression and hatred of freedom. In June, he issued a proclamation, offering pardon to all the rebels, excepting Samuel Adams and John Hancock, and establishing martial law. An answer to this proclamation was prepared by Congress; but before its publication the battle of Bunker Hill put an end to the paper war. In October, 1775, he went to England, where he died in April, 1787.



## CHAPTER IX.

1773, 1774.

### WASHINGTON A POLITICIAN.

The conduct of the Bostonians in destroying the tea gave a new aspect to the controversy, and brought affairs to a crisis.—Retrospective review of the question.—The right to tax the colonies asserted in the duty on tea, and the duty resisted on that ground.—Interference of the East India Company.—Their proposition opposed by English merchants.—Alarm in the colonies.—The Philadelphia resolutions.—Means adopted to prevent the landing of the tea in Philadelphia and New York.—In Boston, Hutchinson defeats the project for sending the ships back.—The ships arrive.—A committee of the people endeavors to get the tea sent back.—Town-meeting.—Speech of Josiah Quincy, junior.—The tea thrown into the harbor.—Information of the proceeding sent to New York and Philadelphia, and to England.—Consequent proceedings in parliament.—Message of the king.—Speech of Lord North.—Vote of thanks to the king.—Boston Port Bill passed.—Bill for subverting the Charter of Massachusetts.—Bill for transporting accused persons to England for trial.—Opinions of Burke, Pownall, Chatham, and others.—Views of Lord North and the court party.—Quebec bill.—Its object.—General Gage appointed to supersede Governor Hutchinson.—His reception in Boston.—Town-meeting.—Spirited resolutions.—Session of the House of Burgesses of Virginia.—Order a fast.—Dissolved by Lord Dunmore, the governor.—Assemble at the Raleigh Tavern.—Propose a general congress.—Washington takes an active part in these proceedings.—His views.—News from Boston.—Washington and others recommend a meeting at Williamsburg.—Difference of opinion about stopping exports.—Washington insists on the payment of just private debts to English merchants.—His letter to Bryan Fairfax.—His views of the necessity of maintaining the non-importation agreements.—Washington presides at a political meeting in Fairfax county.—His views on the general question in a letter to Fairfax.—Lord Chatham's eloquent expression of the same views at a later period.—Washington at the meeting at Williamsburg, where he presents the Fairfax county Resolves.—He speaks in support of them.—New association formed.—Washington chosen one of the delegates to the Continental Congress to be held at Philadelphia in September, 1774.—The example of Virginia followed by other colonies.—Boston Resolutions of May 13th.—Proceedings in Charlestown.—Rapid consolidation.—Proceedings in Boston.—Effect of shutting up the port.—Distress relieved by contributions from other colonies.—Magnanimity of the Salem people.—General Court in session.—Delegates to Congress chosen.—Solemn league and covenant.—Gage's proclamation.—New councilors and judges.—Gage fortifies Roxbury Neck.—Seizes powder.—Popular excitement.—Oliver compelled to resign.—The country people march to the defence of Boston.—Civil officers of the crown driven into Boston.—Suffolk Resolutions.—Doubts of support from the Congress.

WE have now arrived at a period when the spirited resistance of the Bostonians to the introduction of tea into the colony of Massachusetts, gave an entirely new aspect to the American controversy, and rapidly brought affairs to the crisis which they had foreseen, and for which they were prepared. To understand this in its origin, it is neces-

sary to recur to the period when the solitary duty on tea was excepted from the partial repeal of the revenue-act of 1767. When the duties which had been laid on glass, paper, and painters' colors were taken off, a respectable minority in parliament contended that the duty on tea should also be removed. To this it was replied, "That as the



Americans denied the legality of taxing them, a total repeal would be a virtual acquiescence in their claims; and that in order to preserve the rights of the mother country, it was necessary to retain the preamble and at least one of the taxed articles." It was answered, that a partial repeal would be a source of endless discontent,—that the tax on tea would not defray the expenses of collecting it. The motion in favor of a total repeal was thrown out by a great majority.

As the parliament thought fit to retain the tax on tea for an evidence of their right of taxation, the Americans, in like manner, to be consistent with themselves in denying that right, discontinued the importation of that commodity. While there was no attempt to introduce tea into the colonies against this declared sense of the inhabitants, these opposing claims were in no danger of collision. In that case the mother country might have solaced herself with her ideal rights, and the colonies, with their favorite opinion of a total exemption from parliamentary taxes, without disturbing the public peace. This mode of compromising the dispute, which seemed at first designed as a salvo for the honor and consistency of both parties, was, by the interference of the East India Company, in combination with the British ministry, completely overset.

The expected revenue from tea failed in consequence of the American association to import none on which a duty

was charged. This, though partially violated in some of the colonies, was well observed in others, and particularly in Pennsylvania, where the duty was never paid on more than one chest of that commodity. This proceeded as much from the spirit of gain as of patriotism. The merchants found means of supplying their countrymen with tea, smuggled from countries to which the power of Britain did not extend. They doubtless conceived themselves to be supporting the rights of their country, by refusing to purchase tea from Britain, but they also reflected that if they could bring the same commodity to market free of duty, their profits would be proportionably greater.

The love of gain was not peculiar to the American merchants. From the diminished exportation to the colonies, the warehouses of the British East India Company had in them about seventeen millions of pounds of tea, for which a market could not readily be procured. The ministry and the East India Company, unwilling to lose, the one the expected revenue from the sale of tea in America, the other their usual commercial profits, agreed on a measure by which they supposed both would be secured.

The East India Company were by law authorized to export their tea free of duties to all places whatsoever. By this regulation, tea, though loaded with an exceptionable duty, would come cheaper to the colonies than before it had been made a source of revenue:

for the duty when taken off it, when exported from Great Britain, was greater than what was to be paid on its importation into the colonies. Confident of success in finding a market for their tea, thus reduced in its price, and also of collecting a duty on its importation and sale in the colonies, the East India Company freighted several ships with teas for the different colonies, and appointed agents for the disposal thereof. This measure united several interests in opposition to its execution. The patriotism of the Americans was corroborated by several auxiliary aids, no ways connected with the cause of liberty.

The merchants in England were alarmed at the losses that must accrue to themselves, from the exportations of the East India Company, and from the sales going through the hands of consignees. Letters were written from that country to colonial patriots, urging that opposition to which they of themselves were prone.

The smugglers, who were both numerous and powerful, could not relish a scheme which by underselling them, and taking a profitable branch of business out of their hands, threatened a diminution of their gains. The colonists were too suspicious of the designs of Great Britain to be imposed upon.

The cry of endangered liberty once more excited an alarm from New Hampshire to Georgia. The first opposition to the execution of the scheme adopted by the East India Company, began with the American merchants. They

saw a profitable branch of their trade likely to be lost, and the benefits of it to be transferred to people in Great Britain. They felt for the wound that would be inflicted on their country's claim of exemption from parliamentary taxation, but they felt with equal sensibility for the losses they would sustain by the diversion of the streams of commerce into unusual channels. The great body of the people, from principles of the purest patriotism, were brought over to second their wishes. They considered the whole scheme as calculated to seduce them into an acquiescence with the views of parliament, for raising an American revenue. Much pains were taken to enlighten the colonists on this subject, and to convince them of the imminent hazard to which their liberties were exposed.

The provincial patriots insisted largely on the persevering determination of the parent state to establish her claim of taxation, by compelling the sale of tea in the colonies against the solemn resolutions and declared sense of the inhabitants, and that at a time when the commercial intercourse of the two countries was renewed, and their ancient harmony fast returning. The proposed venders of the tea were represented as revenue officers, employed in the collection of an unconstitutional tax, imposed by Great Britain. The colonists reasoned with themselves, that as the duty and the price of the commodity were inseparably blended, if the tea was sold, every purchaser would pay a tax imposed by the



British parliament, as part of the purchase money. To obviate this evil, and to prevent the liberties of a great country from being sacrificed by inconsiderate purchasers, sundry town-meetings were held in the capitals of the different provinces, and combinations were formed to obstruct the sales of the tea sent by the East India Company.

The resolutions entered into by the inhabitants of Philadelphia, on October the 18th, 1773, afford a good specimen of the whole—these were as follows:

“1. That the disposal of their own property is the inherent right of freemen; that there can be no property in that which another can, of right, take from us without our consent; that the claim of parliament to tax America, is, in other words, a claim of right to levy contributions on us at pleasure.

2. That the duty imposed by parliament upon tea landed in America, is a tax on the Americans, or levying contributions on them without their consent.

3. That the express purpose for which the tax is levied on the Americans,—namely, for the support of government, administration of justice, and defence of his majesty’s dominions in America, has a direct tendency to render Assemblies useless, and to introduce arbitrary government and slavery.

4. That a virtuous and steady opposition to this ministerial plan of governing America, is absolutely necessary to preserve even the shadow of liberty, and is a duty which every freeman in

America owes to his country, to himself, and to his posterity.

5. That the resolution lately entered into by the East India Company, to send out their tea to America, subject to the payment of duties on its being landed here, is an open attempt to enforce this ministerial plan, and a violent attack upon the liberties of America.

6. That it is the duty of every American to oppose this attempt.

7. That whoever shall directly or indirectly countenance this attempt, or in any wise aid or abet in unloading, receiving, or vending the tea sent, or to be sent out by the East India Company, while it remains subject to the payment of a duty here, is an enemy to his country.

8. That a committee be immediately chosen to wait on those gentlemen, who, it is reported, are appointed by the East India Company to receive and sell said tea, and request them, from a regard to their own character and the peace and good order of the city and province, immediately to resign their appointment.”

As the time approached when the arrival of the tea ships might be soon expected, such measures were adopted as seemed most likely to prevent the landing of their cargoes. The tea consignees appointed by the East India Company were, in several places, compelled to relinquish their appointments, and no others could be found hardy enough to act in their stead. The pilots in the river Delaware were warned not



to conduct any of the tea ships into their harbor. In New York, popular vengeance was denounced against all who would contribute, in any measure, to forward the views of the East India Company. The captains of the New York and Philadelphia ships, being apprised of the resolution of the people, and fearing the consequences of landing a commodity, charged with an odious duty, in violation of their declared public sentiments, concluded to return directly to Great Britain, without making any entry at the custom-house.

It was otherwise in Massachusetts. The tea ships designed for the supply of Boston were consigned to the sons, cousins, and particular friends of Governor Hutchinson. When they were called upon to resign, they answered "that it was out of their power." The collector refused to give a clearance, unless the vessels were discharged of dutiable articles. The governor refused to give a pass for the vessels, unless properly qualified from the custom-house. The governor also requested Admiral Montagu to guard the passages out of the harbor, and gave orders to suffer no vessels, coasters excepted, to pass the fortress from the town without a pass signed by himself. From a combination of these circumstances, the return of the tea vessels from Boston was rendered impossible. The inhabitants, then, had no option but to prevent the landing of the tea or to suffer it to be landed, and depend on the unanimity of the people not to purchase it, or to de-

stroy the tea, or to suffer a deep-laid scheme against their sacred liberties to take effect. The first would have required incessant watching by night as well as by day for a period of time, the duration of which no one could compute. The second would have been visionary to childishness, by suspending the liberties of a growing country on the self-denial and discretion of every tea-drinker in the province. They viewed the tea as the vehicle of an unconstitutional tax, and as inseparably associated with it. To avoid the one, they resolved to destroy the other.

This decision was not arrived at without considerable delay and preparation on the part of the people. Much time had already been consumed in town-meetings, and conferences of the committee of correspondence in Boston with those of the neighboring towns. The first of the tea ships, the Dartmouth, owned by Rotch, a Quaker merchant, had arrived on the 28th of November.

On the first of December, says a historian of Boston,\* Captain James Bruce, in the ship *Eleanor*, arrived with another portion of the tea. On the 3d, he was ordered to attend the next day on a committee of the people in Faneuil Hall, where he was commanded by Samuel Adams and Jonathan Williams, assembled with John Rowe, John Hancock, William Phillips, and John Pitts, Esqrs., and a great number of others, not to land any of the said tea, but to proceed

---

\* Snow, *History of Boston*.

to Griffin's wharf and there discharge the rest of his cargo. Captain Coffin arrived in the brig Beaver near the same time, and was ordered to pursue the same course.

It being perceived that Mr. Rotch rather lingered in his preparations to return the Dartmouth to London, and the twenty days being nearly expired, after which the collector might seize the ship and cargo, Mr. Rotch was summoned before the committee, when he stated to them that it would prove his entire ruin if he should comply with the resolutions of the 29th and 30th of November, and therefore he could not do it. A meeting of the people was assembled at the Old South on Tuesday, December 14th, when Mr. Rotch appeared, and was enjoined forthwith to demand a clearance. It was ascertained that one could not be obtained till the next day, and therefore the meeting was adjourned to Thursday, at the same place.

On Thursday, December 16th, 1773, the meeting was immense. In addition to the inhabitants of Boston, two thousand men at least were present from the country. Samuel Phillips Savage, Esq., of Weston, was appointed moderator. Mr. Rotch reported that the collector would not give him a clearance. He was then ordered upon his peril to get his ship ready for sea *this day*, enter a protest *immediately* against the custom-house, and proceed *directly* to the governor (then at Milton, seven miles distant), and demand a

pass for his ship to go by the castle. An adjournment to three P. M. then took place. At three, having met, they waited very patiently till five o'clock, when, finding that Mr. Rotch did not return, they began to be very uneasy, called for a dissolution of the meeting, and finally obtained a vote for it. But the more judicious, fearing what would be the consequences, begged for a reconsideration of that vote, for this reason, "that they ought to do every thing in their power to send the tea back, *according to their resolves*." This touched the pride of the assembly, and they agreed to remain together one hour.

This interval was improved by Josiah Quincy, jr.,\* to apprise his fellow-citizens of the importance of the crisis, and direct their attention to the probable results of this controversy. "It is not, Mr. Moderator," he said, "the spirit that vapors within these walls that must stand us in stead. The exertions of this day will call forth events which will make a very different spirit necessary for our salvation. Whoever supposes that shouts and hosannas will terminate the trials of this day entertains a childish fancy. He must be grossly ignorant of the importance and value of the prize for which we contend; we must be equally ignorant of the power of those who have combined against us; we must be blind to that malice, inveteracy, and insatiable revenge which actuate our enemies, public and pri-

---

\* See Document [A] at the end of this chapter.



vate, abroad and in our bosoms, to hope that we shall end this controversy without the sharpest conflicts—to flatter ourselves that popular resolves, popular harangues, popular acclamations, and popular vapor will vanquish our foes. Let us consider the issue. Let us look to the end. Let us weigh and consider before we advance to those measures which must bring on the most trying and terrible struggle this country ever saw.” He succeeded in holding them in attentive silence till Mr. Rotch’s return, at three-quarters past five o’clock. The answer which he brought from the governor was, “that for the honor of the laws, and from duty towards the king, he could not grant the permit until the vessel was regularly cleared.” A violent commotion immediately ensued. A person who was in the gallery, disguised after the manner of the Indians, shouted at this juncture the cry of war; it was answered by about thirty persons disguised in like manner, at the door. The meeting was dissolved in the twinkling of an eye. The multitude rushed to Griffin’s wharf. The disguised Indians went on board the ships laden with the tea. In less than two hours two hundred and forty chests and one hundred half chests were staved and emptied into the dock. The affair was concluded without any tumult; no damage was done to the vessels or to any other effects whatever.

This was executed in the presence of several ships-of-war lying in the harbor,

and almost under the guns of the castle, where there was a large body of troops at the command of the commissioners. We are left to conjecture for the reasons why no opposition was made to this bold adventure.

The promptness of the Bostonians in destroying the tea as soon as the meeting adjourned, was fortunate for the cause of liberty. If they had delayed acting till the next day, the tea would have been placed under the protection of the admiral at the castle. After the work of destruction was completed the town became perfectly quiet, and the men from the country carried the news to their homes; and on the following day the committee of correspondence sent off an express, with their own account of what had been done, to New York and Philadelphia. The news was also speedily conveyed to England, and we now proceed to notice its effects in that country.

The British ministry appear to have been highly gratified that the town of Boston, which they ever regarded as the focus of sedition in America, had rendered itself, by the violent destruction of the property of the East India Company, obnoxious to their severest vengeance. On the 7th of March, Lord North presented a message from the king to both houses of parliament, in which it was stated, that “in consequence of the unwarrantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of



Boston, with a view of obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of its constitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before parliament, recommending it to their serious consideration what further regulations or permanent provisions might be necessary to be established."

On presenting the papers, Lord North represented the conduct of Boston in the darkest colors. He said, "that the utmost lenity on the part of the governor, perhaps too much, had been already shown; and that this town, by its late proceedings, had left government perfectly at liberty to adopt any measures they should think convenient, not only for redressing the wrong sustained by the East India Company, but for inflicting such punishment as their factious and criminal conduct merited; and that the aid of parliament would be resorted to for this purpose, and for vindicating the honor of the crown, so daringly and wantonly attacked and contemned." In reply to the royal message, the House voted "that an address of thanks should be presented to the king, assuring his majesty that they would not fail to exert every means in their power of effectually providing for the due execution of the laws, and securing the dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain." In a few days, a bill was introduced "for the immediate removal of the officers concerned in the collection of customs from Boston, and to dis-

continue the landing and discharging, lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandise at Boston, or within the harbor thereof." The bill also levied a fine upon the town, as a compensation to the East India Company for the destruction of their teas, and was to continue in force during the pleasure of the king. The opposition to this measure was very slight, and it was finally carried in both houses without a division.

This, however, was only a part of Lord North's scheme of coercion. He proposed two other bills which were intended to strike terror into the province of Massachusetts, and to deter the other colonies from following her example. By one of these, the constitution and charter of the province were completely subverted, all power taken out of the hands of the people and placed in those of the servants of the crown. The third scheme of Lord North was the introduction of "a bill for the impartial administration of justice in Massachusetts." By this act, persons informed against or indicted for any act done in opposition to the laws of the revenue, or for the suppression of riots in Massachusetts, might, by the governor, with the advice of the council, be sent for trial to any other colony, or to Great Britain; an enactment which, in effect, conferred impunity on the officers of the crown, however odious might be their violations of the law.

Some distinguished statesmen opposed these plans of the administration

with great eloquence and zeal. The celebrated Burke declared that "it was only oppressive and unjust laws which the people had opposed; that it was most unreasonable to condemn them without a hearing; and that constitutional principles were not to be settled by the military arm." Pownall observed, that "it was no longer a matter of opinion with the citizens of Massachusetts; that things had come to action; that the Americans would resist all attempts to coerce them, and were prepared to do it; and that if there should be a rebellion in the province, the question would be, who caused it?"

The Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Rockingham, and other peers insisted that the charter was a solemn contract, which neither the king nor parliament could justly annul or alter without the consent of the subjects in Massachusetts, unless they had forfeited their rights by an infraction of its provisions. Lord Chatham also opposed these plans of the administration with all his former energy and spirit; although at this time he was in such a debilitated state that he seldom took part in the debates of parliament. He declared himself most decidedly in favor of conciliatory measures; for he was of opinion that the province had been oppressed, and the liberties of the subject therein most flagrantly violated. He believed that just measures on the part of ministers would quiet the colonies and restore harmony between them and the parent state. He denounced the proposed sys-

tem as unconstitutional and tyrannical, and predicted that the people of Massachusetts would never submit to such palpable and repeated violations of their political rights.

Colonel Barre also addressed the ministry on the last bill in the following bold and energetic language: "You have changed your ground. You are become the aggressors, and offering the last of human outrages to the people of America, by subjecting them to military execution. Instead of sending them the olive-branch, you have sent the naked sword. By the olive-branch I mean a repeal of all the late laws, fruitless to you and oppressive to them. Ask their aid in a constitutional manner, and they will give it to the utmost of their ability. They never yet refused it when properly required. Your journals bear the recorded acknowledgments of the zeal with which they have contributed to the general necessities of the state. What madness is it that prompts you to attempt obtaining that by force which you may more certainly procure by requisition? They may be flattered into any thing, but they are too much like yourselves to be driven. Have some indulgence for your own likeness; respect their sturdy English virtue; retract your odious exertions of authority; and remember, that the first step towards making them contribute to your wants is to reconcile them to your government."

These measures of the British ministry originated partly in mistaken views



of the opinions and temper of the people. Great misrepresentation had been made for several years to the administration in England respecting the state of the colonies. It was declared by the officers of the crown and some other individuals, that it was only a few ambitious persons who objected to the policy of the parent state, while the friends and agents of the people were not permitted to be heard in their attempts to show the general dissatisfaction.

It is also true that Lord North and several other members of the British cabinet at this period, possessed high notions of the supremacy of parliament and of the sovereign power of the king; the more correct and just principles of civil liberty, recognized in 1689, and still received by many eminent statesmen in England, were not in fashion with the court party.

Assuming the doctrine of the supreme and unlimited authority of parliament over all parts of the empire (which, in a certain sense, restricted and qualified, however, by great constitutional principles, had been generally admitted in the colonies), ministers insisted that the power of the parent government was entirely without control; and contended for the legitimacy of measures which the patriots in both countries considered most arbitrary, and wholly destructive of the liberties of the subject.

With these views of government, they maintained that any measures were justifiable for supporting the authority of

the king and parliament; and they calculated upon bringing the refractory and disaffected to ready submission by severity and force. It will soon be apparent, however, that it was not a faction in Boston by which opposition was kept alive in America; and that throughout this and the other provinces but one sentiment prevailed as to the oppressive and arbitrary conduct of the parent government, and one determination to oppose and prevent the continuance of such a system of policy.

Notwithstanding these successive measures, from which such important results were professedly expected, it is evident that the government entertained serious apprehensions that an appeal to arms was by no means improbable. The English cabinet sought, therefore, to ingratiate themselves with the newly-acquired provinces of Canada, and the proceedings they adopted with this view, appear to have been the only measures which were characterized by the slightest indications of wisdom.

The Canadian noblesse had enjoyed great authority under the dominion of their native country, and they had recently been complaining of the abridgment of their privileges, while the inhabitants, who were chiefly Catholic, had been viewing with jealousy the superior privileges of the Protestants; Lord North, therefore, did not suffer the session to close without introducing a bill calculated to insure the affections of the Canadians. It erected a legislative council, nominated by the crown,



on whom very extensive powers were conferred, which was very gratifying to the Canadian nobility; the Catholic clergy were established in their privileges, and a perfect equality between their religion and that of the Protestants was established; the French laws were confirmed, and trial without jury permitted in all except criminal cases. To afford a wider field for ministerial manœuvres, the limits of the province of Quebec were extended to the river Ohio.

To these prudent concessions to the sentiments of the Canadians, may be attributed, in a great measure, the singular fact of their remaining attached to the British government during the revolutionary contest, when it might not unreasonably have been anticipated that they would have been the first to throw off a foreign yoke, and declare their independence.

As a measure indicative of a determination to conduct the proceedings against the refractory colonists with the utmost vigor, General Gage was appointed, with powers of the most unlimited extent, to supersede Governor Hutchinson. The offices of governor of the province of Massachusetts and commander of his majesty's forces in America, were united in his person. The intelligence of the passing of the Boston port-bill had preceded General Gage a few days. The new governor, though it appeared that he entertained serious apprehensions of some disorderly or disrespectful conduct on the part of the

people, was received by them with every mark of civility. He had soon occasion to perceive, however, that their politeness to him did not proceed from any fear of his authority, or from any relaxation in their purposes of resistance. On the day after his arrival, the General Court having been dissolved by the late governor, a town-meeting was convened and very numerous attended.

They declared and resolved, 1774.  
“that the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the act, exceed all their powers of expression; and, therefore,” they said, “we leave it to the censure of others, and appeal to God and the world.”

They also declared it as their opinion that “if the other colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importations from, and exportations to, Great Britain and every part of the West Indies, till the act be repealed, the same would prove the salvation of North America, and her liberties.”

The idea was probably entertained by the British ministry, that the other colonies would be inclined rather to avail themselves of the commercial advantages which the closing of one of the chief seaports would open to them, than to make common cause with Boston, at the hazard of incurring a similar penalty. In this instance, as in most others, the government made a great miscalculation of the American character. The several colonies lost no time in expressing the deepest sympathy for the sufferings of the inhabitants of Boston, and in con

tributing to their pecuniary necessities, as well as in affording them moral countenance.

The House of Burgesses, in Virginia, was in session when the bill for closing the port of Boston arrived. On May 24th, 1774, they passed the following order: "This House being deeply impressed with apprehension of the great dangers to be derived to British America, from the hostile invasion of the city of Boston, in our sister colony of Massachusetts Bay, whose commerce and harbor are, on the first day of June next, to be stopped by an armed force, deem it highly necessary that the said first day of June next be set apart by the members of this House as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, devoutly to implore the Divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatens destruction to our civil rights, and the evils of civil war; to give us one heart and one mind firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights; and that the minds of his majesty and his parliament may be inspired from above with wisdom, moderation, and justice, to remove from the loyal people of America all cause of danger, from a continued pursuit of measures pregnant with their ruin. Ordered, therefore, that the members of this House do attend in their places, at the hour of ten in the forenoon, on the said first day of June next, in order to proceed with the speaker and the mace to the church in this city, for the purposes aforesaid;

and that the Rev. Mr. Price be appointed to read prayers, and to preach a sermon suitable to the occasion."

The next day the House, for this independent conduct, was dissolved by the governor, Lord Dunmore. Thereupon the members, eighty-nine in number, immediately repaired to the Raleigh Tavern, and, forming themselves into a vigilance committee, adopted a spirited declaration of their views, in which they strongly urged a general congress. Washington, at his post as a member of the House, took a full share in its patriotic proceedings, and proved himself no idle spectator of this important progress of events. His whole soul was deeply interested in the momentous questions at issue; and, although on intimate terms with Lord Dunmore, he was prepared to join his countrymen with all his energies in resisting the tyrannous course of parliament.\* In one of his letters he says: "For my own part, I shall not undertake to say where the line between Great Britain and the colonies should be drawn, but I am clearly of opinion that one ought to be drawn, and our rights clearly ascertained. I could wish, I own, that the dispute had been left for posterity to determine, but the crisis is arrived when we must assert our rights, or submit to every imposition that can be heaped upon us, till custom shall make us tame and abject slaves."†

Before all the members of the House

---

\* Spencer, *History of the United States*.

† Letter to Bryan Fairfax.



of Burgesses left Williamsburg, news came from Boston of a town-meeting in that place, in which it was resolved to invite the people of all the colonies to unite in an agreement to hold no further commercial intercourse with Great Britain, either by imports or exports. Washington was one of the twenty-five delegates still at the seat of government. As there was some difference of opinion among them as to the proper course to be pursued, they went no further than to issue a circular letter, recommending a meeting of delegates at Williamsburg on the first of August, to deliberate on the subject. This circular was printed and distributed throughout Virginia.\*

The difference of opinion among the delegates was in relation to the withholding of exports to Great Britain. To the non-importation agreement they were already committed, and all were willing to adhere strictly to it. But the withholding of exports would involve the practical repudiation of large debts to merchants in England, which could only be paid by sending out the productions of the country, particularly the staple of Virginia, tobacco.

On this head, Washington, in strict consistency with his uniform character for honor and integrity, took a decisive stand. Writing to his friend Bryan Fairfax, he says: "With you I  
1774. think it folly to attempt more than we can execute, as that will not

only bring disgrace upon us but weaken our cause; yet I think we may do more than is generally believed, in respect to the non-importation scheme. As to the withholding of our remittances, that is another point, in which I own I have my doubts on several accounts, but principally on that of justice; for I think, whilst we are accusing others of injustice, we should be just ourselves; and how this can be, whilst we owe a considerable debt, and refuse payment of it, to Great Britain, is to me inconceivable. Nothing but the last extremity, I think, can justify it. Whether this is now come is the question."

Speaking of the non-importation agreement, in another letter to the same gentleman, he says: "I am convinced, as much as I am of my existence, that there is no relief for us but in their distress; and I think, at least I hope, that there is public virtue enough left among us to deny ourselves every thing but the bare necessities of life, to accomplish this end. This we have a right to do, and no power upon earth can compel us to do otherwise, till it has first reduced us to the most abject state of slavery. The stopping of our exports would, no doubt, be a shorter method than the other to effect this purpose; but, if we owe money to Great Britain, nothing but the last necessity can justify the non-payment of it; and, therefore, I have great doubts upon this head, and wish to see the other method first tried, which is legal, and will facilitate these payments."

\* Sparks, *Life of Washington*, p. 115.



On reception of the circular letter, county meetings were held throughout Virginia, and delegates chosen to form the convention at Williamsburg on the first of August. Washington presided at the Fairfax county meeting, and assisted as a member of the committee by whom were reported those famous resolves drafted by George Mason, which so ably set forth the points of controversy between Great Britain and the colonies.\* "They are of special interest," says Mr. Sparks, "as containing the opinions of Washington at a critical time, when he was soon to be raised by his countrymen to a station of the highest trust and responsibility."

His views at this period are expressed very fully and frankly by himself in the letter to Bryan Fairfax of July 20, 1774:

"That I differ very widely from you," said he, "in respect to the mode of obtaining a repeal of the acts so much and so justly complained of, I shall not hesitate to acknowledge; and that this difference in opinion probably proceeds from the different constructions we put upon the conduct and intentions of the ministry may also be true; but, as I see nothing, on the one hand, to induce a belief that the parliament would embrace a favorable opportunity for repealing acts which they go on with great rapidity to pass, in order to enforce their tyrannical system; and, on the other, I observe, or think I observe,

that government is pursuing a regular plan at the expense of law and justice to overthrow our constitutional rights and liberties, how can I expect any redress from a measure which has been ineffectually tried already? For, sir, what is it we are contending against? Is it against paying the duty of three-pence per pound on tea because burdensome? No, it is the right only, that we have all along disputed; and to this end we have already petitioned his majesty in as humble and dutiful a manner as subjects could do. Nay, more, we applied to the House of Lords and House of Commons in their different legislative capacities, setting forth, that, as Englishmen, we could not be deprived of this essential and valuable part of our constitution. If, then, as the fact really is, it is against the right of taxation that we now do, and, as I before said, all along have contended, why should they suppose an exertion of this power would be less obnoxious now than formerly? And what reason have we to believe, that they would make a second attempt, whilst the same sentiments fill the breast of every American, if they did not intend to enforce it if possible?

In short, what further proofs are wanting to satisfy any one of the designs of the ministry, than their own acts, which are uniform and plainly tending to the same point, nay, if I mistake not, avowedly to fix the right of taxation? What hope have we, then, from petitioning, when they tell

\* See Document [B] at the end of this chapter.

us, that now or never is the time to fix the matter? Shall we, after this, whine and cry for relief, when we have already tried it in vain? Or shall we supinely sit and see one province after another fall a sacrifice to despotism?

If I were in any doubt as to the right which the parliament of Great Britain had to tax us without our consent, I should most heartily coincide with you in opinion, that to petition, and petition only, is the proper method to apply for relief; because we should then be asking a favor, and not claiming a right, which, by the law of nature and by our constitution, we are, in my opinion, indubitably entitled to. I should even think it criminal to go further than this under such an idea; but I have none such. I think the parliament of Great Britain have no more right to put their hands into my pocket without my consent, than I have to put my hands into yours; and, this being already urged to them in a firm, but decent manner, by all the colonies, what reason is there to expect any thing from their justice?"

Lord Chatham, in his celebrated speech in the House of Lords on the 20th of January, 1775, on the motion for removing the troops from Boston, uttered the following sentiments, which seem like an echo of those expressed by Washington in the letter above quoted:

"This glorious spirit of whiggism animates three millions in America; who prefer poverty with liberty to gilded

chains and sordid affluence; and who will die in defence of their rights as men, as freemen. What shall oppose this spirit, aided by the congenial flame glowing in the breast of every whig in England, to the amount, I hope, of double the American numbers? Ireland they have to a man. In that country, joined as it is with the cause of colonies, and placed at their head, the distinction I contend for is and must be observed. This country superintends and controls their trade and navigation; but they *tax themselves*. And this distinction between external and internal control is sacred and insurmountable; it is involved in the abstract nature of things. Property is private, individual, absolute. Trade is an extended and complicated consideration; it reaches as far as ships can sail, or winds can blow, it is a great and various machine. To regulate the numberless movements of its several parts, and combine them into effect, for the good of the whole, requires the superintending wisdom and energy of the supreme power in the empire. But this supreme power has no effect towards internal taxation; for it does not exist in that relation; there is no such thing, no such idea in this constitution, as a supreme power operating upon property. Let this distinction then remain forever ascertained; taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours. As an American, I would recognize to England her supreme right of regulating commerce and navigation; as an Englishman by

birth and principle, I recognize to the Americans their supreme inalienable right in their property; a right which they are justified in the defence of to the last extremity. To maintain this principle is the common cause of the whigs on the other side of the Atlantic, and on this. 'Tis liberty to liberty engaged,' that they will defend themselves, their families, and their country. In this great cause they are immovably allied; it is the alliance of God and nature,—immutable, eternal, fixed as the firmament of heaven.

To such united force, what force shall be opposed? What, my lords! A few regiments in America, and seventeen or eighteen thousand men at home! The idea is too ridiculous to take up a moment of your lordships' time. Nor can such a national and principled union be resisted by the tricks of office, or ministerial manœuvre. Laying of papers on your table, or counting numbers on a division, will not avert or postpone the hour of danger. It must arrive, my lords, unless these fatal acts are done away; it must arrive in all its horrors, and then these boastful ministers, spite of all their confidence, and all their manœuvres, shall be forced to hide their heads. They shall be forced to a disgraceful abandonment of their present measures and principles which they avow, but cannot defend; measures which they presume to attempt, but cannot hope to effectuate. They cannot, my lords, they cannot stir a step; they have not a move left; they are *checkmated*.

But it is not repealing this act of parliament, it is not repealing a piece of parchment, that can restore America to our bosom. You must repeal her fears and her resentments, and you may then hope for her love and gratitude. But now, insulted with an armed force posted at Boston, irritated with a hostile array before her eyes, her concessions, if you *could* force them, would be suspicious and insecure; they will be *irato animo*; they will not be the sound, honorable passions of freemen; they will be the dictates of fear, and extortions of force. But it is more than evident that you cannot force them, united as they are, to your unworthy terms of submission, it is impossible. And when I hear General Gage censured for inactivity, I must retort with indignation on those whose intemperate measures and improvident councils have betrayed him into his present situation."

Washington was present in the convention at Williamsburg as a member from Fairfax county, which met on the first of August, and presented 1774. the elaborate resolutions prepared by Mason. His speech, in support of them, was spoken of at the time as remarkably eloquent. The importance of the crisis no doubt awakened all his powers of oratory. In the height of his enthusiasm he even expressed a willingness to raise a thousand men, and march at their head to the relief of Boston.\*

---

\* Irving, *Life of Washington*, vol. i. p. 392.



The convention adopted a new association, in which a middle course was taken in the matter of exports, which had been so much discussed in Virginia, certain times being fixed when all intercourse with the mother country, both by imports and exports, should be suspended unless the obnoxious acts of parliament should be previously repealed.

The convention remained in session six days; passed resolutions breathing the same spirit as that of the Fairfax county resolves; and appointed and gave instructions to the following gentlemen as delegates to the General Congress:—Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, Edward Pendleton; “men,” says Dr. Ramsay, “who would have done honor to any age or country.”

Virginia was not alone in her sympathy for the inhabitants of Boston, nor in active measures for sustaining the noble cause in which she was engaged. The news of the passage of the Boston port-bill was received in that town on

the 10th of May, and its operation was to commence on the first of the next month. We have already noticed the resolutions of the Boston town-meeting of May 13th, and its effect on the House of Burgesses of Virginia.

On their reception in South Carolina, a number of the leading citizens of Charleston unanimously agreed to call a meeting of the inhabitants of the whole province.

That this might be as general as possible, letters were sent to every parish and district, and the people were invited to attend, either personally or by their representatives, at a general meeting. A large number assembled, in which were some from almost every part of the province. The proceedings of parliament against Massachusetts, were distinctly related to this convention.

Without one dissenting voice, they passed sundry resolutions expressive of their rights, and of their sympathy with the people of Boston. They also chose five delegates to represent them in a continental congress, and invested them “with full powers and authority, in behalf of them and their constituents, to concert, agree to, and effectually to prosecute such legal measures as in their opinion, and the opinion of the other members, would be most likely to obtain a redress of American grievances.”

The events of this time, says Ramsay, may be transmitted to posterity, but the agitation of the public mind can never be fully comprehended, but by those who were witnesses of it.

In the counties and towns of the several provinces, as well as in the cities, the people assembled and passed resolutions expressive of their rights, and of their detestation of the late American acts of parliament. These had an instantaneous effect on the minds of thousands. Not only the young and impetuous, but the aged and temperate, joined in pronouncing them to be unconstitutional and op-

pressive. They viewed them as deadly weapons aimed at the vitals of that liberty which they adored; as rendering abortive the generous pains taken by their forefathers to procure for them, in a new world, the quiet enjoyment of their rights. They were the subjects of their meditation when alone, and of their conversation when in company.

Within little more than a month, after the news of the Boston port-bill reached America, it was communicated from state to state, and a flame was kindled in almost every breast through the widely extended provinces. The committees of correspondence were at work in every part of the country. Every political act of one province became speedily known to every other.

In the first three months which followed the shutting up of the port of Boston, the inhabitants of the colonies, in hundreds of small circles, as well as in their provincial assemblies and congresses, expressed their abhorrence of the late proceedings of the British parliament against Massachusetts—their concurrence in the proposed measure of appointing deputies for a general congress, and their willingness to do and suffer whatever should be judged conducive to the establishment of their liberties.

A patriotic flame, created and diffused by the contagion of sympathy, was communicated to so many breasts, and reflected from such a variety of objects, as to become too intense to be resisted.

While the combination of the other colonies to support Boston was gaining strength, new matter of dissension daily took place in Massachusetts. The resolution for shutting the port of Boston was no sooner taken, than it was determined to order a military force to that town. General Gage had arrived in Boston on the third day after the inhabitants received the first intelligence of the Boston port-bill. Though the people were irritated by that measure, and though their republican jealousy was hurt by the combination of the civil and military character in one person, yet the general, as we have seen, was received with all the honors which had been usually paid to his predecessors. Soon after his arrival, two regiments of foot, with a detachment of artillery and some cannon, were landed in Boston. These troops were by degrees reinforced with others from Ireland, New York, Halifax, and Quebec.

The governor announced that he had the king's particular command for holding the General Court at Salem, after the first of June. When that eventful day arrived, the act for shutting up the port of Boston commenced its operation.

It was devoutly kept at Williamsburg as a day of fasting and humiliation.\* In Philadelphia it was solemnized with every manifestation of public calamity and grief. The inhabitants shut up their houses. After divine service a stillness reigned over the city,

\* Washington writes in his diary, that he "went to church and fasted all day."—*Sparks*.



which exhibited an appearance of the deepest distress.

In Boston a new scene opened on the inhabitants. Hitherto, that town had been the seat of commerce and of plenty. The immense business carried on there afforded a comfortable subsistence to many thousands. The necessary, the useful, and even some of the elegant arts, were cultivated among them. The citizens were polite and hospitable. In this happy state they were sentenced, on the short notice of twenty-one days, to a total deprivation of all means of subsisting. The blow reached every person. The rents of the landholders either ceased, or were greatly diminished. The immense property in stores and wharves was rendered comparatively useless. Laborers, artificers, and others, employed in the numerous occupations created by an extensive trade, partook in the general calamity. They who depended on a regular income, flowing from previous acquisitions of property, as well as they who, with the sweat of their brow, earned their daily subsistence, were equally deprived of the means of support; and the chief difference between them was, that the distresses of the former were rendered more intolerable by the recollection of past enjoyments. All these inconveniences and hardships were borne with a passive, but inflexible fortitude. Their determination to persist in the same line of conduct, which had been the occasion of their suffering, was unabated.

The authors and advisers of the reso-

lution for destroying the tea, were in the town, and still retained their popularity and influence. The execrations of the inhabitants fell not on them, but on the British parliament. Their countrymen acquitted them of all selfish designs, and believed that in their opposition to the measures of Great Britain, they were actuated by an honest zeal for constitutional liberty. The sufferers in Boston had the consolation of sympathy from the other colonists. Contributions were raised in all quarters for their relief. Letters and addresses came to them from corporate bodies, town-meetings, and provincial conventions, applauding their conduct, and exhorting them to perseverance.

The people of Marblehead, who, by their proximity, were likely to reap advantage from the distresses of Boston, generously offered the merchants of that place the use of their harbor, wharves, warehouses, and also their personal attendance on the lading or unlading of their goods, free of all expense.

The inhabitants of Salem, in an address to Governor Gage, concluded with these remarkable words: "By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbor, forbade our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart; and, were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise our for



tunes on the ruins of our suffering neighbors."

The Massachusetts General Court met at Salem, according to adjournment, on the 7th of June. Several of the popular leaders took, in a private way, the sense of the members on what was proper to be done. Finding they were able to carry such measures as the public exigencies required, they prepared resolves and moved for their adoption. But before they went on the latter business their door was shut.

One member, nevertheless, contrived means of sending information to Governor Gage of what was doing. His secretary was sent off to dissolve the General Court, but was refused admission. As he could obtain no entrance, he read the proclamation at the door, and immediately after in council, and thus dissolved the General Court. The House, while sitting with their doors shut, appointed five of the most respectable inhabitants as delegates to the General Congress, which was to meet on the first of September at Philadelphia,—voted them seventy-five pounds sterling each, and recommended to the several towns and districts to raise the said sum by equitable proportions. By these means the designs of the governor were disappointed. His situation in every respect was truly disagreeable. It was his duty to forward the execution of laws which were universally execrated. Zeal for his master's service prompted him to endeavor that they should be carried into full effect, but his progress

was retarded by obstacles from every quarter. He had to transact his official business with a people who possessed a high sense of liberty, and were uncommonly ingenious in evading disagreeable acts of parliament. It was a part of his duty to prevent the calling of the town-meetings after the first of August, 1774. These meetings were nevertheless held. On his proposing to exert authority for the dispersion of the people, he was told by the selectmen, that they had not offended against the act of parliament, for that only prohibited the calling of town-meetings, and that no such call had been made; a former constitutional meeting before the first of August, having only adjourned themselves from time to time. Other evasions, equally founded on the letter of even the late obnoxious laws, were practised.

As the summer advanced, the people of Massachusetts received stronger proofs of support from the neighboring provinces. They were therefore encouraged to further opposition. The inhabitants of the colonies, at this time, with regard to political opinions, might be divided into three classes: of these, one was for rushing precipitately into extremities. They were for immediately stopping all trade, and could not even brook the delay of waiting till the proposed Continental Congress should meet. Another party, equally respectable, both as to character, property, and patriotism, was more moderate, but not less firm. These were averse to the adoption of any violent resolutions til.

all others were ineffectually tried. They wished that a clear statement of their rights, claims, and grievances should precede every other measure. A third class disapproved of what was generally going on,—a few from principle and a persuasion that they ought to submit to the mother country,—some from the love of ease, others from self-interest, but the bulk from fear of the mischievous consequences likely to follow: all these latter classes, for the most part, lay still, while the friends of liberty acted with spirit. If they, or any of them, ventured to oppose popular measures they were not supported, and therefore declined further efforts. The resentment of the people was so strong against them, that they sought for peace by remaining quiet. The same indecision that made them willing to submit to Great Britain made them apparently acquiesce in popular measures which they disapproved. The spirited part of the community being on the side of liberty, the patriots had the appearance of unanimity; though many either kept at a distance from public meetings, or voted against their own opinion, to secure themselves from resentment, and promote their present ease and interest.

Under the influence of those who were for the immediate adoption of efficacious measures, an agreement by the name of *the solemn league and covenant* was adopted by numbers. The subscribers of this bound themselves to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain until the late obnoxious

laws were repealed, and the colony of Massachusetts restored to its chartered rights.

General Gage published a proclamation in which he styled this solemn league and covenant, “An unlawful, hostile, and traitorous combination.” And all magistrates were charged to apprehend and secure for trial, such as should have any agency in publishing or subscribing the same or any similar covenant. This proclamation had no other effect than to exercise the pens of the lawyers in showing that the association did not come within the description of legal treason, and that therefore the governor’s proclamation was not warranted by the principles of the constitution.

The late law for regulating the government of the province, arrived near the beginning of August, and was accompanied with a list of thirty-six new councillors appointed by the crown, and in a mode variant from that prescribed by the charter. Several of these in the first instance declined an acceptance of the appointment. Those who accepted of it were everywhere declared to be enemies to their country. The new judges were rendered incapable of proceeding in their official duty. Upon opening the courts the juries refused to be sworn, or to act in any manner, either under them or in conformity to the late regulations. In some places the people assembled and filled the court-houses and avenues to them in such a manner, that neither the judges nor their officers

1774.



could obtain entrance; and upon the sheriff's commanding them to make way for the court, they answered, "That  
1774. they knew no court independent of the ancient laws of their country, and to none other would they submit."

In imitation of his royal master, Governor Gage issued a proclamation "for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for the prevention and punishing vice, profaneness, and immorality." In this proclamation, hypocrisy was inserted as one of the immoralities against which the people were warned. This was considered by the inhabitants, who had often been ridiculed for their strict attention to the forms of religion, to be a studied insult, and as such was more resented than an actual injury. It greatly added to the inflammation which had already taken place in their minds.

The proceedings and apparent dispositions of the people, together with the military preparations which were daily made through the province, induced General Gage to fortify that neck\* of land which joins the peninsula of Roxbury to Boston.

He also seized upon the powder which was lodged in the arsenal at Charlestown.

This excited a most violent and universal ferment. Several thousands of the people assembled at Cambridge, and it was with difficulty they were re-

strained from marching directly to Boston to demand a delivery of the powder, with a resolution, in case of refusal, to attack the troops.

The people thus assembled proceeded to Lieutenant-governor Oliver's house, and to the houses of several of the new councillors, and obliged them to resign, and to declare that they would no more act under the laws lately enacted. In the confusion of these transactions a rumor went abroad, that the royal fleet and troops were firing upon the town of Boston. This was probably designed by the popular leaders on purpose to ascertain what aid they might expect from the country in case of extremities. The result exceeded their most sanguine expectations. In less than twenty-four hours there were upwards of thirty thousand men in arms, and marching towards the capital. Other risings of the people took place in different parts of the colony, and their violence was such, that in a short time the new councillors, the commissioners of the customs, and all who had taken an active part in favor of Great Britain, were obliged to screen themselves in Boston. The new seat of government at Salem was abandoned, and all the officers connected with the revenue were obliged to consult their safety by taking up their residence in a place which an act of parliament had proscribed from all trade.

About this time delegates from every town and district in the county of Suffolk, of which Boston is the county town, had a meeting, at which they

\* Called Roxbury Neck.



prefaced a number of spirited resolutions, containing a detail of the particulars of their intended opposition to the late acts of parliament, with a general declaration, "That no obedience was due from the province to either, or any part of the said acts, but that they should be rejected as the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America." The resolves of this meeting were sent on to Philadelphia for the information and opinion of the Congress, which, as shall be hereafter related, had met there about this time.

The people of Massachusetts rightly judged, that from the decision of Congress on these resolutions they would be enabled to determine what support they might expect. Notwithstanding present appearances, they feared that the other colonies, who were no more than remotely concerned, would not hazard the consequences of making a common cause with them should subsequent events make it necessary to repel force by force. The decision of Congress exceeded their expectations, as we shall presently see.

## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER IX.

---

[A.]

JOSIAH QUINCY, JR.

JOSIAH QUINCY, jr., a distinguished lawyer, orator, and patriot of Boston, Massachusetts, was born in that city February 23d, 1744. He was educated at Harvard College, where he was remarkably persevering, and graduated with unblemished reputation in 1763. He early became eminent in the practice of the law; and the circumstances of the time turning his thoughts to political topics, he took sides with the most eminent leaders in the cause of freedom, against the aggressive policy of Britain. His boldness of speech was remarkable. As early as 1768, he used this language: "Did the blood of the ancient Britons swell our veins, did the spirit of our forefathers inhabit our breasts, should we hesitate a moment in preferring death to a miserable existence in bondage?" Again, in 1770, he declared: "I wish to see my countrymen break off—*off* forever! all social intercourse with those whose commerce contaminates, whose luxuries poison, whose avarice is insatiable, and whose unnatural oppressions are not to be borne." He was associated with John Adams in the defence of the perpetrators of the "Boston Massacre," and did not by that defence alienate the good opinion of the people. In 1771 he was obliged to go south on account of a pulmonary complaint. At Charleston he formed an acquaintance with Pinckney, Rutledge, and other patriots; and, returning by land, conferred with other leading whigs in the several colonies. Continued ill health, and a desire to make himself acquainted with English statesmen, induced him to make a voyage to England in 1774, where he had personal interviews with most of the leading men. Becom-

ing fully acquainted with the feelings and intentions of the king and his ministers, and hopeless of reconciliation, Mr. Quincy determined to return and arouse his countrymen to action. He embarked for Boston with declining health, in March, and on the 26th of April, 1775, when the vessel was in the harbor of Cape Ann, in sight of land, he died. Mr. Quincy's eminent talents and zealous attachment to the cause of freedom, as well as his amiable and interesting manners, made his early death a subject of universal lamentation.

---

[B.]

THE FAIRFAX COUNTY RESOLVES.

"The draft from which the following resolves are printed, I find," says Mr. Sparks,\* "among Washington's papers, in the handwriting of George Mason, by whom they were probably drawn up; yet, as they were adopted by the committee of which Washington was chairman, and reported by him as moderator of the meeting, they may be presumed to express his opinions, formed on a perfect knowledge of the subject, and after cool deliberation."

"At a general meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of the county of Fairfax, on Monday, the 18th day of July, 1774, at the Courthouse, George Washington, chairman, and Robert Harrison, clerk, of the said meeting:

1st.—*Resolved*, That this colony and dominion of Virginia cannot be considered as a conquered country; and if it was, that the present inhabitants are the descendants, not of the conquered, but of the conquerors. That the same was not

---

\* *Writings of Washington*, vol. ii. p. 488.

settled at the national expense of England, but at the private expense of the adventurers, our ancestors, by solemn compact with, and under the auspices and protection of, the British crown; upon which we are, in every respect, as dependent as the people of Great Britain, and in the same manner subject to all his majesty's just, legal, and constitutional prerogatives. That our ancestors, when they left their native land and settled in America, brought with them (even if the same had not been confined by charters) the civil constitution and form of government of the country they came from; and were, by the laws of nature and nations, entitled to all its privileges, immunities, and advantages, which have descended to us their posterity, and ought of right to be as fully enjoyed as if we had still continued within the realm of England.

2d.—*Resolved*, That the most important and valuable part of the British constitution, upon which its very existence depends, is the fundamental principle of the people's being governed by no laws to which they have not given their consent by representatives freely chosen by themselves; who are affected by the laws they enact equally with their constituents; to whom they are accountable, and whose burdens they share: in which consists the safety and happiness of the community; for if this part of the constitution was taken away, or materially altered, the government must degenerate either into an absolute and despotic monarchy, or a tyrannical aristocracy, and the freedom of the people be annihilated.

3d.—*Resolved*, Therefore, as the inhabitants of the American colonies are not, and, from their situation, cannot be represented in the British parliament, that the legislative power here can of right be exercised only by our own provincial assemblies or parliaments, subject to the assent or negative of the British crown, to be declared within some proper limited time. But as it was thought just and reasonable, that the people of Great Britain should reap advantages from these colonies adequate to the protection they afforded them, the British parliament have claimed and exercised the power of regulating our trade and commerce, so as to restrain our importing from foreign countries such articles as they could

furnish us with of their own growth or manufacture; or exporting to foreign countries such articles and portions of our produce as Great Britain stood in need of for her own consumption or manufactures. Such a power, directed with wisdom and moderation, seems necessary for the general good of that great body politic, of which we are a part; although in some degree repugnant to the principles of the constitution. Under this idea our ancestors submitted to it; the experience of more than a century during the government of his majesty's royal predecessors, has proved its utility, and the reciprocal benefits flowing from it produced mutual uninterrupted harmony and good-will between the inhabitants of Great Britain and her colonies, who, during that long period, always considered themselves as one and the same people; and though such a power is capable of abuse, and in some instances has been stretched beyond the original design and institution, yet to avoid strife and contention with our fellow-subjects, and strongly impressed with the experience of mutual benefits, we always cheerfully acquiesced in it, while the entire regulation of our internal policy, and giving and granting our own money, were preserved to our own provincial legislatures.

4th.—*Resolved*, That it is the duty of these colonies on all emergencies to contribute, in proportion to their abilities, situation, and circumstances, to the necessary charge of supporting and defending the British empire, of which they are a part; that while we are treated upon an equal footing with our fellow-subjects, the motives of self-interest and preservation will be a sufficient obligation, as was evident through the course of the last war; and that no argument can be applied to the British parliament taxing us, upon a presumption that we should refuse a just and reasonable contribution, but will equally operate in justification of the executive power taxing the people of England upon a supposition of their representatives refusing to grant the necessary supplies.

5th.—*Resolved*, That the claim lately assumed and exercised by the British parliament, of making all such laws as they think fit to govern the people of these colonies, and to extort from us



our money without our consent, is not only diametrically contrary to the first principles of the constitution and the original compacts by which we are dependent upon the British crown and government, but is totally incompatible with the privileges of a free people and the natural rights of mankind; will render our own legislature merely nominal and nugatory, and is calculated to reduce us from a state of freedom and happiness to slavery and misery.

6th.—*Resolved*, That taxation and representation are in their nature inseparable; that the right of withholding, or of giving and granting their own money, is the only effectual security to a free people against the encroachments of despotism and tyranny; and that whenever they yield the one, they must quickly fall a prey to the other.

7th.—*Resolved*, That the powers over the people of America, now claimed by the British House of Commons, in whose election we have no share, on whose determinations we can have no influence, whose information must be always defective and often false, who in many instances may have a separate, and in some an opposite interest to ours, and who are removed from those impressions of tenderness and compassion arising from personal intercourse and connection, which soften the rigors of the most despotic governments, must, if continued, establish the most grievous and intolerable species of tyranny and oppression that ever was inflicted upon mankind.

8th.—*Resolved*, That it is our greatest wish and inclination, as well as interest, to continue our connection with, and dependence upon the British government; but though we are its subjects, we will use every means which Heaven hath given us to prevent our becoming its slaves.

9th.—*Resolved*, That there is a premeditated design and system formed and pursued by the British ministry, to introduce an arbitrary government into his majesty's American dominions; to which end they are artfully prejudicing our sovereign, and inflaming the minds of our fellow-subjects in Great Britain by propagating the most malevolent falsehoods, particularly that there is an intention in the American colonies to set up for independent States; endeavoring at

the same time, by various acts of violence and oppression, by sudden and repeated dissolutions of our Assemblies whenever they presume to examine the illegality of ministerial mandates or deliberate on the violated rights of their constituents, and by breaking in upon the American charters to reduce us to a state of desperation, and dissolve the original compacts by which our ancestors bound themselves and their posterity to remain dependent upon the British crown; which measures, unless effectually counteracted, will end in the ruin both of Great Britain and her colonies.

10th.—*Resolved*, That the several acts of parliament for raising a revenue upon the people of America without their consent, the creating new and dangerous jurisdictions here, the taking away our trials by jury, the ordering persons, upon criminal accusations, to be tried in another country than that in which the fact is charged to have been committed, the act inflicting ministerial vengeance upon the town of Boston, and the two bills lately brought into parliament for abrogating the charter of the province of Massachusetts Bay, and for the protection and encouragement of murderers in said province, are part of the above-mentioned iniquitous system. That the inhabitants of the town of Boston are now suffering in the common cause of all British America, and are justly entitled to its support and assistance; and therefore that a subscription ought immediately to be opened, and proper persons appointed in every county of this colony to purchase provisions, and consign them to some gentlemen of character in Boston, to be distributed among the poorer sort of people there.

11th.—*Resolved*, That we will cordially join with our friends and brethren of this and the other colonies, in such measures as shall be judged most effectual for procuring redress of our grievances, and that upon obtaining such redress, if the destruction of the tea at Boston be regarded as an invasion of private property, we shall be willing to contribute towards paying the East India Company the value; but as we consider the said company as the tools and instruments of oppression in the hands of government, and the cause of our present distress, it is the opinion of this meeting, that the people of

these colonies should forbear all further dealings with them by refusing to purchase their merchandise, until that peace, safety, and good order which they have disturbed be perfectly restored. And that all tea now in this colony, or which shall be imported into it shipped before the 1st day of September next, should be deposited in some storehouse to be appointed by the respective committees of each county, until a sufficient sum of money be raised by subscription to reimburse the owners the value, and then to be publicly burned and destroyed; and if the same is not paid for and destroyed as aforesaid, that it remain in the custody of the said committees at the risk of the owners, until the act of parliament imposing a duty upon tea, for raising a revenue in America, be repealed; and immediately afterwards be delivered unto the several proprietors thereof, their agents, or attorneys.

12th.—*Resolved*, That nothing will so much contribute to defeat the pernicious designs of the common enemies of Great Britain and her colonies, as a firm union of the latter, who ought to regard every act of violence or oppression inflicted upon any one of them as aimed at all; and to effect this desirable purpose, that a congress should be appointed, to consist of deputies from all the colonies, to concert a general and uniform plan for the defence and preservation of our common rights, and continuing the connection and dependence of the said colonies upon Great Britain, under a just, lenient, permanent, and constitutional form of government.

13th.—*Resolved*, That our most sincere and cordial thanks be given to the patrons and friends of liberty in Great Britain for their spirited and patriotic conduct in support of our constitutional rights and privileges, and their generous efforts to prevent the present distress and calamity of America.

14th.—*Resolved*, That every little jarring interest and dispute which has ever happened between these colonies should be buried in eternal oblivion; that all manner of luxury and extravagance ought immediately to be laid aside, as totally inconsistent with the threatening and gloomy prospect before us; that it is the indispensable duty of all the gentlemen and men of

fortune to set examples of temperance, frugality, and industry, and give every encouragement in their power, particularly by subscriptions and premiums, to the improvement of arts and manufactures in America; that great care and attention should be had to the cultivation of flax, cotton, and other materials for manufactures; and we recommend it to such of the inhabitants as have large stocks of sheep, to sell to their neighbors at a moderate price, as the most certain means of speedily increasing our breed of sheep and quantity of wool.

15th.—*Resolved*, That until American grievances be redressed, by restoration of our just rights and privileges, no goods or merchandise whatever ought to be imported into this colony which shall be shipped from Great Britain or Ireland after the first day of September next, except linens not exceeding fifteen pence per yard, coarse woollen cloth not exceeding two shillings sterling per yard, nails, wire and wire cards, needles and pins, paper, saltpetre, and medicines, which may be imported until the first day of September, 1776; and if any goods or merchandise other than those hereby excepted should be shipped from Great Britain after the time aforesaid to this colony, that the same, immediately upon their arrival, should either be sent back again by their owners, their agents, or attorneys, or stored and deposited in some warehouse to be appointed by the committee for each respective county, and there kept at the risk and charge of the owners, to be delivered to them when a free importation of goods hither shall again take place. And that the merchants and venders of goods and merchandise within this colony ought not to take advantage of our present distress, but continue to sell the goods and merchandise which they now have, or which may be shipped to them before the first day of September next, at the same rates and prices they have been accustomed to do within one year last past; and if any person shall sell such goods on any terms than above expressed, that no inhabitant of this colony should at any time, forever and thereafter, deal with him, his factor, agent, or storekeepers, for any commodity whatever.

16th.—*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this



meeting, that the merchants and venders of goods and merchandise within this colony, should take an oath not to sell or dispose of any goods or merchandise whatsoever, which may be shipped from Great Britain after the first day of September next, as aforesaid, except the articles before excepted; and that they will, upon receipt of such prohibited goods, either send back the same again by the first opportunity, or deliver them to the committees in the respective counties, to be deposited in some warehouse at the risk and charge of the owners, until they, their agents, or factors be permitted to take them away by the said committees; the names of those who refuse to take such oath to be advertised by the respective committees in the counties wherein they reside. And to the end that the inhabitants of this colony may know what merchants and venders of goods and merchandise have taken such oath, that the respective committees should grant a certificate thereof to every such person who shall take the same.

17th.—*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that during our present difficulties and distress, no slaves ought to be imported into any of the British colonies on this continent; and we take this opportunity of declaring our most earnest wishes, to see an entire stop forever put to such a wicked, cruel, and unnatural trade.

18th.—*Resolved*, That no kind of lumber should be exported from this colony to the West Indies, until America be restored to her constitutional rights and liberties, if the other colonies will accede to a like resolution; and that it be recommended to the General Congress to appoint as early a day as possible for stopping such export.

19th.—*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this meeting, if American grievances be not redressed before the first day of November, 1775, that all exports of produce from the several colonies to Great Britain should cease; and to carry the said resolution more effectually into execution, that we will not plant or cultivate any tobacco after the crop now growing; provided the same measure shall be adopted by the other colonies on this continent, as well those who have hitherto made tobacco as those who have not. And it is our opinion also, if the

congress of deputies from the several colonies shall adopt the measure of non-exportation to Great Britain, as the people will be thereby disabled from paying their debts, that no judgments should be rendered by the courts in the said colonies for any debt, after information of the said measures being determined upon.

20th.—*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this meeting that a solemn covenant and association should be entered into by the inhabitants of all the colonies upon oath, that they will not, after the times which shall be respectively agreed on at the General Congress, export any manner of lumber to the West Indies, nor any of their produce to Great Britain, or sell or dispose of the same to any person who shall not have entered into the said covenant and association; and also, that they will not import or receive any goods or merchandise which shall be shipped from Great Britain after the first day of September next, other than the before-enumerated articles, nor buy or purchase any goods, except as before excepted, of any person whatsoever, who shall not have taken the oath hereinbefore recommended to be taken by the merchants and venders of goods, nor buy or purchase any slaves hereafter imported into any part of this continent, until a free exportation and importation be again resolved on by a majority of the representatives or deputies of the colonies. And that the respective committees of the counties in each colony, so soon as the covenant and association becomes general, publish by advertisements in their several counties, a list of the names of those (if any such there be) who will not accede thereto; that such traitors to their country may be publicly known and detested.

21st.—*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that this and the other associating colonies should break off all trade, intercourse, and dealings with that colony, province, or town which shall decline or refuse to agree to the plan which shall be adopted by the General Congress.

22d.—*Resolved*, That should the town of Boston be forced to submit to the late cruel and oppressive measures of government, that we should not hold the same to be binding upon us, but will, notwithstanding, religiously maintain



and inviolably adhere to such measures as shall be concerted by the General Congress, for the preservation of our lives, liberties, and fortunes.

23d.—*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the deputies of the General Congress to draw up and transmit an humble and dutiful petition and remonstrance to his majesty, asserting with decent firmness our just and constitutional rights and privileges; lamenting the fatal necessity of being compelled to enter into measures disgusting to his majesty and to his parliament, or injurious to our fellow-subjects in Great Britain; declaring, in the strongest terms, our duty and affection to his majesty's person, family, and government, and our desire to continue our dependence upon Great Britain; and most humbly conjuring and beseeching his majesty not to re-

duce his faithful subjects of America to a state of desperation, and to reflect that from our sovereign there can be but one appeal. And it is the opinion of this meeting, that after such petition and remonstrance shall have been presented to his majesty, the same should be printed in the public papers in all the principal towns in Great Britain.

24th.—*Resolved*, That George Washington and Charles Broadwater, lately elected our representatives to serve in the General Assembly, be appointed to attend the convention at Williamsburg, on the first day of August next, and present these resolves, as the sense of the people of this county, upon the measures proper to be taken in the present alarming and dangerous situation of America.

## CHAPTER X.

1774.

### WASHINGTON A MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

Washington goes from Mount Vernon to Philadelphia with Henry and Pendleton, to take his seat as a member of the Continental Congress of 1774.—Congress assembles.—Is organized.—Apportionment of the votes.—Secrecy enjoined.—Number of lawyers in the Congress.—Their abilities and usefulness.—Solemnity of the meeting.—Its importance.—Opening speech of Patrick Henry.—Speech of Richard Henry Lee.—Great orators not always good writers.—Incapacity of Henry and Lee to produce good state-papers.—Jay and Livingston surpass them.—First prayer in Congress.—Washington kneels.—Declaration of rights.—Non-importation agreement.—Address to the people of Great Britain.—Petition to the king.—Address to the French inhabitants of Canada.—Congress adjourns to May 10th, 1775.—Remarks of the Earl of Chatham on the state-papers produced by this Congress, and on the position which it assumed.—Part taken by Washington in the debates and proceedings of the Congress of 1774.—Captain Mackenzie.—His letter to Washington.—Washington's reply.—This reply important, as it apprised us that Washington still hoped for an accommodation with the mother country.—Effect of the proceedings and declarations of the Congress on the people.—New York dissents.—Character of the people of that province.—Patriotism of Pennsylvania.—The people generally sustain the Congress.—Washington returns to Mount Vernon.—His pursuits.—Great press of business undertaken for other people.

THE time had now arrived, when Washington was to take a distinguished part in the proceedings of the celebrated Continental Congress of 1774. He was accompanied on his journey from Mount Vernon by two of his colleagues, Patrick Henry and Edmund Pendleton. As they pursued their journey, which was performed on horseback, we may imagine them to have communed with each other on the momentous character of the work upon which they were about to enter. Whether aware of it or not, they were in fact destined that very session of Congress to lay securely the foundations of the American Republic. It was fit and proper that Washington should take

a leading part in the deliberations of that remarkable assemblage of illustrious men.\*

The day appointed for the opening of Congress was the fifth of September. The place of their meeting was Carpenter's Hall in Carpenter's Court, Chestnut-street, Philadelphia. Punctual to the hour, the deputies from eleven provinces presented themselves, and shortly after, by the arrival of the delegates from North Carolina, there was a complete representation of all the thirteen colonies, Georgia alone excepted. The whole number of delegates was fifty-four.

---

\* See Document [A] at the end of this chapter.

Congress was organized by the choice of Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, as president, and Charles Thomson, of Pennsylvania, as secretary. The credentials of the various delegates were then presented.

In respect to the number of their delegates, the colonies were unequally represented; and as their relative importance was not accurately known, it was arranged that the representatives of each province should give one single vote upon every question discussed by the Congress. It was further determined that the meetings of the Congress should be held with closed doors, and that not a syllable of its transactions should be published except by order of a majority of the colonies. This judicious regulation, among other advantageous results, withheld from public view every symptom of doubt or divided purpose and opinion among the members of the Congress. What we know of the details of its proceedings is sufficiently meagre and scanty. It has been gathered from the testimony of those who were present, communicated, long after, in conversation and in letters.

Of the whole number of deputies which formed the Continental Congress of 1774, one half were lawyers. Gentlemen of that profession had acquired the confidence of the inhabitants by their exertions in the common cause. The previous measures in the respective provinces had been planned and carried into effect more by lawyers than by any other order of men. Professionally

taught the rights of the people, they were among the foremost to desecry every attack made on their liberties. Bred in the habits of public speaking, they made a distinguished figure in the meetings of the people, and were particularly able to explain to them the tendency of the late acts of parliament. Exerting their abilities and influence in the cause of their country, they were rewarded with its confidence.

The most eminent men of the various colonies were now, for the first time, brought together. They were known to each other by fame, but they were personally strangers. The meeting was awfully solemn. The object which had called them together was of incalculable magnitude. The liberties of no less than three millions of people, with that of all their posterity, were staked on the wisdom and energy of their councils. No wonder, then, at the long and deep silence which is said to have followed upon their organization; at the anxiety with which the members looked around upon each other; and the reluctance which every individual felt to open a business so fearfully momentous.

In the midst of this deep and death-like silence, and just when it was beginning to become painfully embarrassing, Patrick Henry arose slowly, as if borne down with the weight of the subject. After faltering, according to his habit, through a most impressive exordium, in which he merely echoed back the consciousness of every other heart, in deploring his inability to do justice to the



occasion, he launched gradually into a recital of the colonial wrongs. Rising, as he advanced, with the grandeur of his subject, and glowing at length with all the majesty and expectation of the occasion, his speech seemed more than that of mortal man. Even those who had heard him in all his glory in the House of Burgesses of Virginia, were astonished at the manner in which his talents seemed to swell and expand themselves to fill the vaster theatre in which he was now placed. There was no rant,—no rhapsody,—no labor of the understanding,—no straining of the voice,—no confusion of the utterance. His countenance was erect,—his eye steady,—his action noble,—his enunciation clear and firm,—his mind poised on its centre,—his views of his subject comprehensive and great,—and his imagination coruscating with a magnificence and a variety which struck even that assembly with amazement and awe. He sat down amidst murmurs of astonishment and applause, and as he had been before proclaimed the greatest orator of Virginia, he was now, on every hand, admitted to be the first orator of America.

He was followed by Richard Henry Lee, who charmed the House with a different kind of eloquence,—chaste,—classical,—beautiful,—his polished periods rolling along without effort, filling the ear with the most bewitching harmony, and delighting the mind with the most exquisite imagery. The cultivated graces of Lee's rhetoric received

and at the same time reflected beauty, by their contrast with the wild and grand effusions of Henry. Just as those noble monuments of art which lie scattered through the celebrated landscape of Naples, at once adorn, and are in their turn adorned by the surrounding majesty of Nature.

Two models of eloquence, each so perfect in its kind, and so finely contrasted, could not but fill the house with the highest admiration; and as Henry had before been proclaimed the Demosthenes, it was conceded, on every hand, that Lee was the Cicero, of America.

It is due, however, to historic truth to record, that the superior powers of these great men were manifested only in debate. On the floor of the house, and during the first days of the session, while general grievances were the topic, they took the undisputed lead in the assembly, and were confessedly *primi inter pares*. But when called down from the heights of declamation to that severer test of intellectual excellence, *the details of business*, they found themselves in a body of cool-headed, reflecting, and most able men, by whom they were, in their turn, completely thrown into the shade.

A petition to the king, an address to the people of Great Britain, and a memorial to the people of British America, were agreed to be drawn. Mr. Lee, Mr. Henry, and others, were appointed for the first; Mr. Lee, Mr. Livingston, and Mr. Jay, for the two last. The splendor of their *debut* occa-

sioned Mr. Henry to be designated by his committee to draw the petition to the king, with which they were charged; and Mr. Lee was charged with the address to the people of England. The last was first reported. On reading it, great disappointment was expressed in every countenance, and a dead silence ensued for some minutes. At length it was laid on the table, for perusal and consideration till the next day; when first one member and then another arose, and paying some faint compliment to the composition, observed that there were still certain considerations, not expressed, which should properly find a place in it. The address was, therefore, committed for amendment; and one presented by Mr. Jay, and offered by Governor Livingston, was reported and adopted, with scarcely an alteration. These facts are stated by a gentleman, to whom they were communicated by Mr. Pendleton and Mr. Harrison, of the Virginia delegation (except that Mr. Harrison erroneously ascribed the draft to Governor Livingston), and to whom they were afterwards confirmed by Governor Livingston himself. Mr. Henry's draft of a petition to the king was equally unsuccessful, and was recommitted for amendment. Mr. John Dickinson (the author of the *Farmer's Letters*) was added to the committee, and a new draft prepared by him was adopted.

In connecting these proceedings with the opening speeches of Henry and Lee, we have passed over a characteristic in-

cident which took place on the first day of the session.

"When the Congress met," writes John Adams to his wife, "Mr. Cushing made a motion that it should be opened with prayer. It was opposed by Mr. Jay of New York, and Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina, because we were so divided in religious sentiments—some Episcopalians, some Quakers, some Anabaptists, some Presbyterians, and some Congregationalists—that we could not join in the same act of worship. Mr. Samuel Adams arose, and said, 'that he was no bigot, and could hear a prayer from any gentleman of piety and virtue, who was at the same time a friend to his country. He was a stranger in Philadelphia, but had heard that Mr. Duché (Dushay they pronounce it) deserved that character, and therefore he moved that Mr. Duché, an Episcopal clergyman, might be desired to read prayers before the Congress to-morrow morning.' The motion was seconded, and passed in the affirmative. Mr. Randolph, our president, waited on Mr. Duché, and received for answer that, if his health would permit, he certainly would. Accordingly, next morning, he appeared with his clerk, and in pontificals, and read several prayers in the established form, and then read the Psalter for the seventh day of September, a part of which was the 35th Psalm. You must remember this was the next morning after we heard the rumor of the horrible cannonade of Boston. *It seemed as if Heaven had ordained*



*that psalm to be read on that morning.*

After this, Mr. Duché, unexpectedly to everybody, struck out into an extemporary prayer, which filled the bosom of every man present. I must confess I never heard a better prayer, or one so well pronounced. Episcopalian as he is, Dr. Cooper himself never prayed with such fervor, such ardor, such correctness, such pathos, and in language so elegant and sublime, for Congress, for the province of Massachusetts Bay, especially the town of Boston. It had an excellent effect upon everybody here. I must beg you to read that psalm. If there is any faith in the Sortes Virgilianæ, or Sortes Homericæ, or especially the Sortes Biblicæ, it would be thought providential." Bishop White, who was present, says that Washington was the only member who knelt on that occasion.\*

Congress, soon after their meeting, agreed upon a declaration of rights, by which it was among other things declared, that the inhabitants of the English colonies in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts, were entitled to life, liberty, and property; and that they had never ceded to any sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either, without their consent. That their ancestors, who first settled the colonies, were entitled to all the

rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural born subjects within the realm of England, and that by their migrating to America they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights;—that the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, was a right in the people to participate in their legislative council, and that as the English colonists were not, and could not be properly represented in the British parliament, they were entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign. They then run the line between the supremacy of parliament and the independency of the colonial legislatures, by provisos and restrictions, expressed in the following words: "But from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament as are *bona fide* restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members, excluding every idea of taxation, internal and external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent."

This was the very hinge of the controversy. The absolute, unlimited supremacy of the British parliament, both in legislation and taxation, was con

---

\* See Document [B] at the end of this chapter.



tended for on one side; while on the other, no further authority was conceded than such a limited legislation, with regard to external commerce, as would combine the interests of the whole empire. In government as well as in religion there are mysteries, from the close investigation of which little advantage can be expected. From the unity of the empire, it was necessary that some acts should extend over the whole. From the local situation of the colonies, it was equally reasonable that their legislatures should at least, in some matters, be independent. Where the supremacy of the first ended and the independency of the last began, was to the best informed a puzzling question.

Congress also resolved, that the colonists were entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage,—that they were entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization, and which they had found to be applicable to their local circumstances, and also to the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters or secured by provincial laws,—that they had a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the king,—that the keeping a standing army in the colonies, without the consent of the legislature of the colony where the army was kept, was against law. That it was indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered

essential by the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other, and that therefore the exercise of legislative power, in several colonies, by a council appointed during pleasure by the crown, was unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation. All of these liberties, Congress, in behalf of themselves and their constituents, claimed, demanded, and insisted upon as their indubitable rights, which could not be legally taken from them, altered, or abridged by any power whatever, without their consent. Congress then resolved, that sundry acts, which had been passed in the reign of George the Third, were infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists, and that the repeal of them was essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great Britain and the colonies. The acts complained of were as follows: the several acts which imposed duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America,—extended the power of the admiralty-courts beyond their ancient limits,—deprived the American subject of trial by jury,—authorized the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages that he might otherwise be liable to, requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized before he was allowed to defend his property.

Also, "An act for the better securing his majesty's dockyards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores," which

declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American subject of a constitutional trial by jury of the vicinage, by authorizing the trial of any person charged with the committing any offence described in the said act out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm.

Also the three acts passed in the last session of parliament for stopping the port and blocking up the harbor of Boston; for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts Bay; and that which is entitled, "An act for the better administration of justice," &c.

Also the act passed in the same session, for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there to the great danger (from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government) of the neighboring British colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country had been conquered from France.

Also the act passed in the same session, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his majesty's service in North America.

Also, that the keeping a standing army in several of these colonies in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such army was kept, was against law.

Congress declared, that they could not submit to these grievous acts and measures. In hopes that their fellow-

subjects in Great Britain would restore the colonies to that state in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, they resolved for the present only to pursue the following peaceable measures: 1st. To enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement or association; 2d. To prepare an address to the people of Great Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America; and 3dly. To prepare a loyal address to his majesty.

By the association they bound themselves and their constituents, "from and after the first day of December next, not to import into British America, from Great Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares, or merchandise whatsoever;—not to purchase any slave imported after the said first day of December;—not to purchase or use any tea imported on account of the East India Company, or any on which a duty hath been or shall be paid; and from and after the first day of the next ensuing March, neither to purchase or use any East India tea whatever. That they would not, after the tenth day of the next September, if their grievances were not previously redressed, export any commodity whatsoever to Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, except rice to Europe. That the merchants should, as soon as possible, write to their correspondents in Great Britain and Ireland, not to ship any goods to them on any pretence whatever; and if any merchant there should ship any



goods for America in order to contravene the non-importation agreement, they would not afterwards have any commercial connection with such merchant; that such as were owners of vessels should give positive orders to their captains and masters, not to receive on board their vessels any goods prohibited by the said non-importation agreement; that they would use their endeavors to improve the breed of sheep and increase their numbers to the greatest extent; that they would encourage frugality, economy, and industry, and promote agriculture, arts, and American manufactures; that they would discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, and that on the death of relations or friends, they would wear no other mourning than a small piece of black crape or ribbon; that such as were venders of goods should not take any advantage of the scarcity so as to raise their prices; that if any person should import goods after the first day of December, and before the first day of February then next ensuing, the same ought to be immediately reshipped or delivered up to a committee to be stored or sold: in the last case, all the clear profits to be applied towards the relief of the inhabitants of Boston; and that if any goods should be imported after the first day of February then next ensuing, they should be sent back without breaking any of the packages; that committees be chosen in every county, city, and town to observe the conduct

of all persons touching the Association, and to publish in gazettes the names of the violators of it, as foes to the rights of British America; that the committees of correspondence in the respective colonies frequently inspect the entries of their custom-houses, and inform each other from time to time of the true state thereof; that all manufactures of America should be sold at reasonable prices, and no advantages be taken of a future scarcity of goods; and lastly, that they would have no dealings or intercourse whatever with any province or colony of North America, which should not accede to or should violate the aforesaid Associations." These several resolutions they bound themselves and their constituents, by the sacred ties of virtue, honor, and love of their country, to observe till their grievances were redressed.

In their address\* to the people of Great Britain, they complimented them for having at every hazard maintained their independence, and transmitted the rights of man and the blessings of liberty to their posterity, and requested them not to be surprised, that they who were descended from the same common ancestors, should refuse to sur-  
render their rights, liberties, and  
constitution. They proceeded to state their rights and grievances, and to vindicate themselves from the charges of being seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency.

1774.

\* This address was written by John Jay.



They summed up their wishes in the following words: "Place us in the same situation that we were at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored."

In the memorial\* of Congress to the inhabitants of the British colonies, they recapitulated the proceedings of Great Britain against them since the year 1763, in order to impress them with a belief, that a deliberate system was formed for abridging their liberties. They then proceeded to state the measures they had adopted to counteract this system, and gave the reasons which induced them to adopt the same. They encouraged them to submit to the inconveniences of non-importation and non-exportation, by desiring them "to weigh in the opposite balance the endless miseries they and their descendants must endure from an established arbitrary power." They concluded with informing them, "that the schemes agitated against the colonies had been so conducted as to render it prudent to extend their views to mournful events, and to be in all respects prepared for every contingency."

In the petition of Congress to the king, they begged leave to lay their grievances before the throne.

1774. After a particular enumeration of these, they observed that they wholly arose from a destructive system of colonial administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war. They as-

sured his majesty that they had made such provision for defraying the charges of the administration of justice, and the support of civil government, as had been judged just and suitable to their respective circumstances; and that for the defence, protection, and security of the colonies, their militia would be fully sufficient in time of peace, and in case of war they were ready and willing, when constitutionally required, to exert their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising forces. They said, "We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favor. Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavor to support and maintain." They then solicited for a redress of their grievances, which they had enumerated, and appealing to that Being who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, they solemnly professed "that their councils had been influenced by no other motives than a dread of impending destruction." They concluded with imploring his majesty, "for the honor of Almighty God, for his own glory, for the interests of his family, for the safety of his kingdom and dominions, that as the loving father of his whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, he would not suffer the transcendent relation formed by these ties to be further violated by

\* This paper was the composition of Richard Henry Lee.

uncertain expectation of effects, that if attained never could compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained."

The Congress also addressed the French inhabitants of Canada. In this they stated the right they had, on becoming English subjects, to the benefits of the English constitution. They explained what these rights were, and pointed out the difference between the constitution imposed on them by act of parliament, and that to which as British subjects they were entitled. They introduced their countryman, Mon-

1774. tesquien, as reprobating their parliamentary constitution, and exhorting them to join their fellow-colonists in support of their common rights. They earnestly invited them to join with the other colonies in one social compact, formed on the generous principles of equal liberty, and to this end recommended that they would choose delegates to represent them in Congress.

All these addresses were written with uncommon ability. Coming from the heart, they were calculated to move it. Inspired by a love of liberty, and roused by a sense of common danger, the patriots of that day spoke, wrote, and acted with an animation unknown in times of public tranquillity; but it was not so much on the probable effect of these addresses, that Congress founded their hopes of obtaining a redress of their grievances, as on the consequences which they expected from the opera-

tion of their non-importation and non-exportation agreement. The success that had followed the adoption of a measure similar to the former, in two preceding instances, had encouraged the colonists to expect much from a repetition of it. They indulged in extravagant opinions of the importance of their trade to Great Britain. The measure of a non-exportation of their commodities was a new expedient, and from that even more was expected than from the non-importation agreement. They supposed that it would produce such extensive distress among the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, and especially among the inhabitants of the British West India islands, as would induce their general co-operation in procuring a redress of American grievances. Events proved that young nations, like young people, are prone to overrate their own importance.

Congress having finished all this important business in fifty-one days, dissolved themselves, after giving their opinion, "that another Congress should be held on the tenth of May next ensuing at Philadelphia, unless the redress of their grievances should be previously obtained," and recommending to all the colonies to choose deputies as soon as possible, to be ready to attend at that time and place, should events make their meeting necessary.

In a speech delivered in the House of Lords in the ensuing January, the great Earl of Chatham thus speaks of the Continental Congress of 1774, and thus

defends the position which it had assumed :

“ When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America ; when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation,—and it has been my favorite study—I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master states of the world,—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation, or body of men, can stand in preference to the General Congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude on such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be fatal. We shall be forced, ultimately, to retract ; let us retract while we can, not when we must.

I say, we must necessarily undo these violent, oppressive acts ; they must be repealed—you will repeal them ; I pledge myself for it, that you will in the end repeal them ; I stake my reputation on it—I will consent to be taken for an idiot, if they are not finally repealed. Avoid, then, this humiliating, disgraceful necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, to peace, and happiness ; for that is your true dignity, to act with prudence and justice. That *you* should first concede, is obvious, from

sound and rational policy. Concession comes with better grace and more salutary effect from superior power. It reconciles superiority of power with the feelings of men, and establishes solid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude.

So thought a wise poet, and a wise man in political sagacity ; the friend of Mæcenas, and the eulogist of Augustus. To him the adopted son and successor of the first Cæsar ; to him, the master of the world, he wisely urged this conduct of prudence and dignity : ‘ *Tuque prior, tu parce ; projice tela manu.*’

Every motive, therefore, of justice and of policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America by a removal of your troops from Boston, by a repeal of your acts of parliament, and by demonstrations of amicable dispositions towards your colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend, to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measure. Foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread. France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors, with a vigilant eye to America, and the temper of your colonies, more than to their own concerns, be they what they may.

To conclude, my lords, if the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the king, I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown, but I will affirm, *that they will make the crown not*



*worth his wearing.* I will not say that the king is betrayed; but I will pronounce *that the kingdom is undone.*"

Of the speeches of Washington in the Congress of 1774, we have no reports, in consequence of the sessions being held with closed doors, and an injunction of secrecy being laid on the members; but of the active and decided part which he took in its proceedings, the following anecdote from the life of Patrick Henry affords the most decisive evidence.

Congress arose in October, and Mr. Henry returned to his native county. Here, as was natural, he was surrounded by his neighbors, who were eager to hear not only what had been done, but what kind of men had composed that illustrious body. He answered their inquiries with all his wonted kindness and candor; and having been asked by one of them, "whom he thought the greatest man in Congress?" he replied: "If you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina is by far the greatest orator; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington was unquestionably the greatest man on that floor."

"This opinion," says Mr. Sparks, "was verified by every act of his life. His knowledge on the subjects to which he gave his attention was most thorough and exact; and all the world has agreed that no other man has given such proofs of the soundness of his judgment."

Washington had a personal friend, Captain Robert Mackenzie, who had

served under him in the French war; and during the session of Congress was holding a commission in the regular army of Great Britain, and engaged in actual service under General Gage at Boston. From this place he wrote to Washington, expressing very decided tory sentiments, accusing the people of Massachusetts of aiming at independence, and condemning their proceedings in detail, while he expressed the conviction that Gage would speedily subdue them.

The following reply to Mackenzie's letter shows that Washington, at that time, sincerely held the opinions, and felt the desire expressed by Congress, for a reconciliation to the mother country on just and honorable terms.

"Permit me," he writes, "the freedom of a friend (for you know I always esteemed you) to express my sorrow, that fortune should place you in a service that must fix curses to the latest posterity upon the contrivers, and, if success (which, by the by, is impossible) accompanies it, execrations upon all those who have been instrumental in the execution. I do not mean by this to insinuate that an officer is not to discharge his duty, even when chance, not choice, has placed him in a disagreeable situation; but I conceive, when you condemn the conduct of the Massachusetts people, you reason from effects, not causes; otherwise you would not wonder at a people who are every day receiving fresh proofs of a systematic assertion of an arbitrary power deeply

planned to overturn the law and constitution of their country, and to violate the most essential and valuable rights of mankind, being irritated, and with difficulty restrained, from acts of the greatest violence and intemperance. For my own part, I confess to you candidly, that I view things in a very different point of light from the one in which you seem to consider them; and though you are led to believe by venal men—for such I must take the liberty of calling these new-fangled counsellors who fly to and surround you, and all others, who, for honors and pecuniary gratifications, will lend their aid to overturn the constitution, and introduce a system of arbitrary government—although you are taught, I say, by discoursing with such men, to believe that the people of Massachusetts are rebellious, setting up for independency, and what not, give me leave, my good friend, to tell you that you are abused, grossly abused. This I advance with a degree of confidence and boldness, which may claim your belief, having better opportunities of knowing the real sentiments of the people you are among, from the leaders of them, in opposition to the present measures of the administration, than you have from those whose business it is not to disclose truths, but to misinterpret facts, in order to justify as much as possible to the world their own conduct. Give me leave to add, and I think I can announce it as a fact, that it is not the wish or interest of that government, or any other upon this conti-

nent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence; but this you may at the same time rely on, that none of them will ever submit to the loss of those valuable rights and privileges which are essential to the happiness of every free state, and without which, life, liberty, and property are rendered totally insecure.

These, sir, being certain consequences, which must naturally result from the late acts of parliament relative to America in general, and the government of Massachusetts Bay in particular, is it to be wondered at, I repeat, that men who wish to avert the impending blow should attempt to oppose it in its progress, or prepare for their defence if it cannot be averted? Surely I may be allowed to answer in the negative; and again give me leave to add as my opinion, that more blood will be spilled on this occasion, if the ministry are determined to push matters to extremity, than history has ever yet furnished instances of in the annals of North America, and such a vital wound will be given to the peace of this great country, as time itself cannot cure or eradicate the remembrance of.

But I have done. I was involuntarily led into a short discussion of this subject by your remarks on the conduct of the Boston people, and your opinion of their wishes to set up for independency. I am well satisfied, that no such thing is desired by any thinking man in all North America; on the contrary, that it is the ardent wish of the warm-

est advocates for liberty, that peace and tranquillity, upon constitutional grounds, may be restored, and the horrors of civil discord prevented."

This letter of Washington to Captain Mackenzie is very significant. It shows that the determination to push matters to extremes and bring about a declaration of independence, was not his aim or expectation at that time; and it leaves us no room to doubt that the Congress itself was sincere, in its expressions of loyalty, throughout those able state papers so warmly commended by Chatham. It is true that Samuel Adams,\* John Adams, and others were secretly aiming at national independence even at an earlier period; but it is equally true that they clearly perceived by the movements of the leaders in Congress that the time had not yet arrived for them to speak out.

On the publication of the proceedings of Congress, the people obtained that information which they desired. Zealous to do something for their country, they patiently waited for the decision of that body, to whose direction they had resigned themselves. Their determinations were no sooner known, than they were cheerfully obeyed. Though their power was only advisory, yet their recommendations were more generally and more effectually carried into execution, than the laws of the best regulated states. Every individual felt his liberties endangered, and was im-

pressed with an idea that his safety consisted in union. A common interest in warding off a common danger, proved a powerful incentive to the most implicit submission. Provincial congresses and subordinate committees were everywhere instituted. The resolutions of the Continental Congress were sanctioned with the universal approbation of these new representative bodies, and institutions were formed under their direction to carry them into effect.

The regular constitutional Assemblies also gave their assent to the measures recommended. The Assembly of New York was the only legislature which withheld its approbation. Their metropolis had long been the headquarters of the British army in the colonies, and many of their best families were connected with people of influence in Great Britain. The unequal distribution of their land fostered an aristocratic spirit. From the operation of these and other causes, the party for royal government was both more numerous and respectable in New York than in any of the other colonies.

The Assembly of Pennsylvania, though composed of a majority of Quakers, or of those who were friendly to their interest, was the first legal body of representatives that ratified unanimously the acts of the General Congress. They not only voted their approbation of what that body had done, but appointed members to represent them in the new Congress, proposed to be held on the 10th day of May next ensuing,

\* See Document [C] at the end of this chapter.



and took sundry steps to put the province in a posture of defence.

To relieve the distresses of the people of Boston, liberal collections were made throughout the colonies, and forwarded for the supply of their immediate necessities. Domestic manufactures were encouraged, that the wants of the inhabitants from the non-importation agreement might be diminished; and the greatest zeal was discovered by a large majority of the people, to comply with the determinations of these new-made representative bodies. In this manner, while the forms of the old government subsisted, a new and independent authority was virtually established. It was so universally the sense of the people, that the public good required a compliance with the recommendations of Congress, that any man who discovered any anxiety about the continuance of trade and business, was considered as a selfish individual, preferring private interest to the good of his country. Under the influence of these principles, the intemperate zeal of the populace transported them frequently so far beyond the limits of moderation, as to apply singular punishments to particular persons who contravened the general sense of the community.

On the termination of the session of Congress, Washington returned to Mount Vernon to resume again his agricultural pursuits, and to confer with

George Mason and his other patriotic neighbors on the portentous aspect of public affairs. He was still, as was his wont, much occupied with various private trusts and duties which his disinterested kindness of heart had imposed on him. In writing to a neighbor, who had wished to appoint him in his will to the guardianship of his son, he says: "I can solemnly declare to you, that for a year or two past there has been scarce a moment that I could properly call my own. What with my own business, my present ward's, my mother's, which is wholly in my hands, Colonel Colvill's, Mrs. Savage's, Colonel Fairfax's, Colonel Mercer's, and the little assistance I have undertaken to give in the management of my brother Augustine's concerns (for I have absolutely refused to qualify as an executor), together with the share I take in public affairs, I have been kept constantly engaged in writing letters, settling accounts, and negotiating one piece of business or another; by which means I have really been deprived of every kind of enjoyment, and had almost fully resolved to engage in no fresh matter till I had entirely wound up the old."

In addition to the amount of business demanding his attention at this time, there was a demand for his aid in the military affairs of Virginia, to which we shall presently call the reader's attention.

## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER X.

---

[A.]

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE DEPUTIES APPOINTED  
TO MEET IN GENERAL CONGRESS, ON THE  
PART OF THE COLONY OF VIRGINIA (1774).

"THE unhappy disputes between Great Britain and her American colonies, which began about the third year of the reign of his present majesty, and since continually increasing, have proceeded to lengths so dangerous and alarming, as to excite just apprehensions in the minds of his majesty's faithful subjects of the colony, that they are in danger of being deprived of their natural, ancient, constitutional, and chartered rights, have compelled them to take the same into their most serious consideration; and being deprived of their usual and accustomed mode of making known their grievances, have appointed us their representatives, to consider what is proper to be done in this dangerous crisis of American affairs. It being our opinion that the united wisdom of North America should be collected in a general congress of all the colonies, we have appointed the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton, Esqrs., deputies to represent this colony in the said congress, to be held at Philadelphia on the first Monday in September next. And that they may be the better informed of our sentiments touching the conduct we wish them to observe on this important occasion, we desire that they will express, in the first place, our faith and true allegiance to his majesty, King George the Third, our lawful and rightful sovereign; and that we are determined, with our lives and fortunes, to support him in the legal exercise of all his just rights and prerogatives. And, however misrepresented, we

sincerely approve of a constitutional connection with Great Britain, and wish most ardently a return of affection and commercial connection that formerly united both countries; which can only be effected by a removal of those causes of discontent which have of late unhappily divided us.

"It cannot admit of a doubt, but that British subjects in America are entitled to the same rights and privileges as their fellow-subjects possess in Britain; and, therefore, that the power assumed by the British parliament to bind America by their statutes, in all cases whatsoever, is unconstitutional, and the source of these unhappy differences.

"The end of government would be defeated by the British parliament exercising a power over the lives, the property, and the liberty of American subjects, who are not, and from their local circumstances cannot, be there represented. Of this nature we consider the several acts of parliament for raising a revenue in America, for extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty, for seizing American subjects and transporting them to Britain to be tried for crimes committed in America, and the several late oppressive acts concerning the town of Boston and province of Massachusetts Bay.

"The original constitution of the American colonies, possessing their Assemblies with the sole right of directing their internal polity, it is absolutely destructive of the end of their institution, that their legislatures should be suspended, or prevented, by hasty dissolutions, from exercising their legislative powers.

"Wanting the protection of Britain, we have long acquiesced in their acts of navigation, restrictive of our commerce, which we consider as an ample recompense for such protection; but

as those acts derive their efficacy from that foundation alone, we have reason to expect they will be restrained, so as to produce the reasonable purposes of Britain, and not be injurious to us.

"To obtain redress of these grievances, without which the people of America can neither be safe, free, nor happy, they are willing to undergo the great inconvenience that will be derived to them from stopping all imports whatsoever from Great Britain, after the first day of November next, and also to cease exporting any commodity whatsoever to the same place, after the tenth day of August, 1775. The earnest desire we have to make as quick and full payment as possible of our debts to Great Britain, and to avoid the heavy injury that would arise to this country from an earlier adoption of the non-exportation plan, after the people have already applied so much of their labor to the perfecting of their present crop, by which means they have been prevented from pursuing other methods of clothing and supporting their families, have rendered it necessary to restrain you in this article of non-exportation; but it is our desire that you cordially co-operate with our sister colonies in general congress, in such other just and proper methods as they, or the majority, shall deem necessary for the accomplishment of these valuable ends.

"The proclamation issued by General Gage, in the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay, declaring it treason for the inhabitants of that province to assemble themselves to consider of their grievances, and form associations for their common conduct on the occasion, and requiring the civil magistrates and officers to apprehend all such persons to be tried for their supposed offences, is the most alarming process that ever appeared in a British government; the said General Gage has thereby assumed, and taken upon himself powers denied by the constitution to our legal sovereign; he not having condescended to disclose by what authority he exercises such extensive and unheard-of powers, we are at a loss to determine whether he intends to justify himself as the representative of the king, or as the commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in America. If

he considers himself as acting in the character of his majesty's representative, we would remind him that the statute 25, Edward III., has expressed and defined all treasonable offences, and that the legislature of Great Britain hath declared that no offence shall be construed to be treason but such as is pointed out by that statute; and that this was done to take out of the hands of tyrannical kings, and of weak and wicked ministers, that deadly weapon which constructive treason hath furnished them with, and which had drawn the blood of the best and honestest men in the kingdom; and that the King of Great Britain hath no right by his proclamation to subject his people to imprisonment, pains, and penalties.

"That if the said General Gage conceives he is empowered to act in this manner, as the commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in America, this odious and illegal proclamation must be considered as a full and plain declaration that this despotic viceroy will be bound by no law, nor regard the constitutional rights of his majesty's subjects, whenever they interfere with the plan he has formed for oppressing the good people of Massachusetts Bay; and, therefore, that the executing, or attempting to execute, such proclamation, will justify resistance and reprisal."

---

[B.]

DR. DUCHÉ.

Mr. Duché, at the time of the first Congress, was an ardent whig, but afterwards left the patriotic cause. When the British took possession of Philadelphia, Mr. Duché, alarmed, forsook the American cause, and wrote an ardent letter to Washington, endeavoring to persuade him to do the same. Washington immediately transmitted this letter to Congress, and Duché was obliged to leave America. He became a preacher at the Lambeth Asylum, and was greatly respected there. In 1790 he returned to America, and in 1794 died in Philadelphia, when about sixty years of age. His wife was a sister of Francis Hopkinson, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was buried at St. Peter's Church, in Third-street,



Philadelphia, and a tablet to his memory may still be seen inserted in the wall of the building.

---

[C.]

SAMUEL ADAMS.

Of the leaders in the early scenes of the Revolution this great patriot was decidedly one of the most prominent; his influence was immense, and it was the influence of a strong will and a decided character. His efforts were untiring and his courage unconquerable. He was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on the 22d of September, 1722. His ancestors were among the first settlers in New England. His parents were highly respectable. His father was, for many years, a representative for the town of Boston, in the Massachusetts House of Assembly, in which he was annually elected till his death.

Samuel Adams received the rudiments of a liberal education at the grammar-school under the care of Mr. Lovell, where he was remarkably attentive to his studies. His conduct was similar while he was at college, and during the whole term he had to pay but one fine, and this was for not attending morning prayers, in consequence of having overslept himself. By a close and steady application, he made considerable proficiency in classical learning, logic, and natural philosophy; but as he was designed for the ministry, a profession to which he seems to have been much inclined, his studies were particularly directed to systematic divinity. Why Mr. Adams did not assume the clerical character, so congenial to his views and habits, does not appear. In 1740 and 1743, the respective degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts were conferred upon him. On the latter occasion, he proposed the following question for discussion: "Whether it be lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved?" He maintained the affirmative of this proposition, and thus evinced, at this period of his life, his attachment to the liberties of the people. While he was a student, his father allowed him a regular stipend. Of this he saved a sufficient sum, to publish, at his

own expense, a pamphlet, called "Englishmen's Rights."

He was apprenticed to the late Thomas Cushing, an eminent merchant. For this profession he was ill-adapted, and it received but a small share of his attention. The study of politics was his chief delight. At this time he formed a club, each member of which agreed to furnish a political essay for a newspaper called the *Independent Advertiser*. These essays brought the writers into notice, who were called, in derision, "The Whipping-post Club."

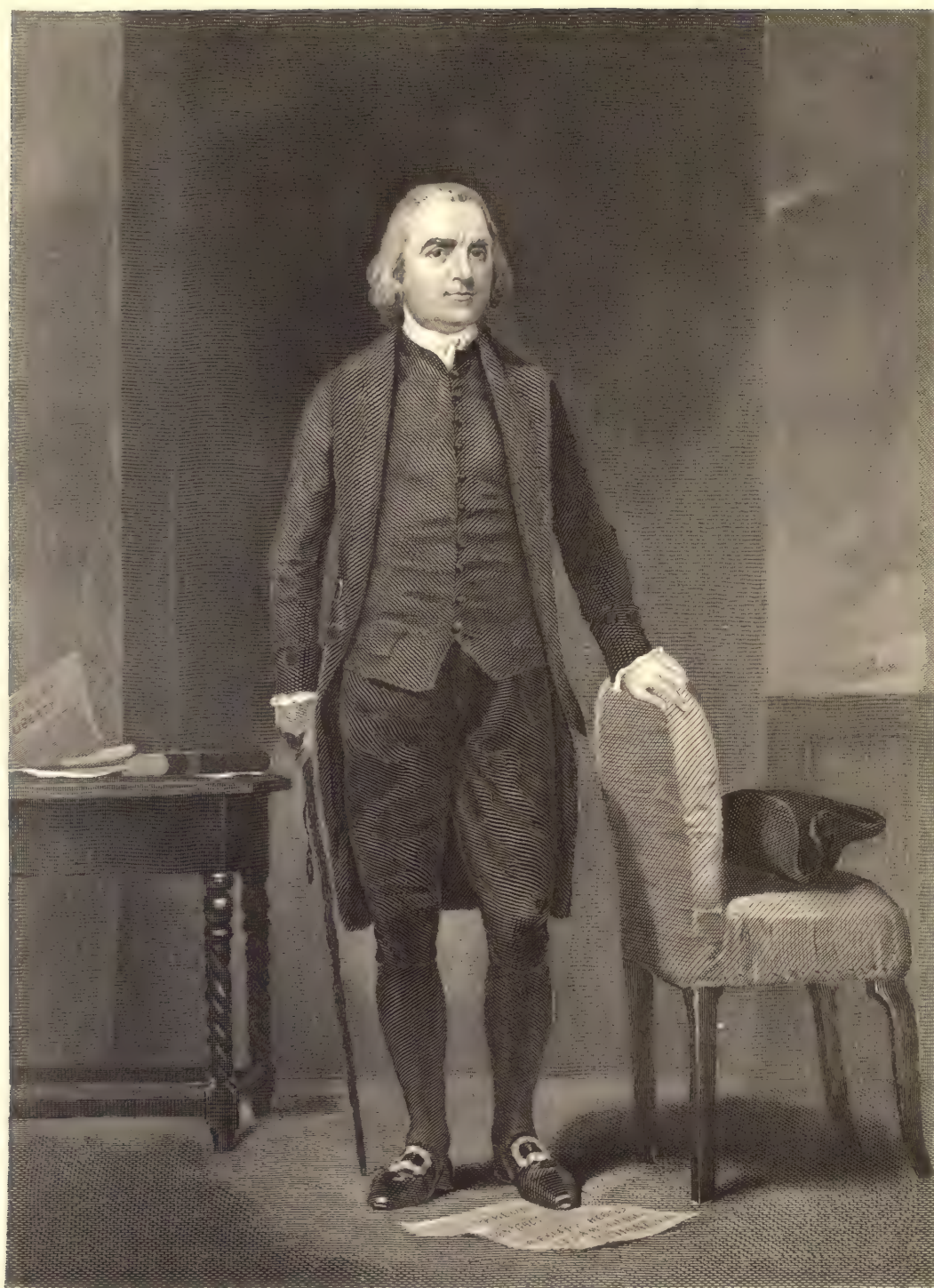
His limited knowledge of commerce rendered him incompetent to support himself by that pursuit. His father, however, gave him a considerable capital, with which he commenced business. He had not been long in trade, when he credited one of his countrymen with a sum of money. This person, soon after, met with heavy calamities, which he represented to Mr. Adams, who never demanded the amount, although it was nearly half the value of his original stock. This, and other losses, soon consumed all he had.

At the age of twenty-five, his father died, and, as he was the oldest son, the care of the family and management of the estate devolved upon him.

Early distinguished by talents as a writer, his first attempts were proofs of his filial piety. By his efforts he preserved the estate of his father, which had been attached on account of an engagement in the land-bank bubble. He became a political writer during the administration of Shirley, to which he was opposed, as he thought the union of so much civil and military power in one man was dangerous. His ingenuity, wit, and profound argument are spoken of with the highest respect by those who were contemporaries with him. At this early period he laid the foundation of public confidence and esteem.

It may be proper to mention that his first office in the town was that of tax-gatherer, which the opposite party in politics often alluded to, and in their controversies would style him Samuel the *Publican*. While the British regiments were in town, the tories enjoyed a kind of triumph, and invented every mode of burlesquing the popular leaders; but, where the people tax themselves, the office of collector is





*John Adams*



respectable; it was, at that time, given to gentlemen who had seen better days, and needed some pecuniary assistance, having merited the esteem and confidence of their fellow-townsmen. Mr. Adams was ill-qualified to fill an office which required such constant attention to pecuniary matters; and, his soul being bent on politics, he passed more time in talking against Great Britain than in collecting the sums due to the town. He grew embarrassed in his circumstances, and was assisted, not only by private friends, but by many others who knew him only as a spirited partisan in the cause of liberty.

From this time, the whigs were determined to support him to the utmost of their power. He had been always on their side, was firm and sagacious, one of the best writers in the newspapers, ready upon every question, but especially conversant with all matters which related to the dispute between Great Britain and the colonies.

We have said that there was a private political club in Boston, where decisive measures originated, which gave a secret spring and impulse to the motions of the public body, and that Mr. Adams was one of the patriotic conclave. This confederacy came to a determination to resist every infringement of their rights. The stamp-act was a flagrant violation of them, and to suffer it quietly to be carried into effect would establish a precedent, and encourage further proceedings of a similar nature. Mr. Adams was one of those who opposed it in every step. He was not averse to the manner in which the people evinced their determinate opposition, by destroying the stamped papers and office in Boston; but he highly disapproved of the riots and disorders which followed, and personally aided the civil power to put a stop to them.

The taxes upon tea, oil, and colors, were still more odious to the Americans than the stamp-act; especially to the inhabitants of Boston, where the board of commissioners was established. The people looked to Mr. Adams as one of the champions of liberty, who must stand forth against every claim of Great Britain, and deny the right of the parent State to lay a tax; nor were they disappointed. He was so strenuous in his exertions to make the people sensible

of their charter privileges, that he obtained the appellation of the *patriot Samuel Adams*.

In 1765, he was elected a member of the General Assembly of Massachusetts. He was soon chosen clerk, and he gradually acquired influence in the legislature. This was an eventful time. But Mr. Adams possessed a courage which no dangers could shake. He was undismayed by the prospect which struck terror into the hearts of many. He was a member of the legislature near ten years, and he was the soul which animated it to the most important resolutions. No man did so much. He pressed his measures with ardor; yet he was prudent; he knew how to bend the passions of others to his purpose.

The Congress which assembled at New York at this period, was attributed to a suggestion made by Mr. Adams. It has been said, with confidence, that he was the first man who proposed it in Massachusetts.

In consequence of the act imposing duties in 1767, Mr. Adams suggested a non-importation agreement of the merchants. This was agreed to, and signed by nearly all of them in the province. They bound themselves, if the duties were not repealed, not to import, or to order any, but certain enumerated articles, after the first of January, 1769.

On the evening of the fifth of March, 1770, an affray took place between the military quartered in Boston and some citizens, which resulted in a loss of lives on both sides. On the following morning a public meeting was called, and Samuel Adams addressed the assembly, with that impressive eloquence which was so peculiar to himself. The people, on this occasion, chose a committee to wait upon the lieutenant-governor, to require that the troops be immediately withdrawn from the town. The mission, however, proved unsuccessful, and another resolution was immediately adopted, that a new committee be chosen to wait a second time upon Governor Hutchinson for the purpose of conveying the sense of the meeting in a more peremptory manner. Mr. Adams acted as chairman. They waited on the lieutenant-governor, and communicated this last vote of the town; and, in a speech of some length, Mr. Adams

stated the danger of keeping the troops longer in the capital, fully proving the illegality of the act itself; and enumerating the fatal consequences that would ensue, if he refused an immediate compliance with the vote. Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, with his usual prevarication, replied, and roundly asserted, that there was no illegality in the measure; and repeated, that the troops were not subject to his authority, but that he would direct the removal of the twenty-ninth regiment. Mr. Adams again rose. The magnitude of the subject, and the manner in which it was treated by Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, had now roused the impetuous feelings of his patriotic soul. With indignation strongly expressed in his countenance, and in a firm, resolute, and commanding manner, he replied, "that it was well known, that, acting as governor of the province, he was, by its charter, the commander-in-chief of his majesty's military and naval forces, and as such the troops were subject to his orders; and if he had the power to remove one regiment, he had the power to remove both, and nothing short of this would satisfy the people; and it was at his peril if the vote of the town was not immediately complied with, and if it be longer delayed, he alone must be answerable for the fatal consequences that would ensue." This produced a momentary silence. It was now dark, and the people were waiting in anxious suspense for the report of the committee. A conference in whispers followed between Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson and Colonel Dalrymple. The former, finding himself so closely pressed, and the fallacy and absurdity of his arguments thus glaringly exposed, yielded up his positions, and gave his consent to the removal of both regiments; and Colonel Dalrymple pledged his word of honor, that he would begin his preparations in the morning, and that there should be no unnecessary delay, until the whole of both regiments were removed to the castle.

At a very early period of the controversy between the mother country and the colonists, Mr. Adams was impressed with the importance of establishing committees of correspondence. In 1766, he made some suggestions on this subject in a letter to a friend in South Carolina; but it

was found to be either impracticable or inexpedient before the year 1772, when it was first adopted by Massachusetts, on a motion of Mr. Adams at a public town-meeting in Boston. This plan was followed by all the provinces. Mr. Adams's private letters may have advanced this important work. In a letter to Richard Henry Lee, Esq., of Virginia, which, unfortunately, is without a date, is the following remark: "I would propose it for your consideration, whether the establishment of committees of correspondence among the several towns in every colony, would not tend to promote the general union upon which the security of the whole depends." It will be remembered that the resolutions for the establishment of this institution in Virginia, were passed March 12, 1773, which was more than four months subsequently to the time it had been formed in Boston.

Every method had been tried to induce Mr. Adams to abandon the cause of his country, which he had supported with so much zeal, courage, and ability. Threats and caresses had proved equally unavailing. Prior to this time there is no certain proof that any direct attempt was made upon his virtue and integrity, although a report had been publicly and freely circulated that it had been unsuccessfully tried by Governor Bernard. Hutchinson knew him too well to make the attempt. But Governor Gage was empowered to make the experiment. He sent to him a confidential and verbal message by Colonel Fenton, who waited upon Mr. Adams, and after the customary salutations, he stated the object of his visit. He said that an adjustment of the disputes which existed between England and the colonies, and a reconciliation, was very desirable, as well as important to both. That he was authorized from Governor Gage to assure him, that he had been empowered to confer upon him such benefits as would be satisfactory, upon the condition that he would engage to cease in his opposition to the measures of government. He also observed, that it was the advice of Governor Gage to him not to incur the further displeasure of his majesty; that his conduct had been such as made him liable to the penalties of an act of Henry the Eighth, by

which persons could be sent to England for trial of treason, or misprision of treason, at the discretion of a governor of a province; but by changing his political course, he would not only receive great personal advantages, but would thereby make his peace with the king. Mr. Adams listened with apparent interest to this recital. He asked Colonel Fenton if he would truly deliver his reply as it should be given. After some hesitation he assented. Mr. Adams required his word of honor, which he pledged.

Then rising from his chair, and assuming a determined manner, he replied: "I trust I have long since made MY PEACE WITH THE KING OF KINGS. No personal consideration shall induce me to abandon the righteous cause of my country. Tell Governor Gage, IT IS THE ADVICE OF SAMUEL ADAMS TO HIM, no longer to insult the feelings of an exasperated people."

With a full sense of his own perilous situation, marked out an object of ministerial vengeance, laboring under severe pecuniary embarrassment, but fearless of consequences, he steadily pursued the great object of his soul, the liberty of the people.

The time required bold and inflexible measures. Common distress required common counsel. The aspect was appalling to some of the most decided patriots of the day. The severity of punishment which was inflicted on the people of Boston by the power of England, produced a melancholy sadness on the friends of American freedom. The Massachusetts House of Assembly was then in session at Salem. A committee of that body was chosen to consider and report the state of the province. Mr. Adams, it is said, observed that some of the committee were for mild measures, which he judged no way suited to the present emergency. He conferred with Mr. Warren, of Plymouth, upon the necessity of spirited measures, and then said, "Do you keep the committee in play, and I will go and make a caucus by the time the evening arrives, and do you meet me." Mr. Adams secured a meeting of about five principal members of the House at the time specified, and repeated his endeavors for the second and third nights, when the number amounted to more than thirty. The friends of the administration knew nothing

of the matter. The popular leaders took the sense of the members in a private way, and found that they would be able to carry their scheme by a sufficient majority. They had their whole plan completed, prepared their resolutions, and then determined to bring the business forward; but, before they commenced, the doorkeeper was ordered to let no person in, or suffer any one to depart. The subjects for discussion were then introduced by Mr. Adams, with his usual eloquence on such great occasions. He was chairman of the committee, and reported the resolutions for the appointment of delegates to a general congress to be convened at Philadelphia, to consult on the general safety of America. This report was received with surprise and astonishment by the administration party. Such was the apprehension of some that they were apparently desirous to desert the question. The doorkeeper seemed uneasy at his charge, and wavering with regard to the performance of the duty assigned to him. At this critical juncture, Mr. Adams relieved him, by taking the key and keeping it himself. The resolutions were passed; five delegates, consisting of Samuel Adams, Thomas Cushing, Robert Treat Paine, John Adams, and James Bowdoin, were appointed; the expense was estimated, and funds were voted for the payment. Before the business was finally closed, a member made a plea of indisposition, and was allowed to leave the house. This person went directly to the governor, and informed him of their high-handed proceedings. The governor immediately sent his secretary to dissolve the Assembly, who found the door locked. He demanded entrance, but was answered that his desire could not be complied with until some important business, then before the House, was concluded. Finding every method to gain admission ineffectual, he read the order on the stairs for an immediate dissolution of the Assembly. The order, however, was disregarded by the House. They continued their deliberations, passed all their intended measures, and then obeyed the mandate for dissolution.

The battle of Lexington, which took place on the 19th of April, 1775, now announced the commencement of the Revolutionary War.



Adams and Hancock were in Lexington the very night the British troops left Boston. To gain possession of the papers of Messrs. Adams and Hancock, who lodged together in the village, was one of the motives, it is said, of the expedition which led to that memorable conflict. The design, though covered with great secrecy, was anticipated, and the victims escaped upon the entrance of their habitation by the British troops. General Joseph Warren, who was the first victim of rank who fell in the revolutionary contest with Great Britain, dispatched an express at ten o'clock at night to Adams and Hancock, to warn them of their danger. A friend of Mr. Adams spread a report that he spoke with pleasure on the occurrences of the 19th of April. "It is a fine day," said he, walking in the field after the day dawned. "Very pleasant," answered one of his companions, supposing him to be contemplating the beauties of the sky. "I mean," he replied, "THIS DAY IS A GLORIOUS DAY FOR AMERICA:" so fearless was he of consequences, so intrepid was he in the midst of danger, so eager to look forward to the lustre of events that would succeed the gloom which then involved the minds of the people. Mr. Adams had been a member of the Continental Congress the preceding year. In this situation he rendered the most important services to his country. His eloquence was well adapted to the times in which he lived. The energy of his language corresponded with the firmness and vigor of his mind. His heart glowed with the feelings of a patriot, and his eloquence was simple, majestic, and persuasive. He was one of the most efficient members of Congress. He possessed keen penetration, unshaken fortitude, and permanent decision.

After many unavailing efforts, both by threats and promises, to allure this inflexible patriot from his devotion to the sacred cause of independence, Governor Gage, at length, on the 12th of June, issued that memorable proclamation, of which the following is an extract: "In this exigency of complicated calamities, I avail myself of the last effort within the bounds of my duty, to spare the further effusion of blood, to offer, and I do hereby in his majesty's name, offer and promise, his most gracious pardon to

all persons who shall forthwith lay down their arms, and return to the duties of peaceable subjects, excepting only from the benefit of such pardon, *Samuel Adams* and *John Hancock*, whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment." This was a diploma, conferring greater honors on the individuals, than any other which was within the power of his Britannic majesty to bestow.

In a letter dated April, 1776, at Philadelphia, while he was in Congress, to Major Hawley, of Massachusetts, he said, "I am perfectly satisfied of the necessity of a public and explicit declaration of independence. I cannot conceive what good reason can be assigned against it. Will it widen the breach? This would be a strange question, after we have raised armies and fought battles with the British troops; set up an American navy, permitted the inhabitants of these colonies to fit out armed vessels to capture the ships, &c., belonging to any of the inhabitants of Great Britain; declaring them the enemies of the United Colonies, and torn into shivers their acts of trade, by allowing commerce, subject to regulations to be made by ourselves, with the people of all countries, except such as are subject to the British king. It cannot, surely, after all this, be imagined that we consider ourselves, or mean to be considered by others, in any other state than that of independence."

In another letter to James Warren, Esq., dated Baltimore, December 31, 1776, he said: "I assure you business has been done since we came to this place more to my satisfaction than any or every thing done before, excepting the Declaration of Independence, which should have been made immediately after the 19th of April, 1775."

The character of Mr. Adams had become celebrated in foreign countries. In 1773, he had been chosen a member of the Society of the Bill of Rights in London; and in 1774, John Adams and Doctor Joseph Warren were elected on his nomination.

Mr. Adams was a member of the Continental Congress when the Declaration of Independence was made. He was a warm and ardent friend of that measure, and supported it with great zeal.

In the year 1777, our patriots encountered many difficulties. It was at this critical juncture, after Congress had resolved to adjourn from Philadelphia to Lancaster, that some of the leading members accidentally met in company with each other. A conversation in mutual confidence ensued. Mr. Adams, who was one of the number, was cheerful and undismayed at the aspect of affairs, while the countenances of his friends were strongly marked with the desponding feelings of their hearts. The conversation naturally turned upon the subject which most engaged their feelings. Each took occasion to express his opinions on the situation of the public cause. Mr. Adams listened in silence till they had finished. He then said, "Gentlemen, your spirits appear to be heavily oppressed with our public calamities. I hope you do not despair of our final success?" It was answered, "that the chance was desperate." Mr. Adams replied, "If this be our language, it is so indeed. If we wear long faces, they will become fashionable. Let us banish such feelings, and show a spirit that will keep alive the confidence of the people. Better tidings will soon arrive. Our cause is just and righteous, and we shall never be abandoned by Heaven while we show ourselves worthy of its aid and protection."

At this time there were but twenty-eight of the members of Congress present at Philadelphia. Mr. Adams said "that this was the smallest, but the truest Congress they ever had."

But a few days had elapsed when the news arrived of the glorious success at Saratoga, which gave a new complexion to our affairs, and confidence to our hopes.

Soon after this, Lord Howe, the Earl of Carlisle, and Mr. Eden arrived as commissioners to treat for peace, under Lord North's conciliatory proposition. Mr. Adams was one of the committee chosen by Congress to draft an answer to their letter. In this, it is related, "That Congress will readily attend to such terms of peace as may consist with the honor of an independent nation."

In 1779, Samuel Adams was placed, by the State Convention, on a committee, to prepare and report a form of government for Massachu-

setts. By this committee he and John Adams were appointed a sub-committee, to furnish a draft of the constitution. The draft produced by them was reported to the Convention, and, after some amendments, accepted. The address of the Convention to the people was jointly written by them.

In 1787, he was chosen a member of the Massachusetts Convention for the ratification of the constitution of the United States. He had some objections to it in its reported form; the principal of which was to that article which rendered the several States amenable to the courts of the nation. He thought that this would reduce them to mere corporations. There was a very powerful opposition to it, and some of its most zealous friends and supporters were fearful that it would not be accepted.

Mr. Adams had not then given his sentiments upon it in the Convention, but regularly attended the debates. Some of the leading advocates waited upon Mr. Adams to ascertain his opinions and wishes, in a private manner. Mr. Adams stated his objections, and stated that he should not give it his support, unless certain amendments were recommended to be adopted. These he enumerated. Mr. Adams prepared his amendments, which were brought before the Convention, and referred to a committee, who made some inconsiderable alterations, with which the constitution was accepted. Some of these were afterwards agreed to as amendments, and form, at present, a part of that instrument.

In 1789, he was elected lieutenant-governor of the State of Massachusetts, and continued to fill that office till 1794, when he was chosen governor of that State. He was annually re-elected till 1797, when, oppressed with years and bodily infirmities, he declined being again a candidate, and retired to private life.

After many years of incessant exertion, employed in the establishment of the independence of America, he died on the 3d of October, 1803, in the 82d year of his age, in straitened circumstances.

Though poor, he possessed a lofty and incorruptible spirit, and looked with disregard upon riches, if not with contempt; while at the same time he did not attempt to disguise that reputa-

tion and popular influence were the great objects of his ambition.

His private morals were pure, his manners grave and austere, and his conversation, which generally turned on public characters and events, bold, decided, and sometimes coarse. Besides the occurrences of the passing day, he is said to have had three topics of conversation on which he delighted to expatiate, and to have always dwelt upon with great earnestness: British oppression, the manners, laws, and customs of New England, and the importance to every republican government of public schools for the instruction of the whole population of the State.

The person of Samuel Adams was of the middle size. His countenance was a true index of his mind, and possessed those lofty and elevated characteristics which are always found to accompany true greatness.

He was a steady professor of the Christian religion, and uniformly attended public worship. His family devotions were regularly performed, and his morality was never impeached.

In his manners and deportment, he was sincere and unaffected; in conversation, pleasing and instructive; and in his friendships, steadfast and affectionate.

His revolutionary labors were not surpassed by those of any individual. From the commencement of the dispute with Great Britain, he was incessantly employed in public service; opposing at one time the supremacy of "parliament in all cases;" taking the lead in questions of controverted policy with the royal governors; writing state papers from 1765 to 1774; in planning and organizing clubs and committees; haranguing in town-meetings, or filling the columns of public prints adapted to the spirit and temper of the times. In addition to these occupations, he maintained an extensive and laborious correspondence with the friends of American freedom in Great Britain and in the provinces.

His private habits, which were simple, frugal, and unostentatious, led him to despise the luxury and parade affected by the crown officers; and his detestation of royalty and privileged classes, which no man could have felt more deeply, stimulated him to persevere in a course, which

he conscientiously believed to be his duty to pursue, for the welfare of his country.

The motives by which he was actuated were not a sudden ebullition of temper, nor a transient impulse of resentment, but they were deliberate, methodical, and unyielding. There was no pause, no hesitation, no despondency; every day and every hour was employed in some contribution towards the main design, if not in action, in writing; if not with the pen, in conversation; if not in talking, in meditation. The means he advised were persuasion, petition, remonstrance, resolution, and when all failed, defiance and extermination sooner than submission. With this unrelenting and austere spirit, there was nothing ferocious, or gloomy, or arrogant, in his demeanor. His aspect was mild, dignified, and gentlemanly. In his own State, or in the Congress of the Union, he was always the advocate of the strongest measures, and in the darkest hour he never wavered nor desponded.

No man was more intrepid and dauntless when encompassed by dangers, or more calm and unmoved amid public disasters and adverse fortune. His bold and daring conduct and language subjected him to great personal hazards. Had any fatal event occurred to our country by which she had fallen in her struggle for liberty, Samuel Adams would have been the first victim of ministerial vengeance. His blood would have been first shed as a sacrifice on the altar of tyranny, for the noble magnanimity and independence with which he defended the cause of freedom. But such was his firmness, that he would have met death with as much composure as he regarded it with unconcern.

His writings were numerous, and much distinguished for their elegance and fervor; but, unfortunately, the greater part of them have been lost, or so distributed as to render their collection impossible.

He was the author of a letter to the Earl of Hillsborough; of many political essays directed against the administration of Governor Shirley; of a letter in answer of Thomas Paine, in defence of Christianity, and of an oration published in the year 1776. Four letters of his correspondence on government are extant, and were published in a pamphlet form in 1800.



Mr. Adams's eloquence was of a peculiar character. His language was pure, concise, and impressive. He was more logical than figurative. His arguments were addressed rather to the understanding than to the feelings; yet he always engaged the deepest attention of his audience. On ordinary occasions, there was nothing remarkable in his speeches; but, on great questions, when his own feelings were interested, he would combine every thing great in oratory. In the language of an elegant writer, the great qualities of his mind were fully displayed, in proportion as the field for their exertion was extended; and the energy of his language was not inferior to the depth of his mind. It was an eloquence admirably adapted to the age in which he flourished, and exactly calculated to attain the object of his pursuit. It may well be described in the language of the poet, "thoughts which breathe, and words which burn." An eloquence, not consisting of theatrical gesture, or with the sublime enthusiasm and ardor of patriotism; an eloquence to which his fellow-citizens listened with applause and rapture; and little inferior to the best

models of antiquity for simplicity, majesty, and persuasion.

The consideration of the character of Samuel Adams, when taken in connection with the uncommon degree of popularity which his name had obtained in this country, may suggest an important moral lesson to those of our youth, whom a generous ambition incites to seek the temple of glory through the thorny paths of political strife. Let them compare him with men confessedly very far his superiors in every gift of intellect, of education, and of fortune: with those who have governed empires, and swayed the fate of nations; and then let them consider how poor and how limited is their fame, when placed in competition with that of this humble patriot. The memory of those men, tarnished as it is by the history of their profligacy, their corruption, and their crimes, is preserved only among the advocates and slaves of legitimacy, while the name of Samuel Adams is enrolled among the benefactors of his country, and repeated with respect and gratitude by the humblest citizens of a free State.

## CHAPTER XI.

1775.

### WASHINGTON A MEMBER OF CONVENTION.

General Gage and the people of Massachusetts.—Revenue-officers leave Salem for Boston.—Gage issues a call for a General Court, and revokes it.—Delegates are nevertheless chosen and meet, and adjourn to Concord and form a Provincial Congress, with John Hancock for president.—Remonstrate with Gage.—His reply.—The Congress makes military preparations and appoints military commanders.—Gage is opposed in his attempts to obtain the means of erecting barracks.—Attitude of the parties.—Gage's proclamation.—Massachusetts Congress reassembles and organizes the minute-men.—The British ministry prohibits the exportation of military stores.—Rhode Island seizes cannon and trains the militia.—General aspect of the colonies.—Sufferings of the Boston people.—Massachusetts Congress assembles in February.—Their proceedings.—They order deposits of military stores at Worcester and Concord.—Leslie's attempt to seize cannon at Salem defeated.—Gage attempts to seize stores at Concord.—Battle of Lexington.—Washington's opinion of that battle.—Second convention of Virginia meets at Richmond.—Washington a member.—Its apparent loyalty at the opening.—Patrick Henry offers resolutions for putting the colony in a state of defence.—Supports them by his celebrated speech "Liberty or death."—The resolutions adopted.—Washington on the committee for drafting and reporting a plan for defence.—Washington returns to Mount Vernon.—Engages in the military preparations of Virginia.

DURING the session of the Continental Congress the march of events in Massachusetts had frequently commanded the attention of the members. General Gage, with his positive orders from the ministry to overawe and subdue the people, and the Massachusetts men, with a dogged determination neither to be overawed nor subdued, were engaged in a struggle which was destined speedily to bring the controversy to the arbitrament of the sword. The leaders, such as Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and Joseph Warren, were by no means intimidated by the menacing attitude of Gage; but persevered steadily in the execution of their purpose.

Observing the firm attitude of the

people, and their evident determination no longer to submit to the commercial regulations of Great Britain, the officers of the revenue, who had been acting at Salem since the shutting up of the port of Boston, quitted their posts and repaired to the latter place for safety; so that the whole apparatus of a custom-house was transferred to a port, which an act of parliament had pronounced it unlawful for any vessel to enter.

Gage had issued writs for assembling the General Court at Salem on the fifth of October; but seemingly apprehensive of a turbulent session, he had countermanded the elections and suspended the meetings of the

1774.

members already returned. The people pronounced the second proclamation illegal, and, utterly disregarding it, chose their representatives in obedience to the first.

The Assembly, to the number of ninety, met at the time and place appointed. They waited a day for the governor to open the session; but finding that he did not appear, they, on the third day, resolved themselves into a Provincial Congress, and adjourned to Concord, a town about twenty miles distant from Boston. They chose John Hancock president; and appointed a committee to wait on the governor with a remonstrance, in which they accounted for their meeting by representing the distressed state of the colony; mentioned the grievous apprehensions of the people; asserted that the rigor of the Boston Port-bill was increased by the manner of its execution; complained of the late laws, and of the hostile preparations on Boston Neck; and adjured him to desist immediately from the construction of a fortress there.

Gage was at a loss how to act. He could not recognize the meeting at Concord as a legal assembly, and was sensible of the imprudence of increasing the public irritation by declining to take notice of their remonstrance. He was constrained by the pressure of circumstances to return an answer; and, in that answer, he expressed his indignation at the suspicion that the lives, liberty, or property of any but avowed enemies were in danger from English

troops; and observed, that, notwithstanding the hostile dispositions manifested towards them, by withholding almost every necessary accommodation, they had not discovered that resentment which such unfriendly treatment was calculated to provoke. He told them that, while they complained of alterations in their charter by act of parliament, they were themselves, by their present assembling, subverting that charter, and acting in direct violation of their own constitution; he therefore warned them of their danger, and called on them to desist from such unconstitutional proceedings.

But the warnings of the governor made no impression on the Provincial Congress. On the 17th of October, that Assembly adjourned to Cambridge, about four miles from Boston. They resolved to purchase military stores; and to enlist a number of *minute-men*, so named from their engaging to take the field in arms on a minute's warning.

They also appointed a *committee of safety*, with authority to call out the militia when thought necessary for the defence of the inhabitants of the province; and a *committee of supplies*, to purchase ammunition, ordnance, and other military stores. They elected Jedidiah Pribble, Artemas Ward, and Colonel Pomeroy, who had seen some service in the late war, general officers, and appointed them to the chief command of the minute-men and militia, if they should be called into actual ser-



vice. On the 27th of October, the Congress adjourned to the 23d of November.

On the approach of winter, the governor ordered temporary barracks for the troops to be erected; but he found much difficulty in the execution of his purpose, as, through the influence of the selectmen and committees, the mechanics were unwilling or afraid to engage in the work, and the merchants declined to execute his orders.

The mutual suspicions of the governor and people of Massachusetts were now so strong, that every petty incident increased the irritation. Each party made loud professions of the best intentions, and each watched the other with a jealous eye. In a proclamation, the governor forbade the people to pay any regard to the requisitions, directions, or resolutions of the Provincial Congress, and denounced that body as an illegal assembly; but the proclamation was disregarded, and the recommendations of Congress were revered and promptly obeyed.

Instead of being intimidated by the governor's proclamation, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, on reassembling after their adjournment, proceeded with greater boldness than ever, and gave decisive evidence of their determination to carry matters to extremities rather than submit to the late acts of parliament. They resolved to have twelve thousand men in readiness to act on any emergency, and ordered a fourth of the militia to be enlisted as minute-

men, and empowered them to choose their own officers. They dispatched agents to New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, to concert measures with the leading men in those provinces, and to engage them to provide their contingents for an army of twenty thousand men. 1774.

They resolved to bring their force into action, and to oppose General Gage whenever he should march his troops out of Boston, with their baggage, ammunition, and artillery; and they applied to the ministers of religion, throughout the province, desiring their countenance and co-operation. They also added Colonels Thomas and Heath to the number of generals whom they had formerly nominated. Towards the end of November the Congress dissolved itself, having appointed another to be held in the month of February.

Alarmed by the proceedings in the several provinces, the ministry had issued a proclamation prohibiting the exportation of military stores from Britain. On hearing of this proclamation, the inhabitants of Rhode Island removed above forty pieces of cannon from the batteries about the harbor, for the avowed purpose of preventing them from falling into the hands of the king's troops, and of employing them against such persons as might attempt to infringe their liberties. About the same time, the Assembly of the province passed resolutions for purchasing arms and military stores at the public ex-

pense, and for carefully training the militia in military exercises.

The people of New Hampshire, who had hitherto been moderate, were excited to insurrection by the proclamation, and by the example of their neighbors in Rhode Island. They surprised a small fort at Portsmouth, and carried off the military stores which it contained.

The beginning of the year 1775 presented a gloomy prospect to America; all the Provincial Assemblies, except that of New York, approved of the resolutions of the General Congress; and even the Assembly of New York joined in the complaints of the other provinces, although it was less resolute in its opposition to the obnoxious laws. The passions of the people were everywhere roused, and great agitation prevailed. The inhabitants were all in motion; forming county meetings; entering into associations; recommending measures for carrying into execution the resolutions of the General Congress, and choosing committees of inspection and observation, to take care that the public resolutions should be universally attended to, and to guard against the practices of those selfish individuals, who, for interested purposes, might wish to elude them. In the midst of all this bustle, the militia were everywhere carefully trained.

Meanwhile the privations and sufferings of the inhabitants of Boston were grievous, and their passions were highly excited; but their turbulent spirit was

kept in check by the presence of the troops. Supplies and provisions were sent them from the other colonies; these, however, formed but a partial and precarious resource; but the people were encouraged by the sympathy of their brethren, and by the thought that they were considered martyrs in the common cause.

Notwithstanding the portentous aspect of affairs, many of the colonists still believed that there would be no appeal to arms. Formerly their non-importation associations had produced the desired effect; and they flattered themselves that similar measures would again be followed by similar results; that the British ministry would never come to an open rupture with the best customers of their merchants and manufacturers, but would recede from their pretensions when convinced of the determined opposition of the Americans. On the other hand, the British ministry expected the colonists would yield; and thus both parties persisted in their claims till neither could easily give way.

In the provinces, although there was much apparent unanimity in opposing the late acts of parliament, yet not a few secretly wished to submit peaceably to British authority; some from a conviction that it was right to do so; more from timidity and selfishness: but both of these classes were overawed by the more active and audacious partisans of American freedom.

While matters were in this critical state in America, many of the people



of Britain took little interest in the affairs of the colonies. They did not feel their own interests immediately affected, and consequently their sensibility was not awakened. They had long been accustomed to hear of American quarrels, and satisfied themselves with thinking that the present one would pass away as those before it had done. While the nation was indifferent, the ministry were irritated but irresolute. In his speech at the opening of parliament, the king informed the two houses "that a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience still prevailed in Massachusetts, and had broken out in fresh violences of a very criminal nature; but that the most proper and effectual measures had been taken to prevent those mischiefs; and that they might depend on a firm resolution to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of the legislature over all the dominions of the crown."

In the debates on American affairs, the partisans of ministry spoke of the colonists in the most contemptuous manner; affirmed that they were undisciplined, and incapable of discipline, and that their numbers would only increase their confusion and facilitate their defeat.

Meanwhile the colonists were not idle. On the 1st of February, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts met at Cambridge, and, apprehensive of being too much within the reach of General Gage, towards the middle of the month they again ad-

journed to Concord. They there took decisive measures for resisting the obnoxious acts of parliament. They earnestly exhorted the militia in general, and the minute-men in particular, to be indefatigable in improving themselves in military discipline; they recommended the making of firearms and bayonets; and they dissuaded the people from supplying the troops in Boston with any thing necessary for military service. The committee of safety resolved to purchase powder, artillery, provisions, and other military stores, and to deposit them partly at Worcester and partly at Concord.

In this alarming posture of public affairs, General Gage conceived it to be his duty to seize the warlike stores of the colonists wherever he could find them. With this view he ordered a small detachment, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Leslie, on Sunday the 26th of February, to bring off some field-pieces which he understood the Provincial Congress had at Salem. The party landed at Marblehead, and marched to Salem; but found no cannon there. Believing they had been removed only a short time before, the commanding officer determined on pursuit. He reached a small river, on the way to Danvers, over which was a drawbridge; but, on his approach, some people on the other side drew it up, and alleged that, as both the bridge and road were private property, the soldiers had no right to pass that way. The party were about to use some boats, but



the owners instantly scuttled them. The bridge was at length let down; but the day was so far spent, that Colonel Leslie, deeming it inexpedient to proceed much further, returned to Boston. This ineffectual attempt showed the designs of the governor, and gave fresh activity to the vigilance of the people.

The colonies were now all in commotion; and preparations were everywhere making for the General Congress, which was to assemble in the month of May. New York was the only place which discovered much backwardness in the matter; and perhaps the timid and selfish policy of that province contributed no less to the war, than the boldness of the people of Massachusetts; for the British ministry were encouraged by the irresolution of the people of New York to persist in their plan of coercion, from which they had been almost deterred by the firm attitude and united counsels of the other colonies. But hoping, by the compliance of New York with their designs, to separate the middle and southern from the northern provinces, and so easily subjugate them all, they determined to persevere in strong measures. The active exertions, however, of the adherents of the British ministry were defeated, even in New York, by the resolute conduct of their opponents; and that province sent deputies to the General Congress.

Although some of the persons most obnoxious to the British government had withdrawn from Boston, yet many

zealous Americans still remained in the town, observed every motion of General Gage with a vigilant eye, and transmitted to their friends in the country notices of his proceedings and probable intentions. The American stores at Concord had attracted the general's attention, and he determined to seize them. But, although he had been careful to conceal his intention, yet some intimations of it reached the ears of the colonists, who took their measures accordingly.

At eleven o'clock at night, on the 18th of April, General Gage embarked eight hundred grenadiers and light-infantry, the flower of his army, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, on Charles River at Boston Neck. 1775.

They sailed up the river, landed at Phipps's farm, and advanced towards Concord. Of this movement some of the friends of the American cause got notice, just before the embarkation of the troops; and they instantly dispatched messengers by different routes with the information. The troops soon perceived, by the ringing of bells and firing of musketry, that, notwithstanding the secrecy with which they had quitted Boston, they had been discovered, and that the alarm was fast spreading throughout the country. Between four and five o'clock on the morning of the 19th of April, the detachment reached Lexington, thirteen miles from Boston. Here about seventy of the militia were assembled, and were stand-

ing near the road ; but their number being so small, they had no intention of making any resistance to the military. Major Pitcairn, who had been sent forward with the light-infantry, rode towards them, calling out, "Disperse, you rebels ! throw down your arms and disperse !" The order was not instantly obeyed : Major Pitcairn advanced a little further, fired his pistol, and flourished his sword, while his men began to fire, with a shout. Several Americans fell ; the rest dispersed, but the firing on them was continued ; and, on observing this, some of the retreating colonists returned the fire. Eight Americans remained dead on the field.

At the close of this rencounter, the rest of the British detachment, under Lieutenant-colonel Smith, came up ; and the party, without further violence, proceeded to Concord. On arriving at that place, they found a body of militia drawn up, who retreated across the bridge before the British light-infantry. The main body of the royal troops entered the town, destroyed two pieces of cannon with their carriages, and a number of carriage-wheels ; threw five hundred pounds of balls into the river and wells, and destroyed about sixty barrels of flour. These were all the stores they found.

While the main body of the troops was engaged in these operations, the light-infantry kept possession of the bridge, the Americans having retired to wait for reinforcements. Reinforcements arrived ; and John Butterworth,

of Concord, who commanded the Americans, ordered his men to advance ; but, ignorant of what had happened at Lexington, enjoined them not to fire, unless the troops fired first. The matter did not long remain in suspense. The Americans advanced ; the troops fired on them ; the Americans returned the fire ; a smart skirmish ensued, and a number of men fell on each side.

The troops, having accomplished the object of their expedition, began to retire. But blood had been shed, and the aggressors were not to be allowed to escape with impunity. The country was alarmed ; armed men crowded in from every quarter ; and the retreating troops were assailed with an unceasing but irregular discharge of musketry.

General Gage had early information that the country was rising in arms ; and, about eight in the morning, he dispatched nine hundred men, under the command of Earl Percy, to support his first party. According to Gordon, this detachment left Boston with their music playing *Yankee Doodle*, a tune composed in derision of the inhabitants of the northern provinces ; an act which had no tendency to subdue, but which was well calculated to irritate, the colonists.

Earl Percy met Colonel Smith's retreating party at Lexington much exhausted ; and, being provided with two pieces of artillery, he was able to keep the Americans in check. The whole party rested on their arms till they took some refreshment, of which they



stood much in need. But there was no time for delay; as the militia and minute-men were hastening in from all quarters to the scene of action. When the troops resumed their march, the attack was renewed; and Earl Percy continued the retreat under an incessant and galling fire of small-arms. By means of his field-pieces and musketry, however, he was able to keep the assailants at a respectful distance. The colonists were under no authority; but ran across the fields from one place to another, taking their station at the points from which they could fire on the troops with most safety and effect. Numbers of them, becoming weary of the pursuit, retired from the contest; but their place was supplied by new-comers; so that, although not more than four or five hundred of the provincials were actually engaged at any one time, yet the conflict was continued without intermission, till the troops, in a state of great exhaustion, reached Charlestown Neck, with only two or three rounds of cartridges each, although they had thirty-six in the morning.

On this momentous day, the British had sixty-five men killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight taken prisoners. The provincials had fifty men killed, thirty-four wounded, and four missing.

Washington's opinion of the battle of Lexington is thus expressed in a letter of May 31, 1775, to George William Fairfax, then residing in England:

"Before this letter will come to hand,

you must undoubtedly have received an account of the engagement in the Massachusetts Bay, between the ministerial troops (for we do not, nor can we yet prevail upon ourselves to call them the king's troops) and the provincials of that government. But as you may not have heard how that affair began, I inclose the several affidavits, which were taken after the action.

General Gage acknowledges that the detachment under Lieutenant-colonel Smith was sent out to destroy private property; or, in other words, to destroy a magazine which self-preservation obliged the inhabitants to establish. And he also confesses, in effect at least, that his men made a very precipitate retreat from Concord, notwithstanding the reinforcement under Lord Percy; the last of which may serve to convince Lord Sandwich, and others of the same sentiment, that the Americans will fight for their liberties and property, however pusillanimous in his lordship's eye they may appear in other respects.

From the best accounts I have been able to collect of that affair, indeed from every one, I believe the fact, stripped of all coloring, to be plainly this, that if the retreat had not been as precipitate as it was—and God knows it could not well have been more so—the ministerial troops must have surrendered, or been totally cut off; for they had not arrived at Charlestown (under cover of their ships) half an hour, before a powerful body of men from Marblehead and Salem was at their heels, and must, if



they had happened to be up one hour sooner, inevitably have intercepted their retreat to Charlestown. Unhappy it is, though, to reflect that a brother's sword has been sheathed in a brother's breast, and that the once happy and peaceful plains of America are either to be drenched with blood or inhabited by slaves. Sad alternative! But can a virtuous man hesitate in his choice?"

On Monday, the 20th of March, 1775, the convention of delegates from the several counties and corporations of Virginia met for the second time. This assembly was held in the old church in the town of Richmond. Washington and Patrick Henry were members of that body. The reader will bear in mind the tone of the instructions given by the convention of the preceding year to their deputies in Congress.\* He will remember that, while they recite with great feeling the series of grievances under which the colonies had labored, and insist with firmness on their constitutional rights, they give, nevertheless, the most explicit and solemn pledge of their faith and true allegiance to his majesty King George the Third, and avow their determination to support him with their lives and fortunes, in the legal exercise of all his just rights and prerogatives. He will remember that these instructions contain, also, an expression of their sincere approbation of a connection with Great Britain, and their ardent wishes for a return of that

friendly intercourse from which this country had derived so much prosperity and happiness.

These sentiments still influenced many of the leading members of the convention of 1775. They could not part with the fond hope that those peaceful days would again return, which had shed so much light and warmth over the land; and the report of the king's gracious reception of the petition from Congress tended to cherish and foster that hope, and to render them averse to any means of violence. But Patrick Henry saw things with a steadier eye and a deeper insight. His judgment was too solid to be duped by appearances; and his heart too firm and manly to be amused by false and flattering hopes. He had long since read the true character of the British court, and saw that no alternative remained for his country but abject submission or heroic resistance. It was not for a soul like Henry's to hesitate between these courses. He had offered upon the altar of liberty no divided heart. The gulf of war which yawned before him was indeed fiery and fearful; but he saw that the awful plunge was inevitable. The body of the convention, however, hesitated. They cast around "a longing, lingering look" on those flowery fields on which peace, and ease, and joy were still sporting; and it required all the energies of a Mentor like Henry to prepare their minds for the dread alternative of open hostilities.

The convention being formed and organized for business, proceeded, in the

---

\* See Document [A] at end of chapter x.

first place, to express their unqualified approbation of the measures of Congress, and to declare that they considered "this whole continent as under the highest obligations to that respectable body, for the wisdom of their counsels, and their unremitted endeavors to maintain and preserve inviolate the just rights and liberties of his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects in America."

They next resolved, that "the warmest thanks of the convention, and of all the inhabitants of this colony, were due, and that this just tribute of applause be presented to the worthy delegates, deputed by a former convention to represent this colony in General Congress, for their cheerful undertaking and faithful discharge of the very important trust reposed in them."

The morning of the 23d of March was opened by reading a petition and memorial from the Assembly of Jamaica to the king's most excellent majesty, whereupon it was

"*Resolved*, That the unfeigned thanks and most grateful acknowledgments of the convention be presented to that very respectable Assembly, for the exceeding generous and affectionate part they have so nobly taken in the unhappy contest between Great Britain and her colonies, and for their truly patriotic endeavors to fix the just claim of the colonists upon the most permanent constitutional principles:—that the Assembly be assured, that it is the most ardent wish of this colony (and they were persuaded of the whole continent

of North America) to see a speedy return of those halcyon days, when we lived a free and happy people."

These proceedings were not adapted to the taste of Patrick Henry; on the contrary, they were "gall and wormwood" to him. The House required to be wrought up to a bolder tone. He rose, therefore, and moved the following manly resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That a well-regulated militia, composed of gentlemen and yeomen, is the natural strength and only security of a free government; that such a militia in this colony would forever render it unnecessary for the mother country to keep among us, for the purpose of our defence, any standing army of mercenary soldiers, always subversive of the quiet, and dangerous to the liberties of the people, and would obviate the pretext of taxing us for their support.

That the establishment of such militia is, *at this time*, peculiarly necessary, by the state of our laws, for the protection and defence of the country, some of which are already expired, and others will shortly be so; and that the known remissness of government in calling us together in legislative capacity, renders it too insecure, in this time of danger and distress, to rely that opportunity will be given of renewing them in General Assembly, or making any provision to secure our inestimable rights and liberties from those further violations with which they are threatened.

*Resolved*, therefore, That this colony be immediately put into a state of defence, and that ——— be a committee to prepare a plan for embodying, arming, and disciplining such a number of men, as may be sufficient for that purpose."

The alarm which such a proposition must have given to those who had contemplated no resistance of a character more serious than petition, non-importation, and passive fortitude, and who still hung with suppliant tenderness on the skirts of Britain, will be readily conceived by the reflecting reader. The shock was painful. It was almost general. The resolutions were opposed as not only rash in policy, but as harsh and well-nigh impious in point of feeling. Some of the warmest patriots of the convention opposed them. Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton, who had so lately drank of the fountain of patriotism in the Continental Congress, and Robert C. Nicholas, one of the best as well as ablest men and patriots in the State, resisted them with all their influence and abilities.

They urged the late gracious reception of the congressional petition by the throne; they insisted that national comity, and much more, filial respect, demanded the exercise of a more dignified patience. That the sympathies of the parent country were now on our side. That the friends of American liberty in parliament were still with us, and had, as yet, had no cause to blush

for our indiscretion. That the manufacturing interests of Great Britain, already smarting under the effects of our non-importation, co-operated powerfully towards our relief. That the sovereign himself had relented, and showed that he looked upon our sufferings with an eye of pity. "Was this a moment," they asked, "to disgust our friends, to extinguish all the conspiring sympathies which were working in our favor, to turn their friendship into hatred, their pity into revenge? And what was there," they asked, "in the situation of the colony, to tempt us to this? Were we a great military people? Were we ready for war? Where were our stores,—where were our arms,—where our soldiers,—where our generals,—where our money, the sinews of war? They were nowhere to be found. In truth, we were poor,—we were naked,—we were defenceless. And yet we talk of assuming the front of war! of assuming it, too, against a nation, one of the most formidable in the world! A nation ready and armed at all points! Her navies riding triumphant in every sea; her armies never marching but to certain victory! What was to be the issue of the struggle we were called upon to court? What *could* be the issue in the comparative circumstances of the two countries, but to yield up *this country* an easy prey to Great Britain, and to convert the illegitimate right which the British parliament now claimed, into a firm and indubitable right, *by conquest*?



The measure might be brave ; but it was the bravery of madmen. It had no pretension to the character of prudence ; and as little to the grace of genuine courage. It would be time enough to resort to measures of *despair*, when every well-founded *hope* had entirely vanished."

To this strong view of the subject, supported as it was by the stubborn fact of the well-known helpless condition of the colony, the opponents of these resolutions superadded every topic of persuasion which belonged to the cause :

"The strength and lustre which we have derived from our connection with Great Britain,—the domestic comforts which we had drawn from the same source, and whose value we were now able to estimate by their loss,—that ray of reconciliation which was dawning upon us from the east, and which promised so fair and happy a day ;—with this they contrasted the clouds and storms which the measure now proposed was so well calculated to raise, and in which we should not have even the poor consolation of being pitied by the world, since we should have so needlessly and rashly drawn them upon ourselves."

These arguments and topics of persuasion were so well justified by the appearance of things, and were moreover so entirely in unison with that love of ease and quiet which is natural to man, and that disposition to hope for happier times, even under the most for-

bidding circumstances, that an ordinary man, in Mr. Henry's situation, would have been glad to compound with the displeasure of the House, by being permitted to withdraw his resolutions in silence.

Not so Mr. Henry. His was a spirit fitted to raise the whirlwind, as well as to ride in and direct it. His was that comprehensive view, that unerring prescience, that perfect command over the actions of men, which qualified him not merely to guide, but almost to create the destinies of nations.

He rose, at this time, with a majesty unusual to him in an exordium, and with all that self-possession by which he was so invariably distinguished : "No man," he said, "thought more highly than he did of the patriotism, as well as abilities, of the very worthy gentlemen who had just addressed the House. But different men often saw the same subject in different lights ; and, therefore, he hoped it would not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen, if, entertaining as he did, opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, he should speak forth *his* sentiments freely, and without reserve. This," he said, "was no time for ceremony. The question before this House was one of awful moment to the country. For his own part, he considered it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery. And in proportion to the magnitude of the subject, ought to be the freedom of the debate. It was only in this way that they could hope

to arrive at truth, and fulfil the great responsibility which they held to God and their country. Should he keep back his opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offence, he should consider himself as guilty of treason towards his country, and of an act of disloyalty towards the majesty of Heaven, which he revered above all earthly kings.

"Mr. President," said he, "it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth—and listen to the song of that syren, till she transforms us into beasts. Is this," he asked, "the part of wise men engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Were we disposed to be of the number of those, who, having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For his part, whatever anguish of spirit it might cost, *he* was willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst, and to provide for it.

"He had," he said, "but one lamp by which his feet were guided, and that was the lamp of experience. He knew no way of judging of the future but by the past. And, judging by the past, he wished to know what there had been in the conduct of the British ministry for the last ten years, to justify those hopes with which these gentlemen had been pleased to solace themselves and the House? Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not,

sir; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir: what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can the gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy in this quarter of the world, to call for this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we any thing new to offer on the subject? Nothing. We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty and humble supplication? What terms shall we find, which have not been already exhausted. Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done every thing that could be done, to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned—we have remonstrated—we have sup-

plicated,—we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. *There is no longer any room for hope.* If we wish to be free,—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending,—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon, until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained,—we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts, is all that is left us!

“They tell us, sir,” continued Mr. Henry, “that we are weak,—unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger. Will it be the next week or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?

Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in a country such as we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged. Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable,—and let it come! I repeat it, sir, let it come!

“It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, peace, peace,—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun. The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms!\*

Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God!—I know not what course others may take; but as

\* This speech was delivered a few days before the battle of Lexington.



for me," cried he, with both his arms extended aloft, his brows knit, every feature marked with the resolute purpose of his soul, and his voice swelled to its boldest note of exclamation,—“give me liberty—or give me death!”

He took his seat. No murmur of applause was heard. The effect was too deep. After the trance of a moment, several members started from their seats. The cry “to arms!” seemed to quiver on every lip, and gleam from every eye! Richard H. Lee arose and supported Mr. Henry, with his usual spirit and elegance. But his melody was lost amid the agitations of that ocean, which the master-spirit of the storm had raised up on high. That supernatural voice still sounded in their ears, and shivered along their arteries. They heard, in every pause, the cry of liberty or death. They became impatient of speech,—their souls were on fire for action.

The resolutions were adopted; and Patrick Henry, Richard H. Lee, Robert C. Nicholas, Benjamin Harrison, Lemuel Riddick, George Washington, Adam Stevens, Andrew Lewis, William Christian, Edmund Pendleton, Thomas Jefferson, and Isaac Lane, esquires, were appointed a committee to prepare the plan called for by the last resolution.

The plan for embodying, arming, and disciplining the militia, proposed by the committee which has just been mentioned, was received and adopted.

The convention having adopted a plan for the encouragement of arts and

manufactures in the colony of Virginia and reappointed their former deputies to the Continental Congress, with the substitution of Mr. Jefferson for Mr. Peyton Randolph, in case of the non-attendance of the latter, and having also provided for a re-election of delegates to the next convention, came to an adjournment.\*

How entirely Washington concurred in the views of Patrick Henry† on this momentous occasion, is clearly apparent by the activity with which he, at once, entered into the spirit of the resolutions for placing the militia on a respectable footing with regard to discipline and efficiency. He was one of the committee for drafting and reporting the plan for putting the resolutions in execution. Before the convention rose, he wrote as follows to his brother John Augustine Washington:

“I had like to have forgotten to express my entire approbation of the laudable pursuit you are engaged in, of training an independent company. I have promised to review the independent company of Richmond some time this summer, they having made me a tender of the command of it. At the same time I could review yours, and shall very cheerfully accept the honor of commanding it, if occasion require it to be drawn out, as it is my full intention to devote my life and fortune in the cause we are engaged in, if needful.”

This last expression of Washington

\* Wirt, *Life of Patrick Henry*.

† See Document at the end of this chapter.

shows, that after considering the whole subject with his usual calm deliberation, he had come to the same conclusion with Henry, that the war was inevitable, and that he had adopted the firm determination to devote himself with all his energies to its prosecution whenever the time for action should arrive.

On his return to Mount Vernon after the adjournment of the convention, he took an active part in the military preparations, which had been enjoined on the people by that body. The system of independent militia companies was no novelty in Virginia. The people of that colony had long been accustomed to associate in such companies for the purpose of military discipline. They chose their own officers, provided them-

selves with uniforms, arms, and colors, and were governed by the militia laws. Dunmore, at that time governor of Virginia, had encouraged this system, having occasion for the services of the independent companies in an Indian war which had broken out on the Western border.

Washington, confessedly the most distinguished military officer in the colony, forthwith interested himself in the work of disciplining the militia, attending reviews, giving advice and direction, and infusing his own spirit of activity and order into their proceedings. Indeed, he was generally regarded as the person destined to lead the forces of that colony, in case of hostilities, as he had done in the last war. But he was reserved for a higher destiny.

## DOCUMENT ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER XI.

---

### PATRICK HENRY.

It will have been observed by the reader, that among the early advocates of American rights in the Revolutionary contest, none was more active and efficient than the celebrated orator, Patrick Henry. This truly great man was born at Studley, in the county of Hanover, and State of Virginia, on the 29th May, 1736. He descended from respectable Scotch ancestry, in the paternal line; and his mother was a native of the county in which he was born. On the maternal side, at least, he seems to have descended from a rhetorical race.

In childhood and youth, Patrick Henry, whose name renders titles superfluous, gave no presages of his future greatness. He learned to read and write reluctantly; made some small progress in arithmetic; acquired a superficial knowledge of the Latin language; and made a considerable proficiency in mathematics, the only branch of education for which he discovered, in his youth, the slightest predilection.

His propensity to observe and comment upon the human character, was the only circumstance which distinguished him, advantageously, from his youthful companions.

From what has been already stated, it will be seen how little education had to do with the formation of this great man's mind. He was, indeed, a mere child of nature, and nature seems to have been too proud and too jealous of her work, to permit it to be touched by the hand of art. She gave him Shakspeare's genius, and bade him, like Shakspeare, to depend on that alone.

At the age of fifteen years, young Henry was placed behind the counter of a merchant in the country, and at sixteen his father set him up in

trade in partnership with his brother William. Through want of energy, the love of music, the charms of the chase, and a readiness to trust every one, the firm was soon reduced to bankruptcy. The only advantage which resulted from his short continuance in mercantile business, was an opportunity to study human character.

At eighteen, Mr. Henry married the daughter of an honest farmer, and undertook to cultivate a few acres for himself. His only delights, at this time, were those which flow from the endearing relations of conjugal life. His want of agricultural skill, and his unconquerable aversion to every species of systematic labor, terminated his career as a planter in the short space of two years. Again he had recourse to merchandise, and again failed in business. Every atom of his property was now gone; his friends were unable to assist him any further; he had tried every means of support of which he thought himself capable, and every one had failed; ruin was behind him; poverty, debt, want, and famine before; and as if his cup of misery were not already full enough, here was a suffering wife and children to make it overflow. Still he had a cheerful temper, and his passion was music, dancing, and pleasantry. About this time he became fond of geography and historical works generally. Livy was his favorite; and, in some measure, awakened the dormant powers of his genius. As a last effort, he determined, of his own accord, to make a trial of the law. He, however, disliked the professional business of an attorney at law, and he seems to have hoped for nothing more from the profession than a scanty subsistence for himself and his family, and his preparation was suited to these humble expectations; for, to the study of a profession, which is



said to require the lucubrations of twenty years, Mr. Henry devoted not more than six weeks. On examination he was licensed, rather through courtesy, and some expectation that he would study, than from any conviction which his examiners had of his present competence. At the age of four-and-twenty he was admitted to the bar, and for three years occupied the background, during which period the wants and distresses of his family were extreme; and he performed the duty of an assistant to his father-in-law in a tavern.

In 1764, he pursued his favorite amusement of hunting with extreme ardor; and has been known to hunt deer frequently for several days together, carrying his provisions with him, and at night encamping in the woods.

After the hunt was over, he would go from the ground to Louisa Court, clad in a coarse cloth coat, stained with all the trophies of the chase, greasy leather breeches ornamented in the same way, leggings for boots, and a pair of saddle-bags on his arm. Thus accoutred he would enter the court-house, take up the first of his causes that chanced to be called; and if there was any scope for his peculiar talent, throw his adversary into the background, and astonish both court and jury by the powerful effusions of his natural eloquence.

In the same year he was introduced to the gay and fashionable circle at Williamsburg, then the seat of government for the State, that he might be counsel in the case of a contested election; but he made no preparation for pleading, and, as we might naturally suppose, none for appearing in a suitable costume. He moved awkwardly about in his threadbare and coarse dress; and while some thought him a prodigy, others concluded him to be an idiot: nevertheless, before the committee of elections, he delivered an argument which Judge Tyler, Judge Winston, and others, pronounced the best they had ever heard. In the same year, it is asserted on the authority of Mr. Jefferson, that Mr. Henry gave the first impulse to the ball of the Revolution. He originated the spirit of the Revolution in Virginia, unquestionably; and possessed a dauntless soul, exactly suited to the important work he was destined to perform.

In the year 1765, he was a member of the Assembly of Virginia. He introduced his celebrated resolutions against the stamp-act, which breathed a spirit of liberty, and which had a tendency to rouse the people of that commonwealth in favor of our glorious Revolution.

He was elected, in 1774, one of the deputies from Virginia to the first Congress, and was in this year one of the committee which drew up the petition to the king. In May, 1775, after Lord Dunmore had conveyed on board a ship a part of the powder from the magazine of Williamsburg, Mr. Henry distinguished himself by assembling the independent companies of Hanover and King William counties, and directing them towards Williamsburg, with the avowed design of obtaining payment for the powder, or of compelling to its restitution. The object was effected, for the king's receiver-general gave a bill for the value of the property. The governor immediately fortified his palace, and issued a proclamation, charging those who had procured the bill with rebellious practices. This only occasioned a number of county meetings, which applauded the conduct of Mr. Henry, and expressed a determination to protect him. In August, 1775, when a new choice of deputies to Congress was made, he was not re-elected, for his services were now demanded more exclusively in his own State. After the departure of Lord Dunmore, he was chosen the first governor in June, 1776, and he held this office several succeeding years, bending all his exertions to promote the freedom and independence of his country. In the beginning of 1778, an anonymous letter was addressed to him with a design of alienating his affections from the commander-in-chief. He inclosed it to Washington, both to evince his friendship and to put him on his guard. In another letter, written a few days afterwards, when he had heard of a plan to effect the removal of Washington, he says to him: "While you face the armed enemies of our liberty in the field, and, by the favor of God, have been kept unhurt, I trust your country will never harbor in her bosom the miscreant who would ruin her best supporter; but when arts unworthy honest men are used to defame and traduce you, I think it not amiss, but a duty, to

assure you of that estimation in which the public hold you."

In June, 1788, he was a member, with other illustrious citizens of Virginia, of the convention which was appointed to consider the constitution of the United States; and he exerted all the force of his masterly eloquence, day after day, to prevent its adoption. He contended that changes were dangerous to liberty; that the old confederation had carried us through the war, and secured our independence, and needed only amendment; that the proposed government was a consolidated government, in which the sovereignty of the States would be lost, and all pretensions to rights and privileges would be rendered insecure; that the want of a bill of rights was an essential defect; that general warrants should have been prohibited; and that to adopt the constitution with a view to subsequent amendments, was only submitting to tyranny in the hope of being liberated from it at some future time. He therefore offered a resolution containing a bill of rights and amendments for the greater security of liberty and property, to be referred to the other States before the ratification of the proposed form of government. His resolution, however, was not accepted. The arguments of Pendleton, Randolph, Madison, and Marshall prevailed against the eloquence of Henry, and the constitution was adopted, though by a small majority. Mr. Henry's bill of rights and his amendments were then accepted, and directed to be transmitted to the several States. Some of these amendments have been engrafted into the federal constitution; on which account, as well as on account of the lessons of experience, Mr. Henry, in a few years, lost in a degree his repugnance to it.

After the resignation of Mr. Randolph in August, 1795, he was nominated by President Washington as secretary of state, but considerations of a private nature induced him to decline

the honorable trust. In November, 1796, he was again elected governor of Virginia, and this office also he immediately resigned.

In the beginning of the year 1799, he was appointed by President Adams as an envoy to France with Messrs. Ellsworth and Murray. His letter in reply to the secretary of state is dated in Charlotte county, April the 16th, and in it he speaks of a severe indisposition, to which he was then subject, and of his advanced age and increasing debility, and adds: "Nothing short of absolute necessity could induce me to withhold my little aid from an administration, whose abilities, patriotism, and virtue deserve the gratitude and reverence of all their fellow-citizens." Governor Davie, of North Carolina, was in consequence appointed in his place. He lived but a short time after this testimony of the respect in which his talents and patriotism were held, for he died at Red Hill, in Charlotte county, June 6, 1799.

Mr. Henry was a man of eminent talents, of ardent attachment to liberty, and of most commanding eloquence. The Virginians boast of him as an orator of nature. His general appearance and manners were those of a plain farmer. In this character, he always entered on the exordium of an oration. His unassuming looks and expression of humility induced his hearers to listen to him with the same easy openness with which they would converse with an honest neighbor. After he had thus disarmed prejudice and pride, and opened a way to the heart, the inspiration of his eloquence, when little expected, would invest him with the authority of a prophet. With a mind of great powers and a heart of keen sensibility, he would sometimes rise in the majesty of his genius, and, while he filled the audience with admiration, would, with almost irresistible influence, bear along the passions of others with him.

In private life, he was as amiable and virtuous as he was conspicuous in his public career.

## CHAPTER XII.

1775.

### PARTISAN WARFARE.

Position of affairs in the colonies.—General Ward commander-in-chief of the army before Boston.—The Massachusetts Congress resolves to raise an army of thirty thousand men to besiege Boston.—Putnam and Arnold arrive in the camp.—State of the army.—Effect of the battle of Lexington in New York.—In New Jersey.—In Maryland.—In Virginia.—Lord Dunmore seizes and carries off the gunpowder in the arsenal.—Patrick Henry turns out with his volunteers and compels restitution.—Dunmore's proclamation.—He convenes the House of Burgesses.—Affair of the magazine.—Dunmore takes refuge in a British man-of-war.—Rising of the Assembly.—Meeting of the Convention.—Dunmore attacks Hampton.—Is repulsed.—Proclaims martial law.—Affair of Norfolk bridge.—Death of Colonel Fordyce.—Defeat of the British.—Flight of Dunmore.—Destruction of Norfolk.—Dunmore conspires with Connelly to invade Virginia.—The plot discovered.—Dunmore leaves Virginia and joins General Howe.—Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold surprise Ticonderoga and Crown Point.—They attempt to capture St. Johns, on the Sorel, and fail.—Importance of the captures made by them, and of the way opened by Lake Champlain to Canada.

It must be confessed that at the period at which we have now arrived, the state of affairs in the colonies was any thing but cheering. A few colonies, scattered along the whole Atlantic coast, had provoked the resentment of one of the most powerful nations in the world; and they were now about to experience the full effects of that resentment.

But, unpromising as their prospects were, the people determined not to be wanting to themselves, and took their measures with promptitude and vigor. Intelligence of the events of the 19th of April spread rapidly over the country; and the militia, from every quarter, hastened towards Boston. On the 20th, the Provincial Congress chose

General Artemas Ward commander-in-chief of the forces in Massachusetts Bay, and soon afterwards named John Thomas lieutenant-general. Both of those officers had seen some service during the preceding war.

The Provincial Congress, having adjourned from Concord to Watertown, resolved that an army of thirty thousand men be immediately raised, and wrote to the colonies of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, informing them of the events of the 19th, and earnestly requesting them to send forward as many troops as they could spare, with provisions, arms, and military stores. General Israel Putnam, then sixty years of age, left his plough in the field, and, with the Con-



necticut militia, hastened to join his countrymen in arms; and Captain Benedict Arnold, of New Haven, afterwards of so much notoriety, was soon in camp with his company. The provincial head-quarters were at Cambridge.

A large body of men was soon collected before Boston; but they were in great want of every thing necessary for the equipment of an army. They had muskets, many of them old and rusty; but were ill-provided with bayonets. They had a few pieces of artillery and a few mortars, with some balls and shells; but had only forty-one barrels of gunpowder in the public store.

The battle of Lexington operated like an electrical shock throughout the provinces. On hearing of that event, even in New York, where the friends of the ministry were more numerous than in any other place, the people laid aside their indecision, and espoused the cause of their countrymen. They shut up the custom-house, and stopped all vessels preparing to sail to Quebec, Newfoundland, Georgia,\* or Boston. They also addressed a letter to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London, in which they declared that all the horrors of civil war would not compel the Americans to submit to taxation by authority of the British parliament; and expressed a confident hope that the citizens of

London would exert themselves to restore union and peace to the empire.

The colonists of New Jersey took possession of the treasury of the province, containing about twenty thousand pounds, to employ it in their own defence. The inhabitants of Philadelphia followed the example of New York, and prevented the sailing of vessels to any port on the continent that acknowledged the authority or was subject to the power of Britain.

In the space of six days, intelligence of the battle of Lexington reached Baltimore in Maryland. The people instantly seized the provincial magazine, containing about fifteen hundred stand of arms, and stopped all exports to the fishing islands, to such of the colonies as had declined to join the confederacy, and to the British army and navy at Boston.

In Virginia a Provincial Congress had met, as we have seen, in the month of March, which took measures for training the militia, and recommended to each county to raise a volunteer company for the better defence of the country. At Williamsburg, the capital of the colony, there was a small provincial magazine, containing upwards of one thousand pounds of gunpowder. On the night of the 20th of April, Lord Dunmore, the governor, employed Henry Collins, the captain of an armed vessel, to convey the greater part of that powder on board his ship. Having got notice of the transaction, the citizens took the

\* Georgia, at that time, had not yet joined the united colonies by sending delegates to the Continental Congress.

alarm, and the mayor and corporation addressed his lordship on the subject. He answered, that he had removed the powder to a place of security; and assured them that, if it should be needed in order to suppress an insurrection, he would restore it in half an hour.

On this occasion, Patrick Henry showed himself as prompt to act as he was earnest in exhorting others to action. He, as well as Washington, had taken part in training the militia, and had accepted the command of a company.

When news of Lord Dunmore's aggressive proceeding reached Hanover county, Henry, at the head of more than one hundred and fifty volunteers, marched towards Williamsburg to demand restitution of the powder, and to protect the public treasury against a similar depredation. When within about fifteen miles of the capital, he was assured that the receiver-general would pay for the powder, and that the citizens would guard the public treasury and magazine. The party then dispersed.

Lord Dunmore, greatly alarmed by Henry's march, converted his palace into a garrison, and issued a proclamation, charging the people with the design of altering the established constitution. This was a new cause of exasperation; and the people, in their county meetings, not only approved of Mr. Henry's proceedings, but retorted upon the governor, attributing all the disturbances to his misconduct, and declar-

ing that they only vindicated their rights, and opposed innovation. While the public mind was in this feverish state, intelligence of the battle of Lexington arrived in Virginia. It greatly increased the apprehensions and irritation of the people, and made them far more active in arming and training the militia and volunteer companies than they had formerly been. In Virginia, as well as in the other colonies, many were much alarmed; but the apprehensions of impending danger were overpowered by feelings of indignation.

In this critical posture of affairs, Lord Dunmore convened the House of Burgesses.\* His intention was to procure their approbation of Lord North's conciliatory plan; and in his speech at the opening of the session, he employed all his address to gain his end. But, instead of complying with his recommendations, the House immediately appointed a committee to inquire into the causes of the late disturbances, and to examine the state of the public magazine. For the defence of the magazine Lord Dunmore had ordered spring-guns to be placed in it, without giving any public warning of the measure. Some inconsiderate young men, unapprised of their danger, attempted to furnish themselves with arms out of it; and one of them was wounded. This circumstance occasioned a violent ferment. A multi-

---

\* Washington being at this time engaged in his duties at the second session of the Continental Congress, in Philadelphia, was not present at this meeting of the House of Burgesses.



tude of people assembled, broke into the magazine, and took out many of the arms; but some members of the House of Burgesses, having repaired to the spot, by their remonstrances prevailed on the people to restore them.

On the 7th of June, a report was spread about Williamsburg, that Captain Collins, of his majesty's ship *Magdalen*, was coming up the river with about one hundred men in several boats to take possession of the town. A number of armed persons instantly assembled to defend the place and its inhabitants; but on learning that there was no occasion for their services, they quietly dispersed. The circumstance, however, made such a deep impression on the governor's mind, that, with his lady and family, he quitted Williamsburg and proceeded to Yorktown, and went on board the *Fowey* man-of-war.

A correspondence, in some instances not a little acrimonious, now took place between his lordship and the council and burgesses. He accused: they re-criminated. They rejected Lord North's conciliatory plan; but passed the necessary bills, and entreated the governor's attendance to give his assent to them, and to close the session. His lordship declined meeting them in the capital, and they did not choose to wait upon him on board a man-of-war. The correspondence terminated about the middle of July, when the Burgesses were obliged to separate, in order to attend to their private affairs; but they ap-

pointed a convention of delegates to meet and supply their place.

We must now advance a little beyond the general march of events, in order to make a final disposition of the administration of Lord Dunmore in Virginia.

In August the convention met, and showed itself animated by the common spirit of the country. 1775.

About the middle of the month, a petition from a number of merchants and others, chiefly natives of Scotland, praying that they might not be obliged to bear arms against their countrymen, and promising a strict neutrality in case the province should be invaded by British troops, was presented to the convention. That assembly recommended to the committees, and to the colony in general, to treat with lenity and kindness all the inhabitants of the country who did not show themselves enemies of the American cause, and to cherish union and harmony among all ranks of people. But many of those petitioners having, contrary to their plighted faith, manifested a decided preference to the royal cause, the recommendation in their favor was soon revoked. Before dissolving itself, the convention issued a declaration setting forth the reasons of its meeting, and showing the necessity of immediately putting the country in a posture of defence.

Having been joined by a number of loyal colonists and fugitive slaves, Lord Dunmore very imprudently began a system of predatory warfare. By mutual insults and injuries, the minds of



both parties became much exasperated. At length the governor attempted to burn the town of Hampton; but, on the morning of the 27th of October, just as he began a furious cannonade upon it, a body of riflemen from Williamsburg, who had marched all night, entered the place, and being joined by some of their countrymen, took such an advantageous position, that, with their small-arms, they compelled his lordship to retreat, with the loss of some of his men and one of his vessels.

Infuriated by this repulse, Lord Dunmore had recourse to a measure more expressive of his exasperated feelings than of loyal zeal or patriotic wisdom. He issued a proclamation declaring the province under martial law; requiring all persons capable of bearing arms to repair to the royal standard, under the penalty of being considered traitors if they disobeyed, and promising freedom to all indented servants, negroes, and others belonging to rebels, on their joining his majesty's troops.

In consequence of this proclamation, his lordship soon found himself at the head of some hundreds of fugitive negroes and others at Norfolk; but the proclamation highly incensed the great body of the Virginians, and alienated the minds of many who had hitherto been friendly to the British claims. Being informed that a number of armed colonists was rapidly advancing against him, Lord Dunmore took possession of the great bridge near Norfolk; a post of much importance for protecting his

friends, and frustrating the designs of his enemies. On arriving near the bridge, the Virginians, commanded by Colonel Woodford, instead of attempting to force a passage, fortified themselves at a short distance on the other side of Elizabeth River; and in this position the two parties faced each other for several days.

The impatient impetuosity of Lord Dunmore's temper could ill brook to be thus braved by the colonists, whom he despised; and he determined to dislodge them. Accordingly, early in the morning of the 8th of December, Captain Fordyce of the fourteenth regiment, at the head of a royalist detachment, left Norfolk, and reached the bridge 1775. before daybreak. He silently replaced the planks of the bridge which had been removed. The road between the bridge and the American breastwork, which was on the south of the river, was a narrow causeway, through swampy ground; and on the right, within musket-shot of the causeway, was a thicket, where the Americans had posted a small party. At daybreak, Captain Fordyce, at the head of his detachment, with fixed bayonets, passed the bridge, and proceeded rapidly towards the enemy. But the Americans were not unprepared: they, however, allowed the troops to advance a good way without molestation; and when near the works, poured upon them a destructive discharge of musketry, both from the intrenchment and thicket at the same time. Undismayed by this warm re-

ception, Captain Fordyce steadily advanced; but, on the second fire, he fell dead within a few yards of the American works. His party instantly retreated, sixty-two of their number being killed or wounded, while the Americans had only one man slightly hurt.

Next night Lord Dunmore quitted his post, and, with his adherents, sought refuge on board the shipping in the river. The Americans took possession of the town, and refused to supply the ships with provisions. Exasperated by this refusal, early in the morning of the 1st of January, 1776, Lord Dunmore began a furious cannonade on the town, and sent parties of sailors and marines ashore, who set fire to the houses nearest the water. The flames spread rapidly among the wooden buildings; a great part of the town was consumed; and the Americans themselves afterwards destroyed the rest of it, that it might afford no shelter to the royal troops. Thus perished Norfolk, the most flourishing commercial town of Virginia.

While these operations were going on, Lord Dunmore entertained hopes of subduing the colony by the agency of an adventurer named John Connelly, a native of Pennsylvania. This man, having concerted measures with his lordship, and having received encouragement from General Gage also, communicated with such militia officers as he thought most likely to enter into his views, promising them, in the name of his lordship, ample rewards. He engaged the Indians on the Ohio to act in

concert with him; and he was to be assisted by the garrisons of Fort Detroit, and Fort Gage in the Illinois. Having collected a force on the western frontier, he was to penetrate through Virginia, and meet his lordship at Alexandria, on the Potomac, in April. But, about ten days after taking leave of Lord Dunmore, Connelly was apprehended; his papers were seized; the plot was fully discovered, and entirely frustrated. Lord Dunmore, finding all his efforts ineffectual, and being unable to remain any longer on the coast, sailed with the force under his command to join General Howe.

We now return to the seat of active operations in the northern colonies. The battle of Lexington had given a powerful impulse to the prosecution of hostilities against the British forces wherever they might be found, and the forts, magazines, and arsenals were speedily seized upon by the people in all directions. One of the most important of these enterprises, undertaken by volunteers, was that by which the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point was effected. The idea of seizing upon these fortresses, which were full of munitions of war, and very feebly garrisoned, had been conceived by two remarkable men at about the same time. These were Colonel Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold. The former was a native of Connecticut, brought up in the region then called the New Hampshire Grants (the future State of Vermont), where he was a leading man among the

"Green Mountain Boys." The latter had already been promoted to the rank of colonel by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts.

On the second of May, a party of volunteers, two hundred and seventy  
1775. strong, assembled at Castleton, near Lake Champlain, and chose Ethan Allen for their leader, with James Easton and Seth Warner as second and third in command. After taking measures to secure the boats on the lake, they were joined by Arnold, who, as he had a colonel's commission from Massachusetts, claimed the command; but the Vermonters refused flatly, and he was forced to serve as volunteer or not at all.

The party arrived at Shoreham, opposite Ticonderoga, on the night of the 9th of May. Never dreaming of such a thing as an attack, the vigilance of the garrison was quite relaxed. Having obtained a boy named Nathan Beman as a guide, Allen and Arnold crossed over during the night with only eighty-three of their men, the rest being unable to follow them for want of a supply of boats.

Landed under the walls of the fort, they found their position extremely critical; the dawn was beginning to break, and unless they could succeed in instantly surprising the garrison, they ran themselves the most imminent risk of capture.

Ethan Allen did not hesitate a moment, but, drawing up his men, briefly explained to them the position of affairs,

and then, with Arnold by his side, hurried up immediately to the sally-port. The sentinel snapped his fusee at them, and rushing into the fort, the Americans followed close at his heels, and entering the open parade, awoke the sleeping garrison with three hearty cheers. The English soldiers started from their beds, and rushing below, were immediately taken prisoners. Meanwhile, Allen, attended by his guide, hurried up to the chamber of the commandant, Captain Delaplace, who was in bed, and knocking at his door with the hilt of his huge sword, ordered him in a stentorian voice to make his instant appearance, or the entire garrison should immediately be put to death. The commandant appeared at his door half-dressed, "the frightened face of his pretty wife peering over his shoulder." Gazing in bewildered astonishment at Allen, he exclaimed, "By whose authority do you act?" "In the name of the Great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress!" replied Allen. There was no alternative, and Delaplace surrendered. Two days afterwards, Crown Point was surprised and taken. More than two hundred pieces of artillery, and a large and valuable supply of powder, which was greatly needed, fell into the hands of the Americans. Ethan Allen next surprised and captured Skenesborough, now Whitehall.

Arnold now insisted upon taking the command of Fort Ticonderoga, by virtue of his commission from Massachusetts. But he was again resisted by the



"Green Mountain Boys;" and a committee of the Connecticut Legislature gave the command to Allen, till the determination of Congress on the subject could be had; while Arnold sent a protest to the Massachusetts legislature. The two commanders, however, engaged together in the project for capturing St. John's on the Sorel River, the frontier post of Canada. This they had

nearly accomplished by means of an armed schooner and some batteaux, in which they crossed the lake; but the arrival of strong reinforcements from Montreal and Chamblee defeated this project. Nevertheless, by the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, Allen and Arnold, as a British writer admits, "had got into their hands the keys of Canada."

LIFE AND TIMES  
OF  
WASHINGTON.

---

BOOK IV.  
WASHINGTON COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.





## CHAPTER I

1775.

### WASHINGTON APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Meeting of the Continental Congress of 1775.—Georgia sends delegates.—Organization.—Hancock.—Depositions about the battle of Lexington.—Advice to New York.—Exportations to British America interdicted.—Supplies cut off from the British army.—Affairs of the fisheries.—Peyton Randolph leaves the chair, and John Hancock is chosen president of the Congress.—News from the British parliament.—Congress resolves to place the country in a state of defence, and, at the same time, to address a second petition to the king, and an address to the Canadians.—They also send a *talk* to the Indians.—They recommend a system of government to Massachusetts.—Establish a post-office, and appoint Dr. Franklin postmaster-general.—Second address to the British people, and to the inhabitants of Jamaica and of Ireland.—Mr. Dickinson composes the masterly petition to the king.—Its contemptuous reception serviceable to the cause of liberty.—Continued apparent loyalty of Congress.—Washington appointed chairman of all the committees on military affairs.—Deliberations and consultations on the appointment of a commander-in-chief of the American armies.—A difficult point.—General Ward's claims.—Washington's qualifications.—Strong political reasons for appointing him.—John Adams's account of the consultations.—John Hancock's pretensions.—Adams alludes to Washington in open debate.—Washington is nominated by Thomas Johnson and unanimously chosen commander-in-chief.—It is officially announced to him in the House on the ensuing day.—His reply to the president.—He receives his commission.—Other generals appointed.—Washington's letters to Mrs. Washington, and to his brother John Augustine Washington.—He hastens to join the army.

It has already been mentioned, that Congress, previous to its dissolution on the 26th of October, 1774, recommended the colonies to choose members for another, to meet on the 10th of May, 1775, unless the redress of their grievances should previously be obtained. A circular letter had been addressed by Lord Dartmouth to the several colonial governors, requesting their interference to prevent the meeting of this second Congress; but ministerial requisitions had lost their influence, delegates were elected, not only for the twelve colonies that were before represented, but also

for the parish of St. John's, in Georgia, and, in July following, for the whole province.

The time of the meeting of this second Congress was fixed at so distant a day, that an opportunity might be afforded for obtaining information of the plans adopted by the British parliament in the winter of 1774-'75. Had these been favorable, the delegates would either not have met, or dispersed after a short session; but as the resolution was then fixed to compel the submission of the colonies, and hostilities had already commenced, the

meeting of Congress on the 10th of May, which was at first eventual, became fixed.

On their meeting, they chose Peyton Randolph for their president, and Charles Thomson for their secretary. On the next day, Hancock laid before them a variety of depositions, proving that the king's troops were the aggressors in the late battle at Lexington, together with sundry papers relative to the great events which had lately taken place in Massachusetts: whereupon Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America. They proceeded in the same line of moderation and firmness which marked the acts of their predecessors in the past year.

The city and county of New York having applied to Congress for advice, how they should conduct themselves with regard to the troops expected to land there, they were advised "to act on the defensive so long as might be consistent with their safety,—to permit the troops to remain in the barracks so long as they behaved peaceably, but not to suffer fortifications to be erected, or any steps to be taken for cutting off the communication between the town and country." Congress also resolved, "That exportation to all parts of British America, which had not adopted their association, should immediately cease;" and that "no provision of any kind, or other necessities, be furnished to the British fisheries on the American coasts."

And "that no bill of exchange, draft, or order, of any officer in the British army or navy, their agents or contractors, be received or negotiated, or any money supplied them, by any person in America,—that no provisions or necessities of any kind be furnished or supplied, to or for the use of the British army or navy, in the colony of Massachusetts Bay,—that no vessel employed in transporting British troops to America, or from one part of North America to another, or warlike stores or provisions for said troops, be freighted or furnished with provisions or any necessities."

These resolutions may be considered as the counterpart of the British acts for restraining the commerce, and prohibiting the fisheries of the colonies. They were calculated to bring distress on the British islands in the West Indies, whose chief dependence for subsistence, was on the importation of provisions from the American continent.

They also occasioned new difficulties in the support of the British army and fisheries. The colonists were so much indebted to Great Britain, that government bills for the most part found among them a ready market. A war in the colonies was therefore made subservient to commerce, by increasing the sources of remittance. This enabled the mother country, in a great degree, to supply her troops without shipping money out of the kingdom.

From the operation of these resolutions, advantages of this nature were

not only cut off, but the supply of the British army rendered both precarious and expensive. In consequence of the interdiction of the American fisheries, great profits were expected by British adventurers in that line. Such frequently found it most convenient to obtain supplies in America for carrying on their fisheries; but as Great Britain had deprived the colonists of all benefits from that quarter, they now, in their turn, interdicted all supplies from being furnished to British fishermen. To obviate this unexpected embarrassment, several of the vessels employed in this business were obliged to return home, to bring out provisions for their associates. These restrictive resolutions were not so much the effect of resentment as of policy. The colonists conceived that by distressing the British commerce, they would increase the number of those who would interest themselves in their behalf.

The new Congress had convened but a few days, when their venerable president, Peyton Randolph, was under a necessity of returning home, to occupy his place as speaker of the Virginia

Assembly.\* On his departure,

1775. John Hancock was unanimously chosen his successor. The objects of deliberation presented to this new Congress were, if possible, more important than those of the preceding year. The colonists had now experienced the inefficacy of those measures

from which relief had been formerly obtained. They found a new parliament disposed to run all risks in enforcing their submission. They also understood that administration was united against them, and its members firmly established in their places. Hostilities were commenced. Reinforcements had arrived, and more were daily expected. Added to this, they had information that their adversaries had taken measures to secure the friendship and co-operation of the Indians, and also of the Canadians.

The coercion of the colonies being resolved upon, and their conquest supposed to be inevitable, the British ministry judged that it would be for the interest of both countries to proceed in that vigorous course, which bid fairest for the speediest attainment of their object. They hoped by pressing the colonists on all quarters, to intimidate opposition, and ultimately to lessen the effusion of human blood.

In this awful crisis, Congress had but a choice of difficulties. The New England States had already organized an army and blockaded General Gage. To desert them would have been contrary to plighted faith and to sound policy. To support them would make the war general, and involve all the provinces in one general, promiscuous state of hostility.

The resolution of the people in favor of the latter was fixed, and only wanted public sanction for its operation. Congress therefore resolved, "that for the

\* See Document [A] at the end of this chapter.  
VOL. I.—42



express purpose of defending and securing the colonies, and preserving them in safety, against all attempts to carry the late acts of parliament into execution, by force of arms, they be immediately put in a state of defence; but as they wished for a restoration of the harmony formerly subsisting between the mother country and the colonies, to the promotion of this most desirable reconciliation, an humble and dutiful petition be presented to his majesty." To resist and to petition were coeval resolutions. As freemen they could not tamely submit; but as loyal subjects, wishing for peace as far as was compatible with their rights, they once more, in the character of petitioners, humbly stated their grievances to the common sovereign of the empire.

To dissuade the Canadians from co-operating with the British, they again addressed them, representing the pernicious tendency of the Quebec act, and apologizing for their taking Ticonderoga and Crown Point, as measures which were dictated by the great law of self-preservation. About the same time, Congress took measures for warding off the danger that threatened their frontier inhabitants from Indians. Commissioners to treat with them were appointed, and a supply of goods for their use was ordered. A talk was also prepared by Congress, and transmitted to them, in which the controversy between Great Britain and her colonies was explained, in a familiar Indian

style. They were told that they had no concern in the family quarrel, and were urged by the ties of ancient friendship and a common birth-place, to remain at home, keep their hatchet buried deep, and to join neither side.

The novel situation of Massachusetts made it necessary for the ruling powers of that province to ask the advice of Congress on a very interesting subject—"The taking up and exercising the powers of civil government." For many months they had been kept together in tolerable peace and order by the force of ancient habits, under the simple style of recommendation and advice from popular bodies, invested with no legislative authority. But as war now raged in their borders, and a numerous army was actually raised, some more efficient form of government became necessary. At this early day it neither comported with the wishes nor the designs of the colonists to erect forms of government independent of Great Britain, Congress therefore recommended only such regulations as were immediately necessary, and these were conformed as near as possible to the spirit and substance of the charter, and were only to last till a governor of his majesty's appointment would consent to govern the colony according to its charter.

On the same principles of necessity, another assumption of new powers became unavoidable. The great intercourse that daily took place throughout the colonies, pointed out the propriety

1775.

of establishing a general post-office. This was accordingly done, and Dr. Franklin, who had by royal authority been dismissed from a similar  
1775. employment about three years before, was appointed by his country the head of the new department.

While Congress was making arrangements for their proposed continental army, it was thought expedient once more to address the inhabitants of Great Britain, and to publish to the world a declaration setting forth their reasons for taking up arms,—to address the speaker and gentlemen of the Assembly of Jamaica, and the inhabitants of Ireland, and also to prefer a second humble petition to the king. In their address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, they again vindicated themselves from the charge of aiming at independency, professed their willingness to submit to the several acts of trade and navigation which were passed before the year 1763, recapitulated their reasons for rejecting Lord North's conciliatory motion, stated the hardships they suffered from the operations of the royal army in Boston, and insinuated the danger the inhabitants of Britain would be in of losing their freedom, in case their American brethren were subdued.

In their declaration setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms, they enumerated the injuries they had received, and the methods taken by the British ministry to compel their submission, and then said: "We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an

unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery." They asserted "that foreign assistance was undoubtedly attainable." This was not founded on any private information, but was an opinion derived from their knowledge of the principles of policy by which states usually regulate their conduct towards each other.

In their address to the speaker and gentlemen of the Assembly of Jamaica, they dilated on the arbitrary  
1775. systems of the British ministry, and informed them that in order to obtain a redress of their grievances, they had appealed to the justice, humanity, and interest of Great Britain. They stated, that to make their schemes of non-importation and non-exportation produce the desired effects, they were obliged to extend them to the islands. "From that necessity, and from that alone," said they, "our conduct has proceeded." They concluded with saying, "The peculiar situation of your island forbids your assistance, but we have your good wishes: from the good wishes of the friends of liberty and mankind we shall always derive consolation."

In their address to the people of Ireland they recapitulated their grievances, stated their humble petitions, and the neglect with which they had been treated. "In defence of our persons

and properties under actual violations," said they, "we have taken up arms. When that violence shall be removed, and hostilities cease on the part of the aggressors, they shall cease on our part also."

These several addresses were executed in a masterly manner, and were well calculated to make friends to the colonies. But their petition to the king, which was drawn up at the same time, produced more solid advantages in favor of the American cause than any other of their productions. This was, in a great measure, carried through Congress by John Dickinson. Several members, judging from the violence with which parliament proceeded against the colonies, were of opinion that further petitions were nugatory; but this worthy citizen, a friend to both countries, and devoted to a reconciliation on constitutional principles, urged the expediency and policy of trying once more the effect of an humble, decent, and firm petition, to the common head of the empire. The high opinion that was conceived of his patriotism and abilities induced the members to assent to the measure, though they generally conceived it to be labor lost.

The petition agreed upon was the work of Dickinson's pen. In this, among other things, it was stated, "that notwithstanding their sufferings, they had retained too high a regard for the kingdom from which they derived their origin, to request such a

reconciliation as might in any manner be inconsistent with her dignity and welfare. Attached to his majesty's person, family, and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire; connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite society, and deploring every event that tended in any degree to weaken them, they not only most fervently desired the former harmony between her and the colonies to be restored, but that a concord might be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations, in both countries.

"They therefore besought that his majesty would be pleased to direct some mode by which the united applications of his faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, might be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation." By this last clause Congress meant that the mother country should propose a plan for establishing by compact, something like Magna Charta for the colonies. They did not aim at a total exemption from the control of parliament, nor were they unwilling to contribute, in their own way, to the expenses of government; but they feared the horrors of war less than submission to unlimited parliamentary supremacy. They wished for an amicable compact, in which doubtful, undefined points, should be ascertained so as to secure that proportion of authority and liberty



which would be for the general good of the whole empire. They fancied themselves in the condition of the barons at Runnymede; but with this difference, that in addition to opposing the king, they had also to oppose the parliament. This difference was more nominal than real, for in the latter case the king and parliament stood precisely in the same relation to the people of America, which subsisted in the former between the king and people of England. In both, popular leaders were contending with the sovereign for the privileges of subjects.

This well-meant petition was presented on September 1st, by Mr. Penn and Mr. Lee, and on the 4th, 1775. Lord Dartmouth informed them, "that to it no answer would be given." This slight contributed not a little to the union and perseverance of the colonists. When pressed by the calamities of war, a doubt would sometimes arise in the minds of scrupulous persons, that they had been too hasty in their opposition to their protecting parent state. To such it was usual to present the second petition of Congress to the king, with the remark, that all the blood and all the guilt of the war must be charged on British, and not on American councils. Meantime the colonists were accused in a speech from the throne, on October 26th, as meaning only "to amuse by vague expressions of attachment to the parent state, and the strongest protestations of loyalty to their king, while they were preparing

for a general revolt, and that their rebellious war was manifestly carried on for the purpose of establishing an independent empire."

Yet at that time, and for months after, a redress of grievances was their ultimate aim. Conscious of this intention, and assenting in the sincerity of their souls to the submissive language of their petition, they illy brooked the contempt with which their joint supplication was treated, and still worse, that they should be charged from the throne with studied duplicity.

Nothing contributes more to the success of revolutions than moderation. Intemperate zealots overshoot themselves, and soon spend their force, while the calm and dispassionate persevere to the end. The bulk of the people in civil commotions are influenced to a choice of sides, by the general complexion of the measures adopted by the respective parties. When these appear to be dictated by justice and prudence, and to be uninfluenced by passion, ambition, or avarice, they are disposed to favor them. Such was the effect of this second petition, through a long and trying war, in which men of serious reflection were often called upon to examine the rectitude of their conduct.

The time had now arrived when the several middle and southern provinces were required definitively to resolve, and unequivocally to declare, whether they would make common cause with the New England provinces in actual war, or, abandoning them and the ob-

ject for which they had all so long jointly contended, submit to the absolute supremacy of the British parliament. The Congress, as we have just seen, did not hesitate which part of the alternative to embrace, but had  
**May 26,** already unanimously determined, that as hostilities had actually commenced, and large reinforcements of the British army were expected, the several provinces should be immediately *put in a state of defence.*  
**1775.**

Accordingly, the necessary committees were appointed to prepare reports on this most important of all subjects. A very significant token that the real character and abilities of Washington were understood and appreciated by Congress, is afforded in the fact that he was named as chairman of all these committees. One of them was to designate the posts to be occupied in New York; another, to recommend methods for raising ammunition and military stores; a third, to estimate the amount of money necessary to be raised for purposes of defence; and a fourth, to prepare rules and regulations for the government of the army.\*

Congress thus very properly took the whole system of national defence into its own hands; and thenceforward the forces under its direction were styled the Continental Army, while the British forces under General Gage were called the Ministerial Army.

The next subject which received the

attention of Congress, was the appointment of a commander-in-chief of the American armies. This was a matter of great difficulty and delicacy, involving not only personal but political considerations. The facts that war was actually raging in New England, that a large army was embodied in the neighborhood of Boston, and that General Ward, an officer of experience and ability, was in command of it, as well as the leading part which Massachusetts had taken since the opening of the contest, seemed to establish the propriety of taking a commander-in-chief from that part of the country; and that General Ward should be the man. His name was accordingly among the first which were suggested and canvassed by the members, in their private consultations on the subject. In fact, to supersede him in the command of the army before Boston, where the commander-in-chief would necessarily commence his operations, might seem uncourteous, and might even give offence to the army, and to the eastern colonies.

On the other hand, Washington, from the circumstance of his having taken so active a part in the first Congress, was personally well known to most of the members of the second, and his superior administrative talents could not have escaped their notice; while his great abilities as a military commander, his courage, coolness, and presence of mind in great emergencies, were known to all the world. He was known also to be a man of large fortune, which would all

---

\* Sparks.

be staked on the success of the cause of liberty.

To these personal qualities in his favor, were added certain political considerations of no ordinary weight. Virginia was a large, wealthy, and powerful State; she had ever been foremost in sustaining New England up to the present stage of the contest. Her generous devotion to the cause of liberty had ever been conspicuous, and her commanding influence had carried the whole South with her. The far-sighted New England statesmen saw that to place her favorite at the head of the armies would be a master-stroke of policy; binding her and the other southern colonies most firmly to the cause.

John Adams, in his diary, informs us that there was a southern party in Congress opposed to giving the command to any New England officer.

"Whether this jealousy was sincere," writes he, "or whether it was mere pride, and a haughty ambition of furnishing a southern general to command a northern army I cannot say; but the intention was very visible to me, that Colonel Washington was their object; and so many of our stanchest men were in the plan, that we could carry nothing without conceding to it. There was another embarrassment which was never publicly known, and which was carefully concealed by those who knew it; the Massachusetts and other New England delegates were divided. Mr. Hancock and Mr. Cushing hung back; Mr. Paine did not come forward, and even

Mr. Samuel Adams was irresolute. Mr. Hancock himself had an ambition to be appointed commander-in-chief. Whether he thought an election a compliment due to him, and intended to have the honor of declining it, or whether he would have accepted it, I know not. To the compliment, he had some pretensions; for at that time his exertions, sacrifices, and general merits in the cause of his country, had been incomparably greater than those of Colonel Washington. But the delicacy of his health, and his entire want of experience in actual service, though an excellent militia officer, were decisive objections to him in my mind."

Adams, after ample opportunities of consultation with the other members from the north, in which he demonstrated the true policy of choosing Washington, considering the matter in a political point of view, and no doubt very fully convinced of the superiority of the Virginian officer's personal claims, at length felt sure of his ground, and ventured to allude to the matter in open debate. Accordingly, while discussions were going on in Congress respecting military preparations, he rose in his place, and moved that the army then besieging the British troops in Boston, should forthwith be adopted by Congress as a continental army, and a general appointed. The time for naming the person, he said, was not come.

"Yet," says he, "as I had reason to believe this was a point of some difficulty, I had no hesitation to declare,



that I had but one gentleman in my mind for that important command, and that was a gentleman from Virginia, who was among us, and very well known to all of us; a gentleman whose skill and experience as an officer, whose independent fortune, great talents, and excellent universal character, would command the approbation of all America, and unite the cordial exertions of all the colonies better than any other person in the Union. Mr. Washington, who happened to sit near the door, as soon as he heard me allude to him, from his usual modesty, darted into the library-room. Mr. Hancock, who was our president, which gave me an opportunity to observe his countenance while I was speaking of the state of the colonies, the army at Cambridge, and the enemy, heard me with visible pleasure; but when I came to describe Washington for the commander, I never remarked a more sudden and striking change of countenance. Mortification and resentment were expressed as forcibly as his face could exhibit them."

When the subject came under debate, several delegates opposed the appointment of Washington; not from personal objections, but because the army were all from New England, and had a general of their own, General Artemas Ward, with whom they appeared well satisfied; and under whose command they had proved themselves able to imprison the British army in Boston; which was all that was to be expected or desired.

On a subsequent day, Washington was nominated by Mr. Thomas Johnson, of Maryland; and he was unanimously chosen by ballot. Immediately after the result was <sup>June 15,</sup> declared, the House adjourned. <sup>1775.</sup>

As soon as the session was opened on the following day, the president communicated to him officially the notice of his appointment. Washington immediately rose in his place, and made the following reply:

"MR. PRESIDENT:—Though I am truly sensible of the high honor done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust: however, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service and for support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

"But, lest some unlucky event should happen unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with.

"As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit

from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire."

A special commission\* was drawn up and presented to him, and at the same time a unanimous resolution was adopted by Congress, "That they would maintain and assist him, and adhere to him with their lives and fortunes, in the cause of American liberty." Instructions were also given him for his government, by which, after reciting various particulars, he was directed "to destroy or make prisoners of all persons who now are, or who hereafter shall appear, in arms against the good people of the colonies;" but the whole was summed up in authorizing him "to order and dispose of the army under his command as might be most advantageous for obtaining the end for which it had been raised, making it his special care in the discharge of the great trust committed to him, that the liberties of America received no detriment." About the same time, twelve companies of riflemen were ordered to be raised in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The men to the amount of fourteen hundred and thirty were procured and forwarded with great expedition. They had to march from four hundred to seven hundred miles, and yet the whole business was completed, and they joined the American army at Cambridge, in less than two months from the day on

which the first resolution for raising them was agreed to.

Coeval with the resolution for raising an army, on June 22d, was another for emitting a sum not exceeding 1775. two millions of Spanish milled dollars in bills of credit for the defence of America, and the colonies were pledged for the redemption of them. This sum was increased from time to time by further emissions. The colonies, having neither money nor revenues at their command, were forced to adopt this expedient, the only one which was in their power for supporting an army. No one delegate opposed the measure. So great had been the credit of the former emissions of paper in the greater part of the colonies, that very few at that time foresaw or apprehended the consequences of unfunded paper emissions; but had all the consequences which resulted from this measure in the course of the war been foreseen, it must, notwithstanding, have been adopted, for it was a less evil that there should be a general wreck of property, than that the essential rights and liberties of a growing country should be lost. A happy ignorance of future events, combined with the ardor of the times, prevented many reflections on this subject, and gave credit and circulation to these bills of credit.

Soon after General Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the American army, four major-generals, one adjutant-general, with the rank of a brigadier, and eight brigadier-gen-

\* See Document [B] at the end of this chapter.  
VOL. I.—43

erals, were appointed in subordination to him, which were as follows :

1st, Major-general Artemas Ward ; 2d, Charles Lee ; 3d, Philip Schuyler ; 4th, Israel Putnam ; Adjutant-general, Horatio Gates.

The eight brigadiers were : 1st, Seth Pomeroy ; 2d, Richard Montgomery ; 3d, David Wooster ; 4th, William Heath ; 5th, Joseph Spencer ; 6th, John Thomas ; 7th, John Sullivan ; 8th, Nathaniel Greene.

We forbear, at this time, to comment upon these appointments, more especially as every name in the list will hereafter claim the reader's attention in connection with illustrious actions performed during the Revolutionary war.

Washington's inmost feelings in regard to the important and arduous duties which he was about to undertake as commander-in-chief, are expressed in the following extract from a letter to Mrs. Washington :

1775. "MY DEAREST :—I am now set down to write to you on a subject which fills me with inexpressible concern, and this concern is greatly aggravated and increased when I reflect upon the uneasiness I know it will give you. It has been determined in Congress, that the whole army raised for the defence of the American cause shall be put under my care, and that it is necessary for me to proceed immediately to Boston to take upon me the command.

"You may believe me, my dear Patsy, when I assure you in the most

solemn manner, that, so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavor in my power to avoid it, not only from my unwillingness to part with you and the family, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity, and that I should enjoy more real happiness in one month with you at home than I have the most distant prospect of finding abroad, if my stay were to be seven times seven years. But as it has been a kind of destiny that has thrown me upon this service, I shall hope that my undertaking is designed to answer some good purpose. You might, and I suppose did, perceive, from the tenor of my letters, that I was apprehensive I could not avoid this appointment, as I did not pretend to intimate when I should return. That was the case. It was utterly out of my power to refuse this appointment, without exposing my character to such censures as would have reflected dishonor upon myself, and given pain to my friends. This, I am sure, could not, and ought not, to be pleasing to you, and must have lessened me considerably in my own esteem. I shall rely, therefore, confidently, on that Providence, which has heretofore preserved and been bountiful to me, not doubting but that I shall return safe to you in the fall. I shall feel no pain from the toil or the danger of the campaign ; my unhappiness will flow from the uneasiness I know you will feel from being left alone. I therefore beg, that you will summon your



whole fortitude and pass your time as agreeably as possible. Nothing will give me so much sincere satisfaction as to hear this, and to hear it from your own pen. My earnest and ardent desire is, that you would pursue any plan that is most likely to produce content, and a tolerable degree of tranquillity ; as it must add greatly to my uneasy feelings to hear that you are dissatisfied or complaining at what I really could not avoid."

The same diffidence of his ability to discharge the arduous duties which he had assumed, is expressed in the following extract from a letter to his brother John Augustine, dated at Philadelphia, June 20th, 1775 :

"I am now to bid adieu to you, and to every kind of domestic ease, for a while. I am embarked on a wide ocean, boundless in its prospect, and in which, perhaps, no safe harbor is to be found. I have been called upon by the unanimous voice of the colonies to take the command of the continental army ; an honor I neither sought after nor desired, as I am thoroughly convinced that it requires greater abilities

and much more experience than I am master of, to conduct a business so extensive in its nature and arduous in the execution. But the partiality of the Congress, joined to a political motive, left me without a choice ; and I am now commissioned a general and commander-in-chief of all the forces now raised, or to be raised, for the defence of the united colonies. That I may discharge the trust to the satisfaction of my employers, is my first wish ; that I shall aim to do it, there remains little doubt. How far I may succeed is another point ; but this I am sure of, that in the worst event, I shall have the consolation of knowing, if I act to the best of my judgment, that the blame ought to lodge upon the appointers, not the appointed, as it was by no means a thing of my own seeking, or proceeding from any hint of my friends."

After receiving his commission as commander-in-chief, Washington lost no time in joining the army before Boston ; but before following him to his post, it is necessary to notice the important events which had transpired in that quarter, during the session of Congress.

1775.

## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER I.

---

[A.]

PEYTON RANDOLPH.

Soon after the rising of the Congress of 1775, this gentleman, its president, died. He was descended from one of the most ancient and respectable families in Virginia, of which colony he was attorney-general as early as 1748. In 1756, he formed a company of a hundred gentlemen, who engaged as volunteers against the Indians. He commanded a company in the regiment commanded by Colonel Washington. In 1764, he was elected a member of the House of Burgesses. In 1766, having resigned the office of attorney-general, he was chosen speaker of the Assembly, to the great satisfaction of all classes of his fellow-citizens. In 1769, a new Assembly was convened by Lord Botetourt, who had lately arrived as governor. This Assembly proceeded to the immediate consideration of a new grievance which was about to fall on the colonies. This was the threatened transportation to England, for trial, of all persons who might be charged with treason in the province of Massachusetts; a measure which had passed both houses of parliament. The Assembly of Virginia added a decided protest to the measure, and a copy of their resolutions was ordered to be sent to the colonial Assemblies throughout the continent, with a request that they would concur therein. The Assembly being suddenly dissolved by the governor, the members convened at a private house, where, having chosen Mr. Randolph as moderator, they entered into a non-importation agreement, the articles of which were signed by every one present; among whom were Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, R. C. Nicholas, and many others,

second to those only in the remembrance of their country.

Intelligence of the act of parliament, shutting up the port of Boston, reached Williamsburg on the 26th of May. The House of Burgesses, then in session, instantly resolved, that the first of June, the day on which the act was to go into operation, should be set apart as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer; that the divine interposition might then be implored, either to avert the threatening evils of civil war, or to give to the people energy and union, to meet them with spirit and effect. In the midst of further animated debate, the Assembly was abruptly dissolved by Lord Dunmore. But the members, soon after, met as private citizens, and their late speaker, Mr. Randolph, presiding, they unanimously signed an address to their countrymen; in which, after recommending to them to abstain from the purchase or use of East India commodities, they declare, that the late attack on the rights of a sister colony, menaced ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole should be applied; and the committee of correspondence, of which Mr. Randolph was chairman, were therefore instructed to communicate with the other colonies on the expediency of calling a general congress of delegates, to meet annually, for the purpose of deliberating on those general measures, which the united interests of America might from time to time require. It may be necessary to remark, that the meeting of the first Congress at Philadelphia, in the September following, was a consequence of this recommendation.

On the first day of August, the convention of deputies elected by the several counties of Virginia, assembled at Williamsburg, and Peyton Randolph was chosen their chairman. The first

act of this body was a declaration of the necessity of a general congress, in order that redress might be procured for the much injured province of Massachusetts, and that the other provinces might be secured from the ravage and ruin of arbitrary taxes. In pursuance of this declaration, on the fifth of the same month, they chose seven of their most distinguished members, to represent the colony in general congress; among these were Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Edmund Pendleton, Richard Henry Lee, and Patrick Henry. The convention, however, did not dissolve itself, until it had entered into a solemn agreement, which it also recommended to the people, not to import British merchandise or manufactures, nor to import nor even use the article of tea; and in case the American grievances were not redressed before the tenth of the next August, to cease the exportation of tobacco, or any other article whatever, to Great Britain.

On the meeting of the first General Congress at Philadelphia, on the fifth day of September, 1774, Peyton Randolph was called, by the united voice of the members, to preside over their deliberations. The character and proceedings of that august and enlightened assembly are so well known to the world, that to dwell upon them here would be superfluous. It may be permitted, however, to mention a remarkable occurrence which took place on the opening of Congress, regarding as it does, a personage, respecting whom even trifles become interesting. It is related, on the authority of the venerable Charles Thompson, that, upon the House being summoned to prayers, and their chaplain having commenced the service, it was perceived, that of all the members present, George Washington was the only one who was upon his knees. A striking circumstance, certainly, and adding another trait to the character of a man, who seemed destined to be, in every situation, distinguished from his fellow-mortals.

The severe indisposition of Mr. Randolph obliged him to retire from the chair on the 22d of October of this year, and he was succeeded by the Honorable Henry Middleton as president of Congress. But his country was not yet to be deprived of his valuable services; on the

20th of March, 1775, he appeared as president of the convention of deputies, convened at the town of Richmond, and was again elected a delegate to the General Congress which was to be held at Philadelphia, on the 10th of the following May. But, before he left Virginia a second time, he had more than one occasion of displaying the uncommon moderation of his character. About the middle of April, the conduct of Lord Dunmore, in clandestinely removing on board a ship-of-war the powder of the city, together with his violent menaces against Williamsburg, had necessarily excited the resentment of the people; they were even upon the point of entering his house in an armed body; and nothing, probably, but the timely interference of their venerated townsman, Randolph, would have saved the governor from their violence. A considerable number of the inhabitants of the upper country had also risen in arms. They assembled at Fredericksburg, and had just come to a decision to march towards Williamsburg, when Mr. Randolph arrived there on his way to Philadelphia. His advice, joined by that of his friend, Edmund Pendleton, had its usual influence, and the volunteer companies, generally, returned to their several homes. There was, however, a remarkable exception to this acquiescence; a small force, commanded by the warm and enthusiastic Patrick Henry, actually proceeded to within a few miles of Williamsburg; where their leader, before he would disband his troops, obtained, from the king's receiver-general, a bill for the value of the powder in question.

A few days after the meeting of Congress, in May, 1775, on the arrival in America of what was called Lord North's conciliatory proposition, Mr. Randolph again quitted the chair of Congress and repaired to Williamsburg, where Lord Dunmore had summoned the House of Burgesses to assemble on the first of June, in order that he might lay before them the proposition of the British minister. Mr. Randolph resumed his situation as Speaker of the House, and, when the answer to Lord North was to be given, anxious that its tone and spirit should be such as to have an effect upon those of the other colonies that would follow, and meet the feelings



of the body he had left, he requested the aid of a younger and more ardent pen; and it is to the vigorous conception of Jefferson that we owe that bold and masterly production. The opposition to it was but feeble, and Mr. Randolph steadily supported and carried it through the House, with a few softening only, which it received, in its course, from the more timid members.

After the adjournment of the House of Burgesses, he returned to the Congress, which was still sitting at Philadelphia. It was generally expected that Mr. Hancock, who had succeeded him as president, would have resigned the chair on his return. Mr. Randolph, however, took his seat as a member, and entered readily into all the momentous proceedings of that body. But he was not destined to witness the independence of the country he had loved and served so faithfully. A stroke of apoplexy deprived him of life on the 21st of October, 1775, at the age of fifty-two years. He had accepted an invitation to dine with other company near Philadelphia. He fell from his seat, and immediately expired. His corpse was taken to Virginia for interment.

Peyton Randolph was, indeed, a most excellent man, and no one was ever more beloved and respected by his friends. In manner, he was, perhaps, somewhat cold and reserved towards strangers, but of the sweetest affability when ripened into acquaintance; of attic pleasantry in conversation, and always good-humored and conciliatory. He was liberal in his expenses, but so strictly correct, also, that he never found himself involved in pecuniary embarrassment. His heart was always open to the amiable sensibilities of our nature; and he performed as many good acts as could have been done with his fortune, without injuriously impairing his means of continuing them.

As a lawyer, he was well read, and possessed a strong and logical mind. His opinions were highly regarded. They presented always a learned and sound view of the subject, but generally, too, betraying an unwillingness to go into its thorough development. For, being heavy and inert in body, he was rather too indolent and careless for business, which occa-

sioned him to have a smaller portion of it than his abilities would have otherwise commanded. Indeed, after his appointment as attorney-general, he did not seem to court, nor scarcely to welcome, business. It ought, however, to be said of him to his honor, that in the discharge of that office he considered himself equally charged with the rights of the colony as with those of the crown; and that, in criminal prosecutions, exaggerating nothing, he aimed only to arrive at a candid and just state of the transaction, believing it more a duty to save an innocent, than to convict a guilty, man.

As a politician, he was firm in his principles, and steady in his opposition to foreign usurpation; but, with the other older members of the Assembly, generally yielding the lead to the younger; contenting himself with tempering their extreme ardor, and so far moderating their pace, as to prevent their going too much in advance of public sentiment. He presided in the House of Burgesses, and subsequently in the General Congress, with uncommon dignity; and, although not eloquent, yet when he spoke, his matter was so substantial, that no man commanded more attention. This, joined with the universal knowledge of his worth, gave him a weight in the Assembly of Virginia which few ever attained.

He left no issue, and his fortune was bequeathed to his widow, and his nephew, Edmund Randolph.

---

[B.]

WASHINGTON'S COMMISSION FROM THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS OF 1775, AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

The delegates of the united colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina:

*To George Washington, Esq.*

We, reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, valor, conduct, and fidelity, do by these presents constitute and appoint you to

be general and commander-in-chief of the army of the united colonies, and of all the forces now raised, or to be raised by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their service, and join the said army for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof; and you are hereby invested with full power and authority to act as you shall think for the good and welfare of the service.

And we do hereby strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command, to be obedient to your orders, and diligent in the exercise of their several duties.

And we also enjoin and require you to be

careful in executing the great trust reposed in you, by causing strict discipline to be observed in the army, and that the soldiers be duly exercised and provided with all convenient necessities.

And you are to regulate your conduct in every respect by the rules and discipline of war (as herewith given you), and punctually to observe and follow such orders and directions from time to time as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of these united colonies, or by committee of Congress.

This commission to continue in force until revoked by us, or by a future Congress.

## CHAPTER II.

1775.

### BUNKER HILL.

State of public sentiment.—Power of Great Britain.—Habits of Europeans and Americans as it respects war.—The colonists able but undisciplined.—Their service in former wars.—Martial spirit of '75.—Danger to property.—Gadsden's remark.—Revenues of Britain.—Scanty resources of the colonists for war.—Disadvantages to Britain arising from its remoteness.—Enthusiasm of the Americans more useful than money.—Exertions of professional men and the press.—Fast-day appointed.—Army besieging Boston.—Reinforcements to the British army arrive from England.—Gage's offers of pardon.—Adams and Hancock excepted.—Martial law proclaimed by Gage.—Preparations for occupying Bunker's Hill.—Colonel Prescott, with one thousand men, marches from Cambridge to Charlestown, and throws up intrenchments on Breed's Hill.—It is assailed by the British ships in Boston harbor.—Gage detaches Howe and Pigot with a force to dislodge the Americans.—They land at Moreton's Point and send back for reinforcements.—The Americans are also reinforced.—General attack on the American lines and the redoubt.—Repulsed with dreadful slaughter.—Charlestown burnt.—Second attack repulsed.—The ammunition of the Americans exhausted.—Third attack.—Dreadful encounter with bayonets and clubbed muskets.—Lines of the Americans enfiladed with a raking fire.—Retreat of the Americans over Charlestown Neck.—Death of General Warren.—Moral effect of the battle.

WHILE Congress was in session, the march of public sentiment towards the adoption of more decisive measures of hostility than had previously been deemed possible, was steady and constant.

From a variety of circumstances, the Americans had good reason to conclude that hostilities would soon be carried on vigorously in Massachusetts, and also to apprehend that, sooner or later, each province would be the theatre of war. "The more speedily, therefore," said they, "we are prepared for that event, the better chance we have for defending ourselves."

Previous to this period, or, rather, to the 19th of April, 1775, the dispute had

been carried on by the pen, or, at most, by associations and legislative acts; but from this time forward it was conducted by the sword. The crisis was arrived when the colonies had no alternative but either to submit to the mercy, or to resist the power of Great Britain.

An unconquerable love of liberty could not brook the idea of submission, while reason, more temperate in her decisions, suggested to the people their insufficiency to make effectual opposition. They were fully apprised of the power of Britain—they knew that her fleets covered the ocean, and that her flag had waved in triumph through the four quarters of the globe; but the animated language of the time was, "It is



better to die freemen, than to live slaves." Though the justice of their cause, and the inspiration of liberty, gave, in the opinion of disinterested judges, a superiority to the writings of Americans, yet, in the art of literary composition, the candid among themselves acknowledged an inferiority. Their form of government was deficient in that decision, dispatch, and coercion, which are necessary to military operations.

Europeans, from their being generally unacquainted with firearms, are less easily taught the use of them than Americans, who are, from their youth, familiar with these instruments of war; yet, on other accounts, they are more susceptible of military habits. The proportion of necessitous men in the New World is small to that in the Old.

To procure subsistence is a powerful motive with a European to enlist, and the prospect of losing it makes him afraid to neglect his duty; but these incitements to the punctual discharge of military services, are wanting in America. In old countries, the distinction of ranks and the submission of inferiors to superiors generally takes place; but in the New World, an extreme sense of liberty and equality indisposes to that implicit obedience which is the soul of an army. The same causes which nurtured a spirit of independence in the colonies, were hostile to their military arrangements.

It was not only from the different state of society in the two countries, but

from a variety of local causes, that the Americans were not able to contend in arms, on equal terms, with their parent state. From the first settlement of the British colonies, agriculture and commerce, but especially the former, had been the favorite pursuits of the inhabitants. War was a business abhorrent from their usual habits of life. They had never engaged in it from their own motion, nor in any other mode than as appendages to British troops, and under British establishments. By these means the military spirit of the colonies had no opportunity of expanding itself.

At the commencement of hostilities, the British troops possessed a knowledge of the science and discipline of war, which could be acquired only by a long course of application, and substantial establishments. Their equipments, their artillery, and every other part of their apparatus for war, approached perfection. To these important circumstances was added a high national spirit of pride, which had been greatly augmented by their successes in their last contest with France and Spain.

On the other hand, the Americans were undisciplined, without experienced officers, and without the shadow of military establishments. In the wars which had been previously carried on, in or near the colonies, the provincials had been, by their respective legislatures, frequently added to the British troops; but the pride of the latter would not consider the former, who were without uniformity of dress, or the pertness of

military airs, to be their equals. The provincial troops were, therefore, for the most part, assigned to services which, though laborious, were not honorable.

The ignorance of British generals, commanding in the woods of America, sometimes involved them in difficulties from which they had been more than once relieved by the superior local knowledge of the colonial troops. These services were soon forgotten, and the moment the troops who performed them could be spared, they were disbanded. Such obstacles had hitherto depressed military talents in America, but they were now overcome by the ardor of the people.

In the year 1775, a martial spirit pervaded all ranks of men in the colonies. They believed their liberties to be in danger, and were generally disposed to risk their lives for their establishment. Their ignorance of the military art prevented their weighing the chances of war with that exactness of calculation which, if indulged, might have damped their hopes. They conceived that there was little more to do than fight manfully for their country. They consoled themselves with the idea, that though their first attempt might be unsuccessful, their numbers would admit of a repetition of the experiment, till the invaders were finally exterminated. Not considering, that in modern war, the longest purse decides oftener than the longest sword, they feared not the wealth of Britain. They both expected and

wished that the whole dispute would be speedily settled in a few decisive engagements.

Elevated with the love of liberty, and buoyed above the fear of consequences by an ardent military enthusiasm, unabated by calculations about the extent, duration, or probable issue of the war, the people of America seconded the voice of their rulers, in an appeal to heaven for the vindication of their rights. At the time the colonies adopted these spirited resolutions, they possessed not a single ship of war, nor so much as an armed vessel of any kind. It had often been suggested that their seaport towns lay at the mercy of the navy of Great Britain; this was both known and believed, but disregarded. The love of property was absorbed in the love of liberty.

The animated votaries of the equal rights of human nature consoled themselves with the idea, that though their whole sea-coast should be laid in ashes, they could retire to the western wilderness, and enjoy the luxury of being free; on this occasion it was observed in Congress by Christopher Gadsden, one of the South Carolina delegates, "Our houses being constructed of brick, stone, and wood, though destroyed may be rebuilt, but liberty once gone is lost forever."

The sober discretion of the present age will more readily censure than admire, but can more easily admire than imitate, the fervid zeal of the patriots of 1775, who in idea sacrificed property in

the cause of liberty, with the ease that they now sacrifice almost every other consideration for the acquisition of property.

The revenues of Britain were immense, and her people were habituated to the payment of large sums in every form which contributions to government have assumed; but the American colonies possessed neither money nor funds, nor were their people accustomed to taxes equal to the exigencies of war. The contest having begun about taxation, to have raised money by taxes for carrying it on, would have been impolitic. The temper of the times precluded the necessity of attempting the dangerous expedient; for such was the enthusiasm of the day, that the colonists gave up both their personal services and their property to the public, on the vague promises that they should at a future time be reimbursed.

Without inquiring into the solidity of funds, or the precise period of payment, the resources of the country were commanded on general assurances, that all expenses of the war should ultimately be equalized. The parent state abounded with experienced statesmen and officers, but the dependent form of government exercised in the colonies, precluded their citizens from gaining that practical knowledge which is acquired from being at the head of public departments. There were very few in the colonies who understood the business of providing for an army, and still

fewer who had experience and knowledge to direct its operations. The disposition of the finances of the country, and the most effectual mode of drawing forth its resources, were subjects with which scarce any of the inhabitants were acquainted. Arms and ammunition were almost wholly deficient; and though the country abounded with the materials of which they are manufactured, yet there was neither time nor artists enough to supply an army with the means of defence. The country was destitute both of fortifications and engineers.

Amidst so many discouragements there were some flattering circumstances. The war could not be carried on by Great Britain but to a great disadvantage, and at an immense expense. It was easy for ministers at St. James's to plan campaigns, but hard was the fate of the officer from whom the execution of them, in the woods of America, was expected. The country was so extensive, and abounded so much with defiles, that by evacuating and retreating, the Americans, though they could not conquer, yet might save themselves from being conquered.

The authors of the acts of parliament for restraining the trade of the colonies, were most excellent recruiting officers for the Congress. They imposed a necessity on thousands to become soldiers. All other business being suspended, the whole resources of the country were applied in supporting an army.

Though the colonists were without



discipline, they possessed native valor. Though they had neither gold nor silver, they possessed a mine in the enthusiasm of their people. Paper, for upwards of two years, produced to them more solid advantages than Spain derived from her superabounding precious metals. Though they had no ships to protect their trade or their towns, they had simplicity enough to live without the former, and enthusiasm enough to risk the latter, rather than submit to the power of Britain. They believed their cause to be just, and that Heaven approved their exertions in defence of their rights. Zeal, originating from such motives, supplied the place of discipline, and inspired a confidence and military ardor which overleaped all difficulties.

Resistance being resolved upon by the Americans, the pulpit—the press—the bench and the bar, severally labored to unite and encourage them. The clergy of New England were a numerous, learned, and respectable body, who had a great ascendancy over the minds of their hearers. They connected religion and patriotism, and, in their sermons and prayers, represented the cause of America as the cause of Heaven. The synod of New York and Philadelphia also sent forth a pastoral letter, which was publicly read in their churches. This earnestly recommended such sentiments and conduct as were suitable to their situation.

Writers and printers followed in the rear of the preachers, and next to them had the greatest hand in animating their

countrymen. Gentlemen of the bench and of the bar denied the charge of rebellion, and justified the resistance of the colonists. A distinction, founded on law, between the king and his ministry, was introduced. The former, it was contended, could do no wrong. The crime of treason was charged on the latter, for using the royal name to varnish their own unconstitutional measures. The phrase of a ministerial war became common, and was used as a medium for reconciling resistance with allegiance.

Coeval with the resolutions for organizing an army, was one appointing the 20th day of July, 1775, a day of public humiliation, fasting, and prayer, to Almighty God, “to bless their rightful sovereign King George, and to inspire him with wisdom to discern and pursue the true interest of his subjects; and that the British nation might be influenced to regard the things that belonged to her peace, before they were hid from her eyes—that the colonies might be ever under the care and protection of a kind Providence, and be prospered in all their interests—that America might soon behold a gracious interposition of Heaven for the redress of her many grievances; the restoration of her invaded rights, a reconciliation with the parent state on terms constitutional and honorable to both.”

The forces which had been collected in Massachusetts, were stationed in convenient places for guarding the country from further excursions of the regulars

from Boston. Breastworks were also erected in different places for the same purpose. While both parties were attempting to carry off stock from the several islands, with which the bay of Boston is agreeably diversified, sundry skirmishes took place. These were of real service to the Americans. They habituated them to danger; and perhaps much of the courage of old soldiers is derived from an experimental conviction, that the chance of escaping unhurt from engagements, is much greater than young recruits suppose.

About the latter end of May, a great part of the reinforcements ordered from Great Britain arrived at Boston. Three British generals, Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, whose behavior in the preceding war had gained them great reputation, also arrived about the same time. General Gage, thus reinforced, prepared for acting with more decision; but, before he proceeded to extremities, he conceived it due to ancient forms to issue a proclamation, holding forth to the inhabitants the alternative of peace or war. He therefore offered pardon, in the king's name, to all who should forthwith lay down their arms, and return to their respective occupations and peaceable duties; excepting only from the benefit of that pardon "Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offences were said to be of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment." He also proclaimed that not only the persons above

named and excepted, but also all their adherents, associates, and correspondents, should be deemed guilty of treason and rebellion, and treated accordingly.

By this proclamation it was also declared, "that as the courts of judicature were shut, martial law should take place, till a due course of justice should be re-established."

From the movements visible among the British troops, and their apparent preparations for some active enterprise, the Americans were led to believe that Gage designed to issue from Boston and penetrate into the interior of Massachusetts; whereupon, with a view to anticipate or derange the supposed project of attack, the Provincial Congress suggested to General Ward,\* who held the chief command in the army which blockaded Boston, that measures should be taken for the defence of Dorchester Neck, and that a part of the American force should occupy an intrenched position on Bunker's Hill, which ascends from and commands the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown. 1775.

Orders were accordingly communicated to Colonel Prescott, with a detachment of a thousand men, to take possession of that eminence; but, through some misapprehension, Breed's Hill, instead of Bunker's Hill, was made the site of the projected intrenchment. By his conduct of this perilous enter-

---

\* See Document [A] at the end of this chapter.

prise, and the heroic valor he displayed in the conflict that ensued, Prescott honorably signalized a name which his descendants have further adorned with the highest trophies of forensic and literary renown.

About nine o'clock of the evening (June 16th), the detachment moved from Cambridge, and, silently traversing Charlestown Neck, gained the summit of Breed's Hill unobserved. This eminence is situated at the extremity of the peninsula nearest to Boston; and is so elevated as to overlook every part of that town, and so near it as to be within the reach of cannon-shot.

The American troops, who were provided with intrenching tools, instantly commenced their work, which they pursued with such diligence, that, before the morning arrived, they had thrown up a redoubt of considerable dimensions, and with such deep silence, that, although the peninsula was nearly surrounded by British ships of war and transports, their operations were only first disclosed to the astonished army of Britain by the dispersion of the darkness of night, under whose shade they had been conducted.

At break of day (June 17th), the alarm was communicated at Boston by a cannonade, which the Lively sloop-of-war promptly directed against the intrenchments and embattled array of the Americans. A battery of six guns was soon after opened upon them from Copp's Hill, at the north end of Boston. Under an incessant shower of bullets

and bombs, the Americans firmly and indefatigably persevered in their labor, until they completed a small breast-work, extending from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill, towards the river Mystic.

We have remarked the mistake that occasioned a departure from the original plan of the American enterprise, and led to the assumption of Breed's Hill instead of the other eminence which it was first proposed to occupy. By a corresponding mistake, the memorable engagement which ensued has received the name of *The Battle of Bunker's Hill*,—a name which only vanity or pedantry can now hope or desire to divest of its long-retained celebrity, and its animating influence on the minds of men. It would be wiser, perhaps, to change the name of an insignificant hill than of a glorious battle, in which the prize contested was the freedom of North America.

Gage, perceiving the necessity of dislodging the Americans from the position they had so suddenly and daringly assumed, detached, about noon, on this service, the generals Howe and Pigot, with ten companies of grenadiers, ten of light-infantry, and a suitable proportion of field-artillery. These troops, crossing the narrow bay which lies between Boston and the American position, landed at Moreton's Point, and immediately formed in order of battle; but perceiving that the Americans, undaunted by this demonstration, and with spirit excited to the utmost height,







Josiah Warren

firmly waited the attack, they refrained from advancing till the arrival of a reinforcement from Boston.

Meanwhile the Americans were also reinforced by a body of their countrymen, commanded by the generals Warren,\* Pomeroy, Putnam, and Stark; and the troops on the open ground, tearing up some adjoining post and rail-fence, and fixing the stakes in a parallel line with a stone and rail-fence already standing, filled up the space between with new-mown grass, and formed for themselves a cover from the musketry of the enemy. Collecting all their courage, and undepressed by the advantage which their adversaries derived from the audacity of assault, they stood prepared for an effort which should yield their countrymen, if not victorious liberty, at least a memorable example of what the brave and the free can do to achieve it.

The British troops, strengthened now by the arrival of the second detachment, and formed in two lines, moved forward to the conflict, having the light-infantry on the right wing commanded by General Howe, and the grenadiers on the left conducted by General Pigot; the former to attack the American lines in flank, and the latter the redoubt in front.

The attack was begun by a heavy discharge of field-pieces and howitzers;

the troops advancing slowly, and halting at short intervals to allow time for the artillery to produce effect on the works and on the spirits of their defenders. During their advance, General Gage, who surveyed the field of battle from Copp's Hill, caused the battery at this place to bombard and set fire to the village of Charlestown, situated beneath the position of the Americans, whom, from the direction of the wind, he expected to annoy by the conflagration.

Charlestown, one of the earliest settlements of the Puritans in New England, a handsome and flourishing village, containing about four hundred houses, built chiefly of wood, was quickly enveloped in a blaze of destruction; but a sudden change of the wind, occurring at this crisis, carried the smoke to a quarter which neither sheltered the approach of the British nor occasioned inconvenience to the Americans.

The conflagration added a horrid grandeur to the interesting scene that was now unfolding to the eyes of a countless multitude of spectators, who, thronging all the heights of Boston and its neighborhood, awaited, with throbbing hearts, the approaching battle.

The American troops, having permitted Howe's division to approach unmolested within a very short distance of their works, then poured in upon them such a deadly and confounding fire of small-arms, that the British line was broken in an instant, and fell precipi-

---

\* Warren was president of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, and had just been appointed major-general. He declined taking any command; and served in the redoubt with his musket, as a volunteer.



tately back in headlong rout towards the landing-place. This disorder was repaired by the vigorous exertions of the officers, who again brought up the repulsed troops to the attack; but the Americans, renewing their fire with a precision of aim derived from their habits of life, and unexampled, perhaps, in the conduct of any former battle, again spread such carnage through the hostile ranks, that the British were a second time driven back in complete confusion.

At this critical juncture, General Clinton, arriving upon the field from Boston, aided the efforts of Howe and the other officers in rallying the disheartened troops, who, with some difficulty, were a third time led on to the charge. The Americans had been but scantily supplied with cartridges, partly from an overstrained attention to economy in the consumption of an article urgently needed and sparingly possessed by their countrymen, and partly in deference to the counsels of some old provincial officers, whose ideas of battle were derived from their experience in hunting, and in the system (very similar to that employment) of Indian warfare, and who insisted, that, as every shot ought to kill a man, so to give the troops any more ammunition than was absolutely necessary to inflict on the enemy a loss that would be tantamount to defeat, was to tempt them to neglect accuracy of aim and throw their fire away.

To the discredit of this counsel, the

powder of the Americans now began to fail, and consequently their fire to slacken. The British at the same time brought some of their cannons to bear upon the position of the Americans, and raked the inside of the breastwork from end to end; the fire from the ships, batteries, and field-artillery was redoubled; and the redoubt, attacked on three sides at once with impetuous valor, was carried at the point of the bayonet. Yet so desperate was the resistance of its defenders, that, even after their officers had commanded a retreat, they continued to fight till the redoubt was half filled with the assailants.

During these operations, Pigot's division was attempting to force the left point of the breastwork, preparatory to an attack on the flank of the American line; but while his troops advanced with signal intrepidity, they were received with unyielding firmness and determination. The Americans in this quarter, as well as at the redoubt, reserved their fire until the near approach of the enemy, and then poured in their shot with such well-directed aim as to mow down the advancing troops in whole ranks at every volley. But no sooner was the redoubt lost, than the breastwork also was necessarily abandoned.

And now the Americans, beaten, but unsubdued, had to perform their retreat over Charlestown Neck, which was completely raked by the guns of the Glasgow man-of-war and of two floating batteries; but, great as was

the apparent danger, the retreat was accomplished with inconsiderable loss.

The British troops were too much exhausted, and had suffered too severely, to improve their dear-bought victory by more than a mere show of pursuit. They had brought into action three thousand men, and their killed and wounded amounted to one thousand and fifty-four. The number of Americans engaged was fifteen hundred, and their killed, wounded, and missing amounted to four hundred and fifty-three. They lost some gallant officers, of whom the most generally known and lamented was General Warren,\* who, having ably and successfully animated

his countrymen to resist the power of Britain, now gallantly fell in the first battle that their resistance produced. And thus ended a day that showed too late to the infatuated politicians of Britain how greatly they had underrated the arduous difficulties of the contest they provoked, and how egregiously those men had deceived them who confidently predicted that *the Americans would not fight*. No other imaginable result of the conflict could have been more unfavorable to the prospects of Britain, whose troops, neither exhilarated by brilliant victory nor exasperated by disgraceful defeat, were depressed by a success of which it was evident that a few more such instances would prove their ruin.

---

\* See Document [B] at the end of this chapter.  
VOL. I.—45

## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER II.

---

[A.]

GENERAL ARTEMAS WARD, WASHINGTON'S PREDECESSOR IN THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY BEFORE BOSTON.

THIS gentleman was the first major-general in the American army; and, as we have already seen, he was considered an officer of merit sufficient to have his name respectfully mentioned among the members of Congress as a candidate for commander-in-chief, in opposition to the claims urged by the friends of Washington. His life, however, considering the high position which he held at the opening of the Revolution, was singularly barren of events. "He graduated," say his biographers, "at Harvard College in 1743, and was afterwards a representative in the Legislature, a member of the Council, and a justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Worcester county, Massachusetts. When the war commenced with Great Britain, he was appointed by Congress first major-general, June 17, 1775. After the arrival of Washington, in July, when disposition was made of the troops for the siege of Boston, the command of the right wing of the army at Roxbury was intrusted to General Ward. He resigned his commission in April, 1776, though he continued some time longer in command at the request of Washington. He afterwards devoted himself to the duties of civil life. He was a member of Congress both before and after the adoption of the present constitution. After a long decline, in which he exhibited the most exemplary patience, he died at Shrewsbury, October 28, 1800, aged seventy-three years. He was a man of incorruptible integrity. So fixed and unyielding were the principles which governed him, that

his conscientiousness in lesser concerns was by some ascribed to bigotry."

---

[B.]

MAJOR-GENERAL JOSEPH WARREN.

THIS Revolutionary hero, who fell gloriously fighting at the battle of Bunker Hill, has left one of the most illustrious names in the history of the country. He was born in Roxbury, a town which adjoins Boston, Massachusetts, in 1740. In 1755 he entered college, where he sustained the character of a youth of talents, fine manners, and of a generous, independent deportment, united to great personal courage and perseverance. An anecdote will illustrate his fearlessness and determination at that age when character can hardly be said to be formed. Several students of Warren's class shut themselves in a room to arrange some college affairs, in a way which they knew was contrary to his wishes, and barred the door so effectually that he could not, without great violence, force it; but he did not give over the attempt of getting among them, for perceiving that the window of the room in which they were assembled was open, and near a spout which extended from the roof of the building to the ground, he went to the top of the house, slid down the eaves, seized the spout, and when he had descended as far as the window, threw himself into the chamber among them. At that instant the spout, which was decayed and very weak, gave way and fell to the ground. He looked at it without emotion, said it had served his purpose, and began to take part in the business. He was educated at Harvard College, and received his first degree



in 1759. Directing his attention to medical studies, he, in a few years, became one of the most eminent physicians in Boston. But he lived at a period when greater objects claimed his attention than those which related particularly to his profession. His country needed his efforts, and his zeal and courage would not permit him to shrink from any labors or dangers. His eloquence, and his talents as a writer, were displayed on many occasions from the year in which the stamp-act was passed to the commencement of the war. He was a bold politician. While many were wavering with regard to the measures which should be adopted, he contended that every kind of taxation, whether external or internal, was tyranny, and ought immediately to be resisted, and he believed that America was able to withstand any force that could be sent against her. From the year 1768, he was a principal member of the secret meeting or caucus in Boston, which had great influence on the concerns of the country. With all his boldness, and decision, and zeal, he was circumspect and wise. In this assembly the plans of defence were matured. After the destruction of the tea it was no longer kept a secret. He was twice chosen the public orator of the town on the anniversary of the massacre, and his orations breathed the energy of a great and daring mind. It was he who, on the evening before the battle of Lexington, obtained information of the intended expedition against Concord.

At six in the evening of the 18th April, he was at a meeting of the Committee of Public Safety, at West Cambridge; at eight he had returned home, ascertained that the British troops were to move on Lexington that night to capture the stores, and dispatched Mr. Dawes to give the patriots warning; at nine, he was quietly standing on the Common watching the embarkation of the troops; at ten, he was giving his final instructions to Colonel Revere, who set out that night for Lexington by way of Charlestown. Next morning, as usual, he was in his place at the Committee of Public Safety, at West Cambridge. When the retreating force under Lord Percy approached the place, Warren was one of the first to turn out to meet them; seeming to take a pleasure in exposing

himself, and actually losing a lock of his hair by a musket-ball.

So at the struggle in June. On the 16th, he spent the day in presiding over the Congress which sat at Watertown. When it adjourned, much public business remained to be transacted, and after a hasty meal, Warren spent the whole night in writing and giving instructions. At daybreak he rode to Cambridge, and being thoroughly worn out, threw himself on a bed. He had hardly lain down when a message arrived that the enemy were moving against Charlestown Heights. In yielding to the majority of the Council in reference to the occupation of these heights, he had declared his determination to take part personally in their defence; the moment he received the message he rose from his bed, declared he was quite well, and assembled the Committee of Public Safety. He was again urged by the members of the Committee not to risk his valuable life in the coming battle; but he spurned the warning. The Council broke up, he mounted his horse, and rode towards Charlestown Neck. The first man he met near the American works was General Putnam.

"General Warren," said the veteran, saluting him ceremoniously, "I take your orders."

"General Putnam, I have none to give. I am here as a volunteer. Where can I be useful?"

"Go to the redoubt, then; you will be covered there."

"I come not to be covered," exclaimed the young man, impetuously; "tell me where the action will be hottest."

"If the redoubt can be kept, the day is ours."

At the redoubt, a similar conversation took place between him and Colonel Prescott, who, like General Putnam, offered to take his orders, and was told that all the young man wanted was a musket.

Of the incidents of that memorable day, it would be quite out of place to enlarge here. That is a touching anecdote, however, which Sparks tells in his biography of the English major, Small. In happier times, he had been intimate with many of the American officers; had served at Louisburg and in Canada with

Putnam and many others. After the battle of Lexington, he had met Putnam to interchange prisoners, and the staff who accompanied the latter asserted that the enemies rushed into each other's arms, and embraced each other like brothers. At the attack on the redoubt, this same Major Small was in his place leading on his men; at the second discharge, when the smoke cleared away, he was seen standing quite alone, every officer and man near him having been swept down by the deadly fire of the American riflemen. Of course he was a conspicuous mark; and in an instant half a dozen rifles were aimed at him, as he stood confused, and seemingly staggered by his position. A single chance revealed him to Putnam. With a bound he was on the wall of the redoubt—a more conspicuous mark for the English sharpshooters than the Major had been for the American riflemen.

"Don't fire, men, for God's sake, don't fire!" the old man shouted, in his homely phrase, "that man's my friend."

Every muzzle was lowered at the request of the beloved veteran; Major Small, waving his sword in acknowledgment of the service, walked down the hill.

Later in the day, when the enemy at length forced his way into the redoubt and all was lost, Warren, who had fought heroically as a common soldier, was one of the last to retreat, and kept turning round every few moments and facing the foe, shouting to the men, "Come, men, one charge more!" They had no powder left, poor fellows! and nothing but the cold steel to trust to.

As Warren and the last of the Americans retreated, the English pressed on their heels, Major Small, among others, at their head. As Warren turned for the last time, with rage in his face, he stood almost alone, and a dozen soldiers took aim at him. Major Small instantly recognized him, and perceiving that he had an opportunity of requiting the kindness that had been shown to himself, he ran in advance of the soldiers, threw up the muskets of one or two, and ordered the others not to fire, calling on General Warren to surrender.

It was too late. A soldier, perhaps little

thinking what he was doing, had taken cool aim, and pulled the trigger. The ball struck the gallant Warren fair in the forehead, and killed him on the spot.

It is known that when General Howe was told that General Warren was among the dead, he declared that it was impossible; a person of so high rank would never have exposed himself, he said, in such a battle. When he discovered his error, he very justly remarked that the death of Warren balanced the loss of five hundred men.

Of the honors which have been paid to the memory of General Warren, our school-books tell us. His sons were educated, his family aided by a grateful country; even the ball which killed him has become a historical relic, highly prized by its fortunate possessor. The street where stood the house where he was born has been named after him; and all good Americans see, with due respect and veneration, the birth-place of one of the truest heroes their country ever owned.

On the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, in 1857, a marble statue was inaugurated with imposing ceremonies to the memory of Warren, in Boston. Massachusetts never performed a service which was better earned; nor does Boston boast of any monument more honorably creditable than the statue of General Joseph Warren.

There are few names in the annals of American patriotism more dearly cherished by the brave and good; few that will shine with more increasing lustre, as the obscurity of time grows darker, than that of General Warren. He will be the personal representative of those brave citizens, who, with arms hastily collected, sprang from their peaceable homes to resist aggression, and on the plains of Lexington and the heights of Charlestown, cemented with their blood the foundation of American liberty.

He was endowed with a clear and vigorous understanding, a disposition humane and generous; qualities which, graced by manners affable and engaging, rendered him the idol of the army and of his friends. His powers of speech and reasoning commanded respect. His professional as well as political abilities were of the highest order. He had been an active volunteer

in several skirmishes which had occurred since the commencement of hostilities, in all of which he gave strong presages of capacity and distinction in the profession of arms. But the fond hopes of his country were to be closed in death; not, however, until he had sealed with his blood the charter of our liberties; nor until he had secured that permanence of glory with which we encircle the memory, whilst we cherish the name of WARREN.

The Battle of Bunker Hill was, in many re-

spects, one of the most remarkable conflicts that has moistened the earth with human blood. No spirit of prophecy is required to foretell, that from the consequences with which it is connected, and which it may be said to have guaranteed, after ages will consider it one of the most interesting of all battles, and that it will be hallowed by the gratitude of mankind, as among the most precious and beneficent contests ever waged in behalf of human rights and human happiness.



## CHAPTER III.

1775.

### WASHINGTON TAKES COMMAND OF THE ARMY.

Washington sets out from Philadelphia to join the army before Boston, accompanied by Schuyler and Lee.—News from Bunker Hill.—Reception at New York.—At Springfield.—At Watertown.—At Cambridge.—His headquarters at the Craigie House.—He examines the state of the army, and reports it in detail to Congress.—Alarming want of gunpowder.—Supplies obtained.—Dissatisfaction about commissions.—Want of system in all the departments, and general disorderly state of the army.—Washington commences a reform.—Divisions of the army, and their positions around Boston.—General Gates's services.—Washington's military family.—Rules and regulations of the army.—Washington's intercourse with the Continental Congress, and with the provincial authorities.—Applications of Massachusetts and Connecticut for detachments from the army to protect the sea-coast.—Washington points out the danger of such a measure, and declines to furnish detachments.—A good rule thus established.—Gage's force in Boston.—His antecedents.—Former friendship for Washington.—His bad treatment of American prisoners in Boston.—Washington remonstrates.—Gage's insolent letter.—Washington's dignified reply.—Arrival of the riflemen from the South in the camp at Cambridge.

EVERY necessary arrangement with Congress having been completed, Washington departed from Philadelphia June 21st to join the army before Boston. The journey was performed on horseback, and he was escorted as far as Kingsbridge, at the northern extremity of New York island, by a volunteer company of light cavalry, composed of gentlemen, styled the First Troop.\* The companions of his journey were General Lee and General Schuyler.

General Lee was an original genius,

\* This company of volunteers, one of the most respectable in Philadelphia, still retains its organization and performs regular duty. It appears to hold the same position there as the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company does in Boston. When forming Washington's escort from Philadelphia to New York, the First Troop was commanded by Captain Markoe.

possessing the most brilliant talents, great military powers, and extensive intelligence and knowledge of the world; but he was eccentric and even cynical in his habits. He had seen considerable active service in Europe; had quarrelled with the British ministry. He took a lively interest in the dispute between this country and Great Britain, being, of course, on the side of the colonists. Coming over to this country in November, 1773, he had travelled rapidly through the colonies, animating the people, both by conversation and his eloquent pen, to a determined and persevering resistance to British tyranny.

His enthusiasm in favor of the rights of the colonies was such, that, after the battle of Lexington, he accepted, as we have seen, a major-general's commission

in the American army; though his ambition had been thought to aim at the post of commander-in-chief. Previous to this, however, he resigned the commission which he had till then retained in the British service, and relinquished his half-pay. This he did in a letter to the British secretary at war, in which he expressed his disapprobation of the oppressive measures of parliament, declaring them to be so actually subversive of the rights and liberties of every individual subject, so destructive to the whole empire at large, and, ultimately, so ruinous to his majesty's own person, dignity, and family, that he thought himself obliged in conscience, as a citizen, an Englishman, and soldier of a free estate, to exert his utmost to defeat them.

Lee's devotion to the cause of freedom was apparently sincere; but his rashness and violent temper were destined to darken the close of his career.

Washington's other companion on the journey was a more genial and amiable as well as a far more exalted character.

General Schuyler was a native of New York, a member of one of the most respectable families in that State, and highly merits the character of an intelligent and meritorious officer. As a private gentleman, he was dignified but courteous, his manners urbane, and his hospitality unbounded. He was justly considered as one of the most distinguished champions of liberty, and his noble mind soared above despair, even at a period when he experienced

injustice from the public, and when darkness and gloom overspread the land. He was able, prompt, and decisive, and his conduct, in every branch of duty, marked his active industry and rapid execution.

With such companions as these two officers, who, as well as Washington, had both served in the old French war, the journey of Washington must have been enlivened by conversation of the most interesting and agreeable kind.

Before they had proceeded many miles from Philadelphia, they were met by a messenger from the army before Boston bearing dispatches to Congress, containing the news of the battle of Bunker's Hill. To Washington's eager inquiry, how the militia had behaved in the battle, he, of course, received the most satisfactory answer; he exclaimed, on hearing

1775.

it, "The liberties of the country are safe!" The moral effect of that battle was not confined to his estimate of its importance. It was felt through the whole country during the war.

As the cavalcade passed through the towns of New Jersey, great demonstrations of respect and enthusiastic greetings everywhere met the new commander-in-chief. His fine martial figure, and the grave and commanding presence which distinguished him through life, inspired at once a high degree of awe and of confidence; while the splendid appearance of the First Troop, and the attendance of the famous and popular generals who accom



panied him, rendered the spectacle still more attractive and imposing.

At Newark, he was met by a committee from the Provincial Congress of New York, who were sent forward to attend him to the city, where the Congress was then in session. His arrival, however, was somewhat embarrassing to the Congress, as they were hourly expecting the return of the royal governor, Tryon, from England, who was also to be greeted with a public reception. This embarrassment is sufficiently apparent in the non-committal address of the president, Van Burgh Livingston:

"Confiding in you, sir," he said, "and in the worthy generals immediately under your command, we have the most flattering hopes of success in the glorious struggle for American liberty, and the fullest assurances that whenever this important contest shall be decided by that fondest wish of every American soul, an accommodation with our mother country, you will cheerfully resign the important deposit committed into your hands, and reassume the character of our worthiest citizen."

Washington, in his reply, after declaring his gratitude for the regard shown him, added, "Be assured that every exertion of my worthy colleagues and myself, will be extended to the re-establishment of peace and harmony between the mother country and these colonies. As to the fatal but necessary operations of war, when we assumed the soldier we did not lay aside the citizen, and we shall most sincerely re-

joice with you in that happy hour, when the re-establishment of American liberty, on the most firm and solid foundations, shall enable us to return to our private stations, in the bosom of a free, peaceful, and happy country."

Washington had already decided that General Schuyler was to remain in New York, to direct the military operations in that quarter. His knowledge of the colony, his extensive influence among its inhabitants, his high position and well-known character for military skill and experience, peculiarly fitted General Schuyler for taking the command at this important post. The presence of Governor Tryon, who arrived just at this juncture, and the great number of adherents to the royal cause who were residing in various parts of the colony, and were watching for an opportunity to embarrass the operations of Congress and of the patriotic party, rendered General Schuyler's task one of great difficulty, requiring sound judgment and policy as well as military skill.

After giving General Schuyler his instructions, Washington, still accompanied by General Lee, 1775. and escorted by successive companies of volunteers, pursued his journey through Connecticut till he arrived at Springfield, Massachusetts, one hundred miles from Boston. Here he was met by a committee from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, who had been directed to provide escorts, and to attend him in person during the remainder of the route.







On the 2d of July he arrived at Watertown, where the Congress of Massachusetts was then sitting. He was received with great cordiality and respect, and greeted with a congratulatory address, to which he made the following reply :

"Gentlemen, your kind congratulations on my appointment and arrival demand my warmest acknowledgments, and will ever be retained in grateful remembrance. In exchanging the enjoyments of domestic life for the duties of my present honorable but arduous station, I only emulate the virtue and public spirit of the whole province of Massachusetts, which, with a firmness and patriotism without example, has sacrificed all the comforts of social and political life, in support of the rights of mankind and the welfare of our common country. My highest ambition is to be the happy instrument of vindicating these rights, and to see this devoted province again restored to peace, liberty, and safety."

We cannot help admiring the appropriateness, as well as the modesty of this address. The well-turned compliment to the province of Massachusetts can hardly be surpassed.

When the ceremony of this public reception was concluded, Washington, escorted by a company of light-horse and an immense cavalcade of citizens, proceeded to the camp at Cambridge. We may imagine the enthusiasm with which he was received—the huzzas of the multitude, the roar of cannon, the

*feu de joie* of musketry, echoed back by the surrounding hills, while all were eagerly endeavoring to gain a view of that noble form, and calm, dignified countenance, which formed the principal attraction of that interesting and exciting scene.\* There are some few now living who remember it, and point out the ancient elm on Cambridge Common where Washington "first drew his sword in the cause of American liberty."

It was on the 2d of July that Washington arrived at Cambridge, and occupied the headquarters 1775. which had been provided for him at the Craigie Mansion.† It was not till the next day that he formally took command of the army.

The Rev. William Emerson has furnished a graphic description of the camp after the arrival of Washington. "There is great overturning in the camp, as to order and regularity. New lords, new laws. The generals, Washington and Lee, are upon the lines every day. New orders from his excellency are read to the respective regiments every morning after prayers. The strictest government

---

\* The following description of Washington's appearance is from Thacher's *Military Journal*, July 20, 1775 :

I have been much gratified this day with a view of General Washington. His excellency was on horseback, in company with several military gentlemen. It was not difficult to distinguish him from all others ; his personal appearance is truly noble and majestic, being tall and well proportioned. His dress is a blue coat with buff-colored facings ; a rich epaulette on each shoulder ; buff under-dress, and an elegant small-sword ; a black cockade in his hat.

† The house is still standing in perfect preservation. It is now the residence of the celebrated American poet, Longfellow.



is taking place, and great distinction is made between officers and soldiers. Every one is made to know his place, and keep in it, or be tied up and receive thirty or forty lashes, according to his crime. Thousands are at work every day from four till eleven o'clock in the morning. It is surprising how much work has been done. The lines are extended almost from Cambridge to Mystic River, so that very soon it will be morally impossible for the enemy to get between the works, except in one place, which is supposed to be left purposely unfortified, to entice the enemy out of their fortresses. Who would have thought, twelve months past, that all Cambridge and Charlestown would be covered over with American camps, and cut up into forts and intrenchments, and all the lands, fields, orchards, laid common,—horses and cattle feeding in the choicest mowing-land, whole fields of corn eaten down to the ground, and large parks of well-regulated locusts cut down for firewood and other public uses?

This, I must say, looks a little melancholy. My quarters are at the foot of the famous Prospect Hill, where such great preparations are made for the reception of the enemy. It is very diverting to walk among the camps. They are as different in their form as the owners are in their dress; and every tent is a portraiture of the temper and taste of the persons who encamp in it. Some are made of boards, and some of sail-cloth. Some partly of one and partly of the other. Again, others are

made of stone and turf, brick or brush. Some are thrown up in a hurry; others are curiously wrought with doors and windows, done with wreaths and withes, in the manner of a basket. Some are your proper tents and marquees, looking like the regular camp of the enemy. In these are the Rhode Islanders, who are furnished with tent-equipage, and every thing in the most exact English style. However, I think this great variety is rather a beauty than a blemish in the army."

Early in July a correspondence between generals Lee and Burgoyne attracted much attention. General Lee had served with Gen-  
eral Burgoyne in Portugal, and an intimate friendship had long existed between them. On the arrival of the latter in Boston, General Lee, then in Philadelphia, wrote to his friend a letter full of invectives against the British ministry, and containing an elaborate statement of his views of the merits of the contest. Though written with a warmth approaching to violence, General Burgoyne replied to it courteously, and proposed an interview with General Lee at Brown's House, on Boston Neck. This was sent out (July 8th) by a trumpeter. The letter and the expediency of the proposed interview were laid before the Provincial Congress. Though Congress, to prevent jealousy, appointed Elbridge Gerry to attend General Lee, they suggested whether it "might not have a tendency to lessen the influence which the Congress would

1775.

wish to extend to the utmost of their power, to facilitate and succeed the operations of the war." In consequence of this hint, General Lee, in a note to General Burgoyne, declined to meet him. The correspondence between the two generals was published, and was commented on in the journals.\*

Washington's first care, on taking the command, was to ascertain the actual condition and position of the army, and to obtain a knowledge of the numbers and designs of the enemy. This, with his usual activity and perseverance, he had accomplished in a week to such an extent as to make the following report to the President of Congress :

"CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, *July 10, 1775.*

"SIR:—I arrived safe at this place on the third instant, after a journey attended with a good deal of fatigue, and retarded by necessary attentions to the successive civilities which accompanied me in my whole route.

"Upon my arrival, I immediately visited the several posts occupied by our troops; and, as soon as the weather permitted, reconnoitered those of the enemy. I found the latter strongly intrenched on Bunker's Hill, about a mile from Charlestown, and advanced about half a mile from the place of the late action, with their sentries extended about one hundred and fifty yards on this side of the narrowest part of the neck leading from this place to Charles-

town. Three floating-batteries lie in Mystic River near their camp, and one twenty-gun ship below the ferry-place, between Boston and Charlestown. They have also a battery on Copp's Hill, on the Boston side, which much annoyed our troops in the late attack.\* Upon the Neck, they have also deeply intrenched and fortified. These advanced guards, till last Saturday morning, occupied Brown's houses, about a mile from Roxbury meeting-house, and twenty rods from their lines; but, at that time, a party from General Thomas's camp surprised the guard, drove them in, and burned the houses. The bulk of their army, commanded by General Howe, lies on Bunker's Hill, and the remainder on Roxbury Neck, except the light-horse, and a few men in the town of Boston.

"On our side, we have thrown up intrenchments on Winter and Prospect Hills,—the enemy's camp in full view, at the distance of little more than a mile. Such intermediate points as would admit a landing, I have since my arrival taken care to strengthen down to Sewall's farm, where a strong intrenchment has been thrown up. At Roxbury, General Thomas has thrown up a strong work on the hill, about two hundred yards above the meeting-house; which, with the brokenness of the ground, and a great number of rocks, has made that pass very secure. The troops raised in New Hampshire,

\* Frothingham, *Siege of Boston.*

\* At Bunker's Hill.



with a regiment from Rhode Island, occupy Winter Hill; a part of those from Connecticut, under General Putnam, are on Prospect Hill. The troops in this town are entirely of the Massachusetts; the remainder of the Rhode Island men are at Sewall's farm. Two regiments of Connecticut, and nine of the Massachusetts, are at Roxbury. The residue of the army, to the number of about seven hundred, are posted in several small towns along the coast, to prevent the depredations of the enemy.

"Upon the whole, I think myself authorized to say, that, considering the great extent of line, and the nature of the ground, we are as well secured as could be expected in so short a time, and under the disadvantages we labor. These consist in a want of engineers to construct proper works and direct the men, a want of tools, and a sufficient number of men to man the works in case of an attack. You will observe, by the proceedings of the council of war, which I have the honor to inclose, that it is our unanimous opinion, to hold and defend these works as long as possible. The discouragement it would give the men, and its contrary effects on the ministerial troops, thus to abandon our encampment in their face, formed with so much labor, added to the certain destruction of a considerable and valuable extent of country, and our uncertainty of finding a place in all respects so capable of making a stand, are leading reasons for this de-

termination. At the same time, we are very sensible of the difficulties which attend the defence of lines of so great extent,\* and the dangers which may ensue from such a division of the army.

"My earnest wish to comply with the instructions of the Congress in making an early and complete return of the state of the army, has led into an involuntary delay of addressing you; which has given me much concern. Having given orders for this purpose immediately on my arrival, and unapprised of the imperfect obedience which had been paid to those of the like nature from General Ward, I was led from day to day to expect they would come in, and therefore detained the messenger. They are not now so complete as I could wish; but much allowance is to be made for inexperience in forms, and a liberty which had been taken (not given) on this subject. These reasons, I flatter myself, will no longer exist; and, of consequence, more regularity and exactness will in future exist. This, with a necessary attention to the lines, the movements of the ministerial troops, and our immediate security, must be my apology, which I beg you to lay before Congress with the utmost duty and respect.

"We labor under great disadvantages for want of tents; for, though they have been helped out by a collection of now useless sails from the seaport towns, the number is far short of our

---

\* Twelve miles.



necessities. The colleges and houses of this town are necessarily occupied by the troops; which affords another reason for keeping our present situation. But I most sincerely wish the whole army was properly provided to take the field, as I am well assured, that (besides greater expedition and activity in case of alarm) it would highly conduce to health and discipline. As materials are not to be had here, I would beg leave to recommend the procuring a further supply from Philadelphia as soon as possible.

"I should be extremely deficient in gratitude as well as justice, if I did not take the first opportunity to acknowledge the readiness and attention which the Provincial Congress and different committees have shown, to make every thing as convenient and agreeable as possible. But there is a vital and inherent principle of delay incompatible with military service, in transacting business through such numerous and different channels. I esteem it, therefore, my duty to represent the inconvenience which must unavoidably ensue from a dependence on a number of persons for supplies; and submit it to the consideration of Congress, whether the public service will not be best promoted by appointing a commissary-general for these purposes. We have a striking instance of the preference of such a mode in the establishment of Connecticut, as their troops are extremely well-provided under the direction of Mr. Trumbull, and he has at

different times assisted others with various articles. Should my sentiments happily coincide with those of your honors on this subject, I beg leave to recommend Mr. Trumbull as a very proper person for this department. In the arrangement of troops collected under such circumstances, and upon the spur of immediate necessity, several appointments are omitted, which appear to be indispensably necessary for the good government of the army,—particularly a quartermaster-general, a commissary of musters, and a commissary of artillery. These I must earnestly recommend to the notice and provision of the Congress.

"I find myself already much embarrassed for want of a military chest. The embarrassments will increase every day; I must therefore request that money may be forwarded as soon as possible. The want of this most necessary article will (I fear) produce great inconveniences, if not prevented by an early attention. I find the army in general, and the troops raised in Massachusetts in particular, very deficient in necessary clothing. Upon inquiry, there appears no probability of obtaining any supplies in this quarter; and, on the best consideration of this matter I am able to form, I am of opinion that a number of hunting-shirts (not less than ten thousand), would, in a great degree, remove this difficulty in the cheapest and quickest manner. I know nothing, in a speculative view, more trivial, yet, if put in practice, would

have a happier tendency to unite the men, and abolish those provincial distinctions which lead to jealousy and dissatisfaction.

"In a former part of this letter, I mentioned the want of engineers. I can hardly express the disappointment I have experienced on this subject,—the skill of those we have being very imperfect, and confined to the mere manual exercise of cannon; whereas the war in which we are engaged requires a knowledge comprehending the duties of the field and fortification. If any persons thus qualified are to be found in the southern colonies, it would be of great public service to forward them with all expedition.

"Upon the article of ammunition I must re-echo the former complaints on this subject. We are so exceedingly destitute, that our artillery will be of little use without a supply both large and seasonable. What we have must be reserved for the small-arms, and that managed with the utmost frugality. \* \* \*

"The state of the army you will find ascertained with tolerable precision in the returns which accompany this letter. Upon finding the number\* of men to fall so far short of the establishment, and below all expectation, I immediately called a council of the general officers, whose opinion (as to the mode of filling up the regiments, and providing for the present exigency) I have

\* The actual number at this time was fourteen thousand five hundred.

the honor of inclosing, together with the best judgment we are able to form of the ministerial troops. From the number of boys, deserters, and negroes, that have been enlisted in the troops of this province, I entertain some doubts whether the number required can be raised here; and all the general officers agree, that no dependence can be put on the militia for a continuance in camp, or regularity and discipline during the short time they may stay. This unhappy and devoted province has been so long in a state of anarchy, and the yoke has been laid so heavily on it, that great allowances are to be made for troops raised under such circumstances. The deficiency of numbers, discipline, and stores, can only lead to the conclusion, that their spirit has exceeded their strength. But, at the same time, I would humbly submit to the consideration of Congress the propriety of making some further provision of men from the other colonies. If these regiments should be completed to their establishment, the dismissal of those unfit for duty on account of their age and character would occasion a considerable reduction; and, at all events, they have been enlisted upon such terms, that they may be disbanded when other troops arrive. But should my apprehensions be realized, and the regiments here not filled up, the public cause would suffer by an absolute dependence upon so doubtful an event, unless some provision is made against such a disappointment.



"It requires no military skill to judge of the difficulty of introducing proper discipline and subordination into an army, while we have the enemy in view, and are in daily expectation of an attack; but it is of so much importance, that every effort will be made which time and circumstances will admit. In the mean time I have a sincere pleasure in observing, that there are materials for a good army,—a great number of able-bodied men, active, zealous in the cause, and of unquestionable courage. \* \* \*

"Generals Gates and Sullivan have both arrived in good health.

"My best abilities are at all times devoted to the service of my country; but I feel the weight, importance, and variety of my present duties too sensibly, not to wish a more immediate and frequent communication with the Congress. I fear it may often happen in the course of our present operations, that I shall need that assistance and direction from them which time and distance will not allow me to receive."\*

We have copied nearly the whole of this letter, in order not only to give the details of the condition of the army at this time on Washington's own authority, but also to show the style which he then thought proper to adopt in his communications to Congress. At a later period less deference was expressed, from the necessity of the case.

In his letter above quoted, Wash-

ington by no means exaggerated the disorderly and destitute condition of the army. Though the rolls **1775.** showed seventeen thousand men, including the sick and absent, the number present fit for duty was only fourteen thousand five hundred; so that new recruits had to be sought from the governments of the New England colonies. The irregularities in dress were soon remedied, in part, by the adoption of the hunting-shirt, as recommended by Washington in his letter. The want of a system for obtaining supplies was severely felt. The troops from Connecticut had a proper commissariat, under Mr. Trumbull's direction, as we have seen; but those who came from the other colonies were not so well furnished. Individuals brought to camp their own provisions on their own horses. In some parts committees of supplies were appointed, who purchased necessities at the public expense, sent them on to camp, and distributed them to such as were in want, without any regularity or system; the country afforded provisions, and nothing more was wanting to supply the army than proper systems for their collection and distribution.

Other articles, though equally necessary, were almost wholly deficient, and could not be procured but with difficulty. On the 4th of August the whole stock of powder in the American camp, and in the public magazines of the four New England provinces, would make but little more than nine rounds a man.

---

\* Washington's Official Letters.



The continental army remained in this destitute condition for a fortnight or more. This was generally known among themselves, and was also communicated to the British by a deserter; but they, suspecting a plot, would not believe it.

A supply of a few tons was sent on to them from the committee of Elizabethtown, but this was done privately, lest the adjacent inhabitants, who were equally destitute, should stop it for their own use. The public rulers in Massachusetts issued a recommendation to the inhabitants, not to fire a gun at beast, bird, or mark, in order that they might husband their little stock for the more necessary purpose of shooting men. A supply of several thousand pounds weight of powder was soon after obtained from Africa, in exchange for New England rum. This was managed with so much address, that every ounce for sale in the British forts on the African coasts, was purchased up and brought off for the use of the Americans.

Embarrassments from various quarters occurred in the formation of a continental army. The appointment of general officers made by Congress, was not satisfactory. Enterprising leaders had come forward with their followers on the commencement of hostilities, without scrupulous attention to rank. When these were all blended together, it was impossible to assign to every officer the station which his services merited, or his vanity

demand. Materials for a good army were collected. The husbandmen who flew to arms were active, zealous, and of unquestionable courage; but to introduce discipline and subordination among freemen, who were habituated to think for themselves, was an arduous labor.

The want of system and of union, under proper heads, pervaded every department. From the circumstance that the persons employed in providing necessities for the army were unconnected with each other, much waste and unnecessary delays were occasioned. The troops of the different colonies came into service under variant establishments—some were enlisted with the express condition of choosing their officers. The rations promised by the local legislatures varied both as to quantity, quality, and price. To form one uniform mass of these discordant materials, and to subject the licentiousness of independent freemen to the control of military discipline, was a delicate and difficult business.

Washington, however, not discouraged by the arduous nature of the task, at once began to mature his plans for bringing order out of confusion. He arranged the army into six brigades, of six regiments each, in such a manner that the troops from the same colony should be brought together, as far as practicable, and act under a commander from that colony.\* The whole force was thrown into three grand divisions.

---

\* Sparks, *Life of Washington*, p. 136.

General Ward commanded the right wing at Roxbury; General Lee, the left at Winter Hill; and the centre was commanded by General Putnam. General Washington, from his head-quarters at Cambridge, directed the whole. Method and punctuality were introduced. The officers and privates were taught to know their respective places, and to have the mechanism and movements as well as the name of an army.

Gates, who had served with Washington in the unfortunate expedition of Braddock, and had been appointed by Congress adjutant-general, was now performing excellent service in disciplining the army, and accustoming the soldiers to habits of order and regularity. He was a Briton by birth, and since the French war had resided in Virginia, where he owned an estate. He had been a frequent visitor at Mount Vernon, but had recently adopted habits of distance and reserve towards Washington.

Among the members of Washington's military family were his first aid, Colonel Mifflin, of Philadelphia, recently appointed; his second aid, John Trumbull, son of the governor of Connecticut; and Joseph Reed, his secretary, a lawyer of Philadelphia, who had received a part of his education in England, had taken an early part in the revolutionary controversy, and exerted much influence on the patriotic side. On these gentlemen devolved a principal part of the duty of entertaining the

numerous visitors who resorted to the head-quarters of the commander-in-chief at Craigie House. Washington cared little for the convivialities of the table, and it was his habit, after remaining at it a short time, to leave the company with his aids and secretary, and retire to his private apartment, where the labor of thinking and writing on the immense and complicated business of his station awaited him.

He had already planted the "original germ of the continental army," and was carefully fostering its growth. The officers were commissioned anew by Congress, and the system of uniform organization was gradually acquiring form and consistency. When the rules and regulations prescribed by Congress were presented to the soldiers, they objected to them as inconsistent with the terms of their original enlistment. Washington reasoned with them, but wisely abstained from coercion, leaving it optional with the men to subscribe the articles or not; but making the subscription a necessary condition with all new recruits.

His intercourse with the Continental Congress was a more difficult affair. This body possessed very 1775. limited powers. Unlike the present Congress, it had no direct control over the people; and could only obtain men, money, and supplies, by recourse to the provincial legislatures, whose compliance with its requisitions depended on their resources, and their attachment to the cause of liberty. Still it had the su



preme disposal of affairs, and its directions were never openly resisted. The members of Congress, however, were at this time divided in opinion as to the means of obtaining redress for those grievances which were the cause of the war. Some were timid, and longed for returning peace on any reasonable terms; but the majority were resolute in opposition to the mother country. Most of the members were distrustful of military power, as dangerous to the very liberties for which they were contending.

Washington perceived this feeling in Congress, and respected it for its motive. It interfered with the active and comprehensive measures which he desired to pursue; but it caused no relaxation in his efforts for the general welfare; nor was any feeling on this delicate subject ever permitted to appear in his conversation or correspondence.

The formation of the whole military system of the country devolved upon him. His correspondence with Congress shows that almost invariably important measures originated with him, were suggested by him, and were sanctioned and aided by them. His letters were read to the House when in session, and almost every important resolution respecting the army was the result of his recommendation. Every attentive reader of American history is acquainted with this fact. But although conscious of power, Washington was conscientiously scrupulous in its exercise. He referred every thing to Congress or which it was proper for them to take

action; and was careful to avoid the slightest appearance of usurping powers not belonging properly to his office. It often happened, therefore, that the service was embarrassed, and the commander-in-chief greatly perplexed, by the distance of Congress from the scene of action and the slowness of its movements even in times of great danger and emergency.

In addition to his intercourse with Congress, Washington corresponded with the local authorities of the several colonies, in whom was lodged, as we have already seen, the real power of aiding his operations by furnishing men and supplies. This intercourse with the different governors, legislatures, conventions, and committees of safety, however, made him well acquainted with the actual condition of the country in all its details, and enabled him to apply his own admirable administrative talents with precision and effect, as well as to make his real character and noble designs thoroughly known to the people, in whose cause he was laboring with so much zeal, assiduity, and effect. "They saw that he was the very man whom the exigencies of the service and the country demanded; and they felt safe in listening to counsels, and obeying commands, which evidently proceeded from one whose spirit was as just, and enlightened, and candid, as it was noble and majestic, and in which moderation, wisdom, and firmness of the highest order, were harmoniously combined with the deepest and most glow-



ing enthusiasm of the patriot and the hero.”\*

One of the earliest instances of Washington's correspondence with the provincial authorities took place soon after his taking the command at Cambridge; and it was in an affair of the utmost importance to the welfare of the country. The legislature of Massachusetts and the governor of Connecticut applied to him for detachments from the army for the protection of such parts of their sea-coast as were exposed to predatory attacks from the British cruisers. This brought up the question as to the whole system on which the war was to be conducted. Should the army be liable to have detachments taken from it, and distributed over the country, on application from the local authorities, or should it be retained in one compact body, always ready for attack or defence.

Washington at once perceived the fatal consequences of establishing so bad a precedent in the outset of the contest, as that which was desired by Massachusetts and Connecticut; and the following answer which he addressed to the speaker of the General Assembly of Massachusetts evinces that, as usual, he was equal to the occasion :

“SIR:—I have considered the application made to me yesterday from the General Court, with all the attention

due to the situation of the people in whose behalf it is made, and the respect due to such a recommendation. Upon referring to my instructions, and consulting with those members of Congress who are present, as well as the general officers, they all agree that it would not be consistent with my duty to detach any part of the army now here on any particular provincial service. It has been debated in Congress and settled, that the militia, or other internal strength of each province, is to be applied for defence against those small and particular depredations, which were to be expected, and to which they were supposed to be competent. This will appear the more proper, when it is considered that every town, and indeed every part of our sea-coast, which is exposed to these depredations, would have an equal claim upon this army.

“It is the misfortune of our situation which exposes us to these ravages, and against which, in my judgment, no such temporary relief could possibly secure us. The great advantage the enemy have of transporting troops, by being masters of the sea, will enable them to harass us by diversions of this kind; and should we be tempted to pursue them upon every alarm, the army must either be so weakened as to expose it to destruction, or a great part of the coast be still left unprotected. Nor, indeed, does it appear to me that such a pursuit would be attended with the least effect. The first notice of such an excursion would be its actual execution;

---

\* C. W. Upham, *Life of General Washington*.

and, long before any troops could reach the scene of action, the enemy would have an opportunity to accomplish their purpose and retire. It would give me great pleasure to have it in my power to extend protection and safety to every individual; but the wisdom of the General Court will anticipate me in the necessity of conducting our operations on a general and impartial scale, so as to exclude any just cause of complaint and jealousy.

"I beg, sir, you will do me the honor to communicate these sentiments to the General Court, and to apologize for my involuntary delay, as we were alarmed this morning by the enemy, and my time was taken up in giving the necessary directions.

"I shall be happy in every opportunity of showing my very great respect and regard for the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, and am, sir, &c."

This letter could not be otherwise than satisfactory to Massachusetts and the whole country. It settled the question, and established the precedent which was followed throughout the war. "It was established as a rule, that attacks of the enemy at isolated points along the coast must be repelled by the militia in the vicinity, except when the continental army was in a condition to make detachments without jeopardizing the common cause."\*

The necessity of keeping the army

unbroken by detachments was sufficiently apparent, at this time, from the really formidable force opposed to it. General Gage's army in Boston numbered full eleven thousand regular troops\* in fine condition, burning for action; and he was assisted by generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, who were justly regarded as among the ablest officers in the service of Great Britain.

General Gage had served as a colonel in Braddock's expedition; and there had subsisted between him and Washington a warm friendship, until the recent active part which both had taken on opposite sides in the revolutionary contest, had thrown them widely apart. An incident of the siege estranged them forever.

Certain officers and men, taken by the British in the battle of Bunker's Hill, had been thrown into the prison for common felons in Boston, and, as report said, very ill-treated. When intelligence of this affair reached 1775. Washington, August 11th, he promptly transmitted the following letter to General Gage:

---

\* In the last week in July, the number of inhabitants was stated at six thousand seven hundred and fifty-three; the number of troops, with their dependents, women, and children, at thirteen thousand six hundred. The town became sickly, both among the people and the troops, for neither had been accustomed to live on salt provisions. "We are in the strangest state in the world," a lady writes, August 10th, "surrounded on all sides. The whole country is in arms, and intrenched. We are deprived of fresh provisions, subject to continual alarms and cannonadings, the provincials being very audacious, and advancing near to our lines, since the arrival of generals Washington and Lee to command them."—*Frothingham, Siege of Boston.*

---

\* Sparks, *Life of Washington.*



"SIR :—I understand that the officers engaged in the cause of liberty and their country, who, by the fortune of war, have fallen into your hands, have been thrown, indiscriminately, into a common jail, appropriated for felons ; that no consideration has been had for those of the most respectable rank, when languishing with wounds and sickness ; and that some have been amputated in this unworthy situation.

"Let your opinion, sir, of the principles which actuate them, be what it may, they suppose that they act from the noblest of all principles, a love of freedom and their country. But political principles, I conceive, are foreign to this point. The obligations arising from the right of humanity, and claims of rank, are universally binding and extensive, except in case of retaliation. These, I should have hoped, would have dictated a more tender treatment of those individuals, whom chance of war had put in your power. Nor can I forbear suggesting its fatal tendency to widen that unhappy breach, which you, and those ministers under whom you act, have repeatedly declared your wish is to see forever closed.

"My duty now makes it necessary to apprise you, that, for the future, I shall regulate all my conduct towards those gentlemen who are, or may be, in our possession, exactly by the rule you shall observe towards those of ours, now in your custody.

"If severity and hardship mark the line of your conduct, painful as it may

be to me, your prisoners will feel its effects. But if kindness and humanity are shown to ours, I shall with pleasure consider those in our hands as only unfortunate, and they shall receive from me that treatment to which the unfortunate are ever entitled.

"I beg to be favored with an answer as soon as possible, and am, sir, your very humble servant."

General Gage replied to this carefully worded communication in the following insolent and insulting terms :

"SIR :—To the glory of civilized nations, humanity and war have been compatible, and humanity to the subdued has become almost a general system. Britons are pre-eminent in mercy, have outgrown common examples, and overlooked the criminal in the captive. Upon these principles your prisoners, whose lives, by the law of the land, are destined to the cord, have hitherto been treated with care and kindness, and more comfortably lodged than the king's troops, in the hospitals ; indiscriminately, it is true, for I acknowledge no rank that is not derived from the king.

"My intelligence from your army would justify some recriminations. I understand there are of the king's faithful subjects, taken some time since by the rebels, laboring like negro slaves to gain their daily subsistence, or reduced to the wretched alternative to perish by famine, or take arms against



their king and country. Those who have made the treatment of the prisoners in my hands, or of your other friends in Boston, a pretence for such measures, found barbarity upon falsehood.

"I would willingly hope, sir, that the sentiments of liberality, which I have always believed you possess, will be exerted to correct these misdoings. Be temperate in political disquisition; give free operation to truth, and punish those who deceive and misrepresent; and not only the effects, but the cause of this unhappy conflict, will be removed. Should those, under whose usurped authority you act, control such a disposition, and dare to call severity retaliation, to God, who knows all hearts, be the appeal of the dreadful consequences," &c.

Washington's indignation at the receipt of this letter must have been great. His reply, however, is strictly consistent with his usual calmness and dignity:

"I addressed you," he writes, "on the 11th instant, in terms which gave the fairest scope for humanity and politeness, which were supposed to form a part of your character. I remonstrated with you on the unworthy treatment shown to the officers and citizens of America, whom the fortune of war, chance, or a mistaken confidence had thrown into your hands. Whether British or American mercy, fortitude, and patience are most pre-eminent; whether our virtuous citizens, whom

the hand of tyranny has forced into arms to defend their wives, their children, and their property, or the mercenary instruments of lawless domination, avarice, and revenge, best deserve the appellation of rebels, and the punishment of that cord, which your affected clemency has forborne to inflict; whether the authority under which I act is usurped, or founded upon the genuine principles of liberty, were altogether foreign to the subject. I purposely avoided all political disquisition; nor shall I now avail myself of those advantages, which the sacred cause of my country, of liberty, and of human nature, give me over you; much less shall I stoop to retort and invective; but the intelligence you say you have received from our army requires a reply. I have taken time, sir, to make a strict inquiry, and find it has not the least foundation in truth. Not only your officers and soldiers have been treated with the tenderness due to fellow-citizens and brethren, but even those execrable parricides, whose counsels and aid have deluged their country with blood, have been protected from the fury of a justly-enraged people. Far from compelling or permitting their assistance, I am embarrassed with the numbers who crowd to our camp, animated with the purest principles of virtue and love to their country.

"You affect, sir, to despise all rank, not derived from the same source with your own. I cannot conceive one more honorable than that which flows from

the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest source, and original fountain, of all power. Far from making it a plea for cruelty, a mind of true magnanimity and enlarged ideas would comprehend and respect it.

"What may have been the ministerial views which have precipitated the present crisis, Lexington, Concord, and Charlestown can best declare. May that God, to whom you then appeal, judge between America and you. Under his providence, those who influence the councils of America, and all the other inhabitants of the united colonies, at the hazard of their lives, are determined to hand down to posterity those just and invaluable privileges which they received from their ancestors.

"I shall now, sir, close my correspondence with you, perhaps forever. If your officers, our prisoners, receive a treatment from me different from that which I wished to show them, they and you will remember the occasion of it."

General Gage must have felt, on reading this letter, his own utter littleness in comparison with his correspondent. His conduct was as impolitic as it was insolent. By setting at naught all the rules of honorable warfare, and intimating that the highest American officers would be treated as criminals, he made retaliation indispensable. Washington, therefore, gave orders that the British prisoners in his hands should receive the same treatment as was known to be practised on the American prisoners in Boston. They were

accordingly marched off to Northampton, to be closely confined in jail. This was in strict compliance with the laws of war. But Washington, unwilling to punish the innocent for the crime of the guilty, countermanded the order for their close confinement before they reached Northampton, and directions were sent by Colonel Reed, his secretary, that they should be at liberty to go abroad on their parole, and should have every indulgence consistent with their security.

Soon after this affair, the companies of riflemen from Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, raised by order of Congress, arrived at the camp in Cambridge. Dr. Thatcher thus describes them in his Military Journal:

"Several companies of riflemen, amounting, it is said, to more than fourteen hundred men, have arrived here from Pennsylvania and Maryland, a distance of from five hundred to seven hundred miles. They are remarkably stout and hardy men; many of them exceeding six feet in height. They are dressed in white frocks, or rifle shirts, and round hats. These men are remarkable for the accuracy of their aim, striking a mark with great certainty at two hundred yards distance. At a review, a company of them, while on a quick advance, fired their balls into objects of seven inches diameter, at the distance of two hundred and fifty yards. They are now stationed on our lines, and their shot have frequently proved fatal to British officers and soldiers, who

expose themselves to view, even at more than double the distance of common musket-shot."\*

\* The British officers, about this time, were much annoyed at the success of the American sentinels in dispersing handbills among their rank and file. One was framed, entitled, "An address to the soldiers;" another contained the following comparison :

<i>Prospect Hill.</i>	<i>Bunker's Hill.</i>
1. Seven dollars a month.	1. Three pence a day.
2. Fresh provisions, and in plenty.	2. Rotten salt pork.
3. Health.	3. The scurvy.
4. Freedom, ease, affluence, and a good farm.	4. Slavery, beggary, and want.

"These bills," says a letter, July 24, "are blown into their camp, and get into the hands of their soldiers, without the officers being able to prevent it. Major Bruce complained, at an interview the other day, of such usage. We retorted his decoying our sentries from their posts, two rascals having left us a day or two before, by

One of these companies was commanded by Daniel Morgan, who was subsequently so much distinguished as a general. His men were so serviceable in the war, that the mention of "Morgan's riflemen" has long been familiar to the readers of the revolutionary history.

In addition to this seasonable addition to his force, Washington was now receiving reinforcements of militia from the New England colonies.

his or some other officer's means. Colonel Reed also sent to General Gage a copy of the declaration of the united colonies, who pronounced its contents to be 'as replete with deceit and falsehood as most of their (the Americans') publications.' "—*Frothingham, Siege of Boston.*



## CHAPTER IV.

1775, 1776.

### WASHINGTON SENDS A DETACHMENT TO CANADA.

Proposed invasion of Canada.—General Schuyler authorized to advance to St. John's and Montreal.—Washington proposes to co-operate with him by sending a detachment through Maine to Quebec.—He writes to General Schuyler explaining his plan.—Report to Congress.—Congress anxious to secure the Canadians.—Attack on St. John's.—Repulsed.—General Schuyler is taken ill and retires.—General Montgomery succeeds him.—Capture of Fort St. John.—Of Fort Chamblée.—General Carleton defeated.—Ethan Allen taken prisoner.—General Carleton quits Montreal, which is taken by Montgomery.—Surrender of the fugitives.—Munitions of war obtained.—Escape of Carleton.—Situation of Montgomery.—Arnold advances through the wilderness of Maine.—Defection of Enos.—Arrival at Quebec.—Indian treachery.—Arnold crosses the river St. Lawrence and lands near Wolfe's Cove.—His imprudence.—He marches to Point aux Trembles.—Carleton arrives in Quebec.—General Montgomery before Quebec.—Assault.—Death of Montgomery.—Arnold chosen commander.—Reinforcement from Massachusetts.—Bad conduct towards the Canadians.—Small-pox in the army.—Arrival of General Thomas.—Retreat.—Pursuit by Carleton.—Battle of the Cedars.—Arnold attempts to recover the Cedars.—Fails.—Cartel signed.—Great increase of the British.—Capture of General Thompson.—Arnold abandons Montreal and retreats to Crown Point.

WHILE the events which we have just related were passing in the camp before Boston, General Schuyler, who, it will be recollected, had been intrusted with the military command of the province of New York, had been preparing to enter Canada. A resolution of Congress had authorized him to take possession of St. John's and Montreal as soon as he should find it practicable; and he had written to Washington, from Ticonderoga, on the 31st of July, informing him of his preparations for crossing the lake.

Washington proposed to aid him by sending a detachment from the  
1775. army at Cambridge, which

should march through Maine to attack Quebec. This plan is described in the following extract from his letter to General Schuyler, of the 20th of August:

"The design of this express is to communicate to you a plan of an expedition, which has engaged my thoughts for several days. It is to penetrate into Canada, by way of Kennebec River, and so to Quebec, by a route ninety miles below Montreal. I can very well spare a detachment for this purpose of one thousand or twelve hundred men, and the land-carriage by the route proposed is too inconsiderable to make an objection.

If you are resolved to proceed, which

I gather from your last letter is your intention, it would make a diversion that would distract Carleton, and facilitate your views. He must either break up and follow this party to Quebec, by which he will leave you a free passage, or he must suffer that important place to fall into our hands—an event that would have a decisive effect and influence on the public interests. There may be some danger that such a sudden incursion might alarm the Canadians, and detach them from that neutrality which they have hitherto observed; but I should hope, that, with suitable precautions and a strict discipline, any apprehensions and jealousies might be removed. The few whom I have consulted upon it, approve it much; but the final determination is deferred until I hear from you. You will, therefore, by the return of this messenger, inform me of your ultimate resolution. If you mean to proceed, acquaint me as particularly as you can with the time and force, what late accounts you have had from Canada, and your opinion as to the sentiments of the inhabitants, as well as those of the Indians, upon a penetration into their country; what number of troops are at Quebec, and whether any men-of-war; with all other circumstances which may be material in the consideration of a step of such importance. Not a moment's time is to be lost in the preparations for this enterprise, if the advices received from you favor it. With the utmost expedition, the season will be considerably ad-

vanced, so that you will dismiss the express as soon as possible.”\*

A month later he writes to Congress an account of the starting of the expedition, and its design.

“I am now to inform the honorable Congress,” he says, “that, encouraged by the repeated declarations of the Canadians and Indians, and, urged by their requests, I have detached Colonel Arnold, with a thousand men, to penetrate into Canada by way of Kennebec River, and, if possible, to make himself master of Quebec. By this manœuvre, I proposed, either to divert Carleton from St. John's, which would leave a free passage to General Schuyler; or, if this did not take effect, Quebec, in its present defenceless state, must fall into his hands an easy prey. I made all possible inquiry as to the distance, the safety of the route, and the danger of the season being too far advanced; but found nothing in either to deter me from proceeding, more especially as it met with very general approbation from all whom I consulted upon it. But, that nothing might be omitted to enable me to judge of its propriety and probable consequences, I communicated it by express to General Schuyler, who approved of it in such terms, that I re-

---

\* Your excellency's letter, of the 8th instant, I received yesterday. I am happy to learn that the troops under the command of Colonel Arnold were to march so soon. I hope our people will commit no depredations in Canada; all possible care will be taken of it; but yet I have many fears on that score, as they stole thirty-two sheep at Isle aux Noix, contrary to the most pointed orders.—*Sparks, Correspondence of the Revolution.*



solved to put it in immediate execution. They have now left this place seven days; and, if favored with a good wind, I hope soon to hear of their being safe in Kennebec River."

In order to understand thoroughly the object and the history of this expedition of Arnold to Quebec, it is necessary to give a general sketch of the joint operations of the expedition sent from New York about the same time, which was intended to co-operate with him in occupying Canada.

Congress had early turned its attention towards Canada, and endeavored to gain the co-operation, or, at least, to secure the neutrality of the inhabitants in its dispute with Great Britain. The Congress of the preceding year had circulated an address to the Canadians, evidently intended to render them disaffected to the British administration, and to make them enter into the sentiments and measures of the other provinces. Although that address did not make on the minds of the Canadians all that impression which was intended and desired, yet it was not altogether without effect; for the great body of the people wished to remain neutral in the contest.

Congress mistook the reluctance of the Canadians to engage in active operations against them, for a decided partiality to their cause; and resolved to anticipate the British by striking a decisive blow in that quarter. In

1775.

this purpose they were encouraged by the easy success of the enter-

prise against the forts on the lakes, and by the small number of troops then in Canada. They appointed General Schuyler commander of the expedition, with General Montgomery under him.

Early in September, those officers, with about one thousand men, made an attempt on Fort St. John, situated on the river Sorel, which flows from Lake Champlain and joins the St. Lawrence; but found it expedient to retire to Isle aux Noix, at the entrance of the lake, about twelve miles above the fort, and wait for reinforcements.

Meanwhile, General Schuyler was taken ill, and returned to Albany, leaving the command in the hands of General Montgomery, with instructions to prosecute the enterprise on receiving the expected reinforcements. The reinforcements arrived: the attack on Fort St. John was renewed; and, after a vigorous defence, it surrendered about the middle of November. In it the Americans found a considerable number of brass and iron cannon, howitzers, and mortars, a quantity of shot and small shells, about eight hundred stand of small-arms, and some naval stores; but the powder and provisions were nearly exhausted.

During the siege of Fort St. John, Fort Chamblée had been taken, which furnished General Montgomery with a plentiful supply of provisions, of which he stood greatly in need. General Carleton, who was on his way from Montreal to relieve the garrison, had



been defeated; and Colonel Ethan Allen, who had made an unauthorized attack on Montreal, was overcome and taken prisoner.

On the fall of Fort St. John, General Montgomery advanced against Montreal, which was in no condition to resist him. Governor Carleton, sensible of his inability to defend the town, quitted it, and next day General Montgomery entered the place. A body of provincials, under Colonel Easton, took post at the mouth of the Sorel, and, by means of an armed vessel and floating batteries, commanded the navigation of the St. Lawrence. The British force which had retreated down the river from Montreal, consisting only of about one hundred and twenty soldiers, with several officers, under General Prescott, and accompanied by Governor Carleton, in eleven vessels, seeing it impracticable to force the passage, surrendered by capitulation. The vessels contained a considerable quantity of provisions, arms, and ammunition, which furnished a seasonable supply to the Americans. About midnight of the day before the capitulation, Governor Carleton escaped down the river in a boat with muffled oars, and safely reached Quebec.

It was now the 19th of November, and the severe weather which had set in was very unfavorable to military operations. General Montgomery, a young man of superior talents and high spirit, found himself in extremely unpleasant circumstances. He was at the

head of a body of men, many of whom were not deficient in personal courage, but were strangers to military subordination. The term of service for which numbers of them were engaged was near an end; and, already weary of the hardships of war, they clamorously demanded a discharge. Hitherto his career had been successful, and he was ambitious of closing the campaign by some brilliant achievement, which might at once elevate the spirits of the Americans and humble the pride of the British ministry. With these views, even at that rigorous season of the year, he hastened towards Quebec, although he found it necessary to weaken his little army, which had never exceeded two thousand men, by discharging such of his followers as had become weary of the service.

About the middle of September, the detachment of eleven hundred men, under Colonel Arnold, which was sent, as we have seen, from the camp at Cambridge, by Washington, with orders to proceed across the country against Quebec, by a route which had not been explored, and was little known. The party embarked at Newbury, steered for the Kennebec, and ascended that river. But their progress was

1775.

impeded by rapids, by an almost impassable wilderness, by bad weather, and by want of provisions. They separated into several divisions. After encountering many difficulties, the last division, under Colonel Enos, was unwilling to proceed, and returned to the

camp at Cambridge.\* But the other divisions, under Arnold, pressed forward amidst incredible hardships and privations, and triumphed over obstacles nearly insuperable. For a month they toiled through a rough, barren, and uninhabited wilderness, without seeing a human habitation, or the face of an individual, except those of their own party, and with very scanty provisions. At length, on the 9th of November, Arnold, with his force much diminished, arrived at Point Levi, opposite Quebec.

His appearance was not unexpected; for the lieutenant-governor had been for some time apprised of his march. In the early part of his progress, Arnold had met an Indian, to whom, although a stranger, he had imprudently intrusted a letter to General Schuyler, under cover to a friend in Quebec. The Indian, instead of faithfully delivering the letter according to the directions which he had received, carried it to the lieutenant-governor, who, in order to prevent the Americans from passing the river, immediately removed all the canoes from Point Levi, and began to put the city in a posture of defence, which before might easily have been surprised. On discovering the arrival of Arnold at Point Levi, the British commander stationed two vessels of war in the river to guard the passage; and, at that interesting

crisis, Colonel McLean, who had retreated before Montgomery, arrived from the Sorel with about one hundred and seventy newly-raised troops, to assist in the defence of the place.

Notwithstanding all the vigilance of the British, on the night of the 14th of November, Arnold crossed the river with five hundred men, in thirty-five canoes, and landed unperceived near the place where the brave and enterprising Wolfe had landed about sixteen years before, thence named Wolfe's Cove. He had provided scaling-ladders, but was unable to carry them over the river along with his troops, and consequently was not in a condition to make an immediate attempt on the town. Instead, however, of concealing himself till he could bring forward his scaling-ladders, and then make a sudden and unexpected attack by night, he marched part of his troops in military parade in sight of the garrison, and so put the British fully on their guard. He wished to summon them to surrender; but they fired on his flag of truce, and refused to hold any intercourse with him. He, therefore, on the 19th of the month, turned his back on Quebec, and marched to Point aux Trembles, about twenty miles above the city, where General Montgomery, with the force under his command, joined him on the 1st of December.

Soon after Arnold's retreat, Governor Carleton arrived in Quebec, and made every exertion to put the place in a state of defence. Having brought the

\* Enos, on his arrival at the camp, was put under arrest by Washington's order. He was afterwards tried for his defection, and acquitted. He then resigned his commission and retired to Vermont.—*Sparks, Writings of Washington.*



scaling-ladders across the river, General Montgomery, with the whole of the American force, appeared before Quebec on the 5th of December. The garrison was then more numerous than the army which came to take the place. So greatly was the American force reduced, that it scarcely amounted to one thousand men; while General Carleton had about fifteen hundred soldiers, militia, seamen, and volunteers, under his command.

General Montgomery sent a flag of truce to summon the garrison to surrender; but it was fired upon, as that of Arnold had been. He therefore, in the depth of a Canadian winter, and in the most intense cold, erected batteries; but his artillery was too light to make any impression on the fortifications. He now determined to storm the town; and the assault was made on the morning of the 31st of December.

About four o'clock in the morning, in the midst of a violent storm of snow,

two feints and two real attacks

1775. were simultaneously made. The

real attacks were conducted by Montgomery and Arnold. Montgomery, advancing at the head of about two hundred men, fell by the first discharge of grape-shot from the works. Several of his best officers being killed, his division retreated. Arnold, at the head of about three hundred men, in a different quarter, maintained a fierce and obstinate conflict for some time; but was at last wounded and repulsed. The death of Montgomery was the subject of much

regret, as he had been universally loved and esteemed. On assembling after the assault, the Americans could not muster many more than four hundred effective men, who chose Arnold their commander; and, in the hope of receiving reinforcements, resolved to remain in the vicinity of Quebec.

Carleton, the governor, whether from policy or humanity, treated the prisoners with kindness.\*

The Americans were not ignorant of their own great inferiority in point of numbers to the garrison, and were not without apprehensions of being attacked; but, although the garrison was three times more numerous than the blockading army, yet it was of such a mixed and precarious nature, that Carleton did not deem it prudent to march out against the enemy.

A small reinforcement from Massachusetts reached the American camp, and all the troops that could be spared from Montreal marched to join their countrymen before Quebec; but the month of February was far advanced before the army amounted to nine hundred and sixty men. Arnold, however, resumed the siege; but his artillery was inadequate to the undertaking, and made no impression on the works. Although unsuccessful against the town, he defeated a body of Canadians who advanced to relieve it.

When the Americans entered the province, many of the inhabitants were

---

\* See Document [A] at the end of chap. i., Book IV.



well-disposed towards them; but by their ill-behavior they forfeited the good-will and provoked the hostility of the Canadians. They compelled the people, at the point of the bayonet, to furnish them with articles below the current prices; gave illegal or unsigned certificates for goods which they had received, and, in consequence, many of the certificates were rejected by the quartermaster-general; they made promises and did not perform them; and they insulted and abused the people when they demanded payment of their just debts. By such unworthy conduct they alienated the affections of the Canadians, who considered Congress as bankrupt, and their army as a band of plunderers.

On hearing of such scandalous misconduct, Congress ordered justice to be done to the Canadians, and the strictest military discipline to be observed. But in Canada the tide of popular sentiment and feeling was turned against the Americans, who, by their dishonorable practices, had awakened a spirit of indignation and hostility, which all the policy of Governor Carleton had been unable to excite.

While the American army lay before Quebec, the troops caught the small-pox from a woman who had been a nurse in a hospital of the city; and the loathsome disease spread rapidly among them. In order to mitigate the ravages of this destructive malady, many of the men inoculated themselves, regardless of orders to the contrary. The rein-

forcements, which were daily arriving, had recourse to the same practice; and so general was the infection, that, on the 1st of May, although the army amounted to two thousand men, not more than nine hundred were fit for duty. In this diseased state of the troops, medicines and every thing necessary for the sick were wanting. The men were also scattered for want of barracks. Major-general Thomas, who had been appointed to the command of the American army in Canada, arrived in camp on the 1st of May. He found the troops enfeebled by disease, ill-supplied with provisions, and with only a small quantity of ammunition. The river was opening below; and he was well aware that as soon as ships could force their way through the ice, the garrison would be reinforced. On the 5th of May, therefore, he resolved to retreat towards Montreal; and on the evening of the same day, he received certain information that a British fleet was in the river. Next morning, some of the ships, by great exertion and with much danger, pressed through the ice into the harbor, and landed some troops.

The Americans were preparing to retire: General Carleton marched out to attack them; but, instead of waiting his approach, they made a precipitate retreat, leaving behind them their sick, baggage, artillery, and military stores. Many of those who were ill of the small-pox escaped from the hospitals and concealed themselves in the country, where

they were kindly entertained by the Canadians till they recovered, and were able to follow their countrymen. General Carleton could not overtake the American army; but he took about one hundred sick prisoners, whom he treated with his characteristic humanity.

The Americans retreated about forty-five miles, and then halted a few days; but afterwards proceeded to Sorel, in a deplorable condition, and encamped there. In this interval some reinforcements arrived; but General Thomas was seized with the small-pox, and died. He was succeeded in the command by General Sullivan.

The British had several military posts in Upper Canada; and the Americans established one at the Cedars, a point of land which projects into the St. Lawrence, about forty miles above Montreal. Captain Forster, who had marched from Oswegatchie, appeared before this post with a company of regulars and a considerable number of Indians; and the American commanding officer surrendered the place after a short resistance. An American party of about one hundred men, under Major Sherburne, left Montreal to assist their countrymen at the Cedars; but as they approached that place, on the day after the surrender, and ignorant of that event, they were suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by a body of Indians and Canadians. After defending themselves for some time, the Americans were overpowered, and many of

them fell under the tomahawks of the Indians. The rest were made prisoners.\*

Arnold, who, in the month of January, had been raised to the rank of brigadier-general, and who then commanded at Montreal, was desirous of recovering the Cedars, and of relieving the prisoners there; and for these purposes marched towards that place, at the head of about eight hundred men. But, on his approach, Captain Forster gave him notice, that unless he agreed to a cartel, which had already been signed by Major Sherburne and some other officers, the Indians would put all the prisoners to death. In these circumstances, Arnold reluctantly signed the cartel, and retired. Congress long hesitated and delayed to sanction this agreement.

Before the end of May, the British force in Canada was greatly increased; and, including the German mercenaries, was estimated at thirteen thousand men. That force was widely dispersed; but Three Rivers, about ninety miles above Quebec and as much below Montreal, was the general point of rendezvous. A considerable detachment, under General Frazer, had already arrived there. That detachment General Sullivan wished to surprise; and appointed General Thompson to command the troops in the expedition sent out for that purpose. The enterprise failed; Thompson was made prisoner, and his

---

\* See Document [B] at the end of this chapter.

detachment dispersed, but without any great loss.

The royal military and naval forces having been collected at Three Rivers, a long village so named from its contiguity to a river which empties itself into the St. Lawrence by three mouths, advanced by land and water towards the Sorel. General Sullivan had retreated up that river; and General Burgoyne, who had left Boston and joined Carleton, was ordered cautiously to pursue him. On the 15th of June, General Arnold quitted Montreal, crossed the river at Longueille, marched on Chamblee, and conducted

the army to Crown Point, with little loss in the retreat. Thus terminated the invasion of Canada, in which the American army endured great hardships, and sustained considerable loss, without any apparent advantage to the cause in which it was engaged.

It is certain, nevertheless, that Washington acted with his usual good judgment in sending out the expedition under Arnold. It came very near capturing Quebec; and only failed under a combination of unfortunate circumstances, against the occurrence of which no human foresight could provide.



## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER IV.

---

[A.]

### GENERAL MONTGOMERY.

RICHARD MONTGOMERY, a major-general in the army of the United States, in the Revolutionary war, was born in the north of Ireland in the year 1737. He possessed an excellent genius, which was matured by a fine education. Entering the army of Great Britain, he successfully fought her battles with Wolfe at Quebec, 1759, and on the very spot where he was doomed to fall, when fighting against her under the banners of freedom. After his return to England, he quitted his regiment in 1772, though in a fair way to preferment. He had imbibed an attachment to America, viewing it as the rising seat of arts and freedom. After his arrival in this country he purchased an estate in New York, about a hundred miles from the city, and married a daughter of Judge Livingston. He now considered himself as an American. When the struggle with Great Britain commenced, as he was known to have an ardent attachment to liberty, and had expressed his readiness to draw his sword on the side of the colonies, the command of the continental forces in the northern department was intrusted to him and General Schuyler, in the fall of 1775. By the indisposition of Schuyler, the chief command devolved upon him in October. He reduced Fort Chamblee, and on the third of November captured St. Johns. On the 12th he took Montreal. Leaving a few troops in Montreal, he dispatched several detachments into the province, encouraging the Canadians to forward on provisions, and proceeded with expedition to Quebec. He formed a junction at Point-aux-Trembles with Colonel

Arnold, who had been dispatched through the wilderness with a body of troops from the American army at Cambridge. The combined forces commenced the siege of the capital on the 1st of December, prior to which General Montgomery sent in a summons to Governor Carleton to surrender, in order to avoid the horrors of an assault. The flag was fired upon, and returned. Means, however, were devised by which the summons was conveyed to the inhabitants, but Carleton evinced astonishing inflexibility and firmness of mind on this trying occasion. The bombardment was soon after begun from five small mortars, but with very little effect. In a few days, General Montgomery opened a six-gun battery, about seven hundred yards distant from the walls, but his pieces were of too small calibre to make any impression. Convinced that the siege must soon be raised, or the place be stormed, the general decided on the latter, although he esteemed success but barely within the grasp of possibility. He was induced to adopt this measure in order to meet the expectations of the whole colonies, who looked up to him for the speedy reduction of that province, which would be completed by the capture of the capital. The upper town was strongly fortified, the access to which from the lower town was very difficult on account of its almost perpendicular steepness. His confidence in the ardor of his troops, and a thirst for glory, induced him to make the assault, or perish in the attempt. The garrison of Quebec consisted of about fifteen hundred and twenty men; viz. eight hundred militia, four hundred and fifty seamen, and the remainder marines and regulars. The Americans consisted of only eight hundred.





W. & T. G. Scatchard

*Rich<sup>d</sup>. Montgomery*

and from the 1st to the 31st of Decr. 1776

Engraved by J. G. Scatchard



The siege having been for some time ineffectually carried on, the last day of the year was determined for the assault. The morn was ushered in with a fall of snow. The general divided his little force into four detachments. Colonel Livingston, at the head of the Canadians, was directed to make a feint against St. John's Gate; and Major Brown, another against Cape Diamond, in the upper town; while himself and Arnold should advance against the lower town, the first object of real attack. Montgomery advanced, at the head of the New York troops, along the St. Lawrence, and having assisted with his own hands in pulling up the pickets, which obstructed his approach to the second barrier, which he was determined to force, when the only gun that was fired from the battery of the astonished enemy, killed him and his two aids. The spot where General Montgomery fell, is a place a little above Frazer's wharf, under Cape Diamond. The road there is extremely narrow, and will not admit of more than five people to walk abreast. A barrier had been made across the road, and from the windows of a low house, which formed part of it, were planted two cannon. At his appearing upon a little rising ground, at the distance of about twenty or thirty yards, they were discharged. He and his two aids-de-camp fell at the same time, and thence rolled upon the ice in the river, which always forms in the winter upon its side. The next morning, a party being sent out to pick up the dead, he was discovered among the slain. He was immediately taken to the prison where the Americans were confined, as they had denied his death; upon which they acknowledged him, and burst into tears. The same night he was buried by a few soldiers, without any kind of distinction whatever, at the corner of the powder-house, near Port Louis. The lieutenant-governor of Quebec, Mr. Cramche, having served with him in the British army, was induced, by the persuasions of a lady, who was afterwards Mrs. Cramche, to order him a coffin, but made in the roughest manner. The other officers were indiscriminately thrown, with their clothes on, into the same grave with their men. As there was a great quantity of snow on the ground,

and the earth was frozen very hard, it was impossible to dig the graves very deep, and of course the bodies were but slightly covered. On the thawing of the snow in the ensuing spring, many of them appeared above ground, and became offensive. They were, however, again buried, on General Carleton's being made acquainted with the circumstance.

He was thirty-eight years of age. He was a man of great military talents, whose measures were taken with judgment, and executed with vigor. Leading undisciplined troops, who were jealous of him in the extreme, he yet inspired them with his own enthusiasm. He shared with them in all their hardships, and thus prevented their complaints. His industry could not be wearied, his vigilance imposed upon, nor his courage intimidated. Above the pride of opinion, when a measure was adopted by the majority, though contrary to his judgment, he gave it his full support.

The following character of General Montgomery, we copy from Ramsay's History of the American Revolution:

"Few men have ever fallen in battle, so much regretted by both sides, as General Montgomery. His many amiable qualities had procured him an uncommon share of private affection, and his great abilities an equal proportion of public esteem. Being a sincere lover of liberty, he had engaged in the American cause from principle, and quitted the enjoyment of an easy fortune, and the highest domestic felicity, to take an active share in the fatigues and dangers of a war, instituted for the defence of the community of which he was an adopted member. His well-known character was almost equally esteemed by the friends and foes of the side which he had espoused. In America, he was celebrated as a martyr to the liberties of mankind; in Great Britain, as a misguided good man, sacrificing to what he supposed to be the rights of his country. His name was mentioned in parliament with singular respect. Some of the most powerful speakers in that assembly, displayed their eloquence in sounding his praise, and lamenting his fate. Those in particular who had been his fellow-soldiers in the previous war, expatiated on his many virtues. The minister himself ac-

knowledge of his worth, while he reprobated the cause for which he fell. He concluded an involuntary panegyric, by saying, 'Curse on his virtues, they have undone his country.' "

To express the high sense entertained by his country of his services, Congress directed a monument of white marble, with the following inscription on it, to be placed in front of St. Paul's church, New York :

THIS MONUMENT  
was erected by order of Congress,  
25th January, 1776,  
to transmit to posterity  
a grateful remembrance of the  
patriotism, conduct, enterprise, and perseverance,  
OF MAJOR-GENERAL  
RICHARD MONTGOMERY;  
who, after a series of success,  
amidst the most discouraging difficulties,  
fell in the attack on Quebec,  
31st December, 1775,  
aged 38 years.

The remains of General Montgomery, after resting forty-two years at Quebec, by a resolve of the State of New York, were brought to the city of New York, on the 8th of July, 1818, and deposited, with ample form, and grateful ceremonies, near the aforesaid monument in St. Paul's church.

The removal of the remains was left by his excellency, Governor Clinton, to the family of the deceased ; and Colonel L. Livingston (a nephew of General Montgomery), proceeded to Quebec for the purpose. They were identified by the faithful hand of an honest and ingenious old soldier, who attended the funeral, and whose retentive memory, almost half a century after that mournful era, was spared to direct the hand of affection to that hallowed turf.

The coffin which contained the remains had not fallen to pieces. It appears to have been of a rough structure, with a silver plate on its lid. There was no inscription visible on the plate. The anatomy was in a perfect state of preservation. The skeleton of the head, with the exception of the under jaw, which was shot away, was perfect. Three teeth of the under jaw were together.

The remains were taken up with great care by Colonel Livingston, and secured by binding

a tarpaulin close round the old coffin, and inclosing them in an iron-bound chest.

At Troy they took them from the box and tar-cloth, and inclosed them, together with the original coffin, in a most splendid mahogany coffin, with the following inscription, elegantly engraved upon a silver plate, placed on its lid :

THE STATE OF NEW YORK,  
in honor of  
GENERAL RICHARD MONTGOMERY,  
who fell gloriously fighting for the  
INDEPENDENCE AND LIBERTY OF THE UNITED STATES,  
before the walls of Quebec, the 31st day of December, 1775,  
caused these remains of this distinguished hero  
to be conveyed from Quebec, and  
deposited, on the 8th day of July, 1818,  
in St. Paul's church, in the city of New York,  
near the monument erected to his memory  
BY THE UNITED STATES.

[B.]

A BROTHER MASON.

In the battle of the Cedars, a singularly romantic incident befell Captain John M'Kinstry, an officer who served with distinction throughout the war. At the first call of his country, he engaged in her service ; and from the memorable battle of Bunker's Hill, with which her sanguinary trials began, down to the surrender of Cornwallis, at Yorktown, with which they gloriously ended, his zealous and efficient support was given to the cause of freedom. He had been repeatedly and severely wounded ; and some of the enemy's balls he bore with him to the tomb in which his remains are deposited. As a partisan officer he was particularly distinguished ; and in many instances he showed, that to a daring spirit of gallantry (which was, perhaps, his most peculiar characteristic), he added the skill and conduct so seldom attained, and yet so indispensable to the formation of that character. The incident to which we have alluded is thus related by his biographer.

At the battle of the Cedars (thirty miles above Montreal, on the St. Lawrence), Colonel M'Kinstry, then captain in Colonel Patterson's regiment of continental troops, was twice wounded and taken prisoner by the Indians.

The intrepidity of Captain M'Kinstry, as a partisan officer, to which we have alluded above, had rendered him alike the object of their fears, and of their unforgiving resentment. The British officers were too much in dread of their savage allies, on account of their vast superiority of numbers, to risk an interposition of their authority to prevent a horrid sacrifice they saw preparing: already had the victim been bound to the tree, and surrounded by the fagots intended for his immolation; hope had fled, and in the agony of despair he had uttered that mystic appeal which the brotherhood of Masons never disregard; when, as if heaven had interposed for his preservation, the warrior Brandt understood him and saved him.

Brandt had been educated in Europe, and had there been initiated into the mysteries of freemasonry. The advantages of education,

and his native strength of mind, gave him an ascendancy over the uncultured sons of the forest that few other chiefs possessed. Situated as he was, the impending danger of a brother must have forcibly brought to mind his obligation to support him in the time of peril. His utmost endeavors were accordingly used, and they were happily successful in obtaining for him an immediate respite and eventual ransom.

After the settlement of peace he retired to the cultivation of his farm in the vicinity of Hudson, sustaining an unblemished reputation, and enjoying the reward of his toils and sufferings, in the respect which was accorded, as well to the rectitude of his private life, as to the patriotic services he had rendered his country.

He died in the town of Livingston, New York, in the year 1822.



## CHAPTER V.

1775—1776.

### WASHINGTON EXPELS THE BRITISH FROM BOSTON.

Gage's revised opinion of the rebels.—He is tired of Boston, and wishes to remove the seat of war to New York.—He is recalled, and succeeded by General Howe.—His views and policy.—Washington's situation.—Council of war decides not to attack.—Washington's description of the bad state of the army.—Soldiers' term of service about to expire.—Committee of Congress, in convention with Washington and his officers, make arrangements for organizing a new army.—Washington confers freely with the committee on affairs.—Washington sends out a portion of his men in armed schooners, who capture the store-ships of the enemy.—He thus lays the foundation of the American navy.—Prizes brought in.—Affair at Gloucester.—Burning of Falmouth.—Treason of Dr. Church.—Washington's account of his trouble in arranging the new army.—Its destitute condition.—Skirmish.—Putnam fortifies Cobble Hill.—Washington's critical situation.—He fortifies Leechmere's Point.—Mrs. Washington arrives at head-quarters.—Defection of the Connecticut troops.—Convention called.—Five thousand minute-men raised by Massachusetts and New Hampshire to man Washington's lines.—Slow progress of recruiting for the continental army.—Great reduction of force at the end of the year 1775.—Washington's account of his position.—His reserve as to his utter destitution.—His noble sentiments and conduct.—His various preparations for attacking the enemy.—Council of war.—Resolve of Congress permitting him to destroy Boston if he should deem it necessary.—Washington's answer.—Council of war, with Adams and Warren present.—Reserve militia called in.—Assault intended.—Notice.—Washington's remarks addressed to Congress respecting the assault.—Washington recommends a permanent army.—His forcible reasoning on the subject.—His account of the different kinds of soldiers.—Congress disregards his opinion, and persists in the system of short enlistments.—Dorchester Heights occupied.—Advantages of the position.—The British preparing to depart.—Bombardment.—Consternation of the British.—Force sent to dislodge the troops at Dorchester Heights prevented from attacking by a storm.—Washington's plan of operations in case the attack had been made.—Confusion in Boston.—Admiral Shulldham apprises General Howe, that the harbor is no longer tenable for his ships.—Informal application to Washington to let the British depart if they would not burn the town.—Their final departure.—Embarkation.—Voyage to Halifax.—Effects of the evacuation of Boston.—The Massachusetts Assembly addresses thanks to Washington.—His answer.—Congress votes thanks and a gold medal to Washington.—John Adams's letter.—Hancock's official letter from Congress.—Washington's reply.

CONSIDERING the strength of the British army in Boston, it might be matter of surprise that General Gage had made no serious attack upon the besieging army; but his experience of the valor and determination of the colonists, as well as of the formidable mode of warfare adopted in the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, had taught him to respect them as soldiers. Writing

to Lord Dartmouth, he says: "The trials we have had, show the rebels are not the despicable rabble too many have supposed them to be; and I find it owing to a military spirit encouraged among them for a few years past, joined with an uncommon degree of zeal and enthusiasm, that they are otherwise."

Gage was desirous of occupying New York; but would not venture to evac-

uate Boston without express orders from the government. He therefore determined to winter in Boston, and began to make preparations for occupying the houses in the town as barracks for the soldiery.

While this was going forward, he received a summons from the government commanding his return to Eng-  
 Sept. 26, land, "in order to give his maj-  
 1775. esty exact information of every thing that it may be necessary to prepare, as early as possible, for the operations of next year, and to suggest to his majesty such matters in relation thereto, as his knowledge and experience of the service enable him to furnish."

In replying to Lord Dartmouth, October 1st, General Gage recommended the measure, which the ministry adopted in the ensuing year, of abandoning New England and occupying New York. "I am of opinion," he wrote, "that no offensive operations can be carried on to advantage from Boston. On the supposition of a certainty of driving the rebels from their intrenchments, no advantage would be gained but reputation; victory could not be improved, through the want of every necessary to march into the country. The loss of men would probably be great, and the rebels be as numerous in a few days as before their defeat; besides, the country is remarkably strong, and adapted to their way of fighting."

General Gage now prepared to depart for England, expecting to return after the king and the ministry should

have obtained the "exact information" which they so much desired, and in which they had, sooth to say, been woefully deficient ever since the controversy began. His departure was attended with the usual formalities, such as a fulsomely flattering address from the council, praising him for all the virtues which he did not possess; and another from the loyal inhabitants, a little more "reserved in its endorsement of his proceedings." Gage, in his replies, charged all the troubles of the people on designing ambitious leaders, who had "erected a tyranny upon the most free, happy, and lenient government." He embarked on the 10th of October for England, and soon found that his services in America for the future would be dispensed with.\* His successor, General Howe,† was an abler officer, and a more popular man. His views respecting the military operations to be pursued coincided, however, with those of his predecessor. Writing to Lord Dartmouth, October 9th, he says, "that the opening of the campaign from this quarter would be attended with great hazard, as well from the strength, as from the intrenched position, the Americans had taken." He recommended an evacuation of Boston, and desired reinforcements to arrive early in the spring.

Meantime Washington, having no knowledge of the enemy's design to re-

\* *Frothingham, Siege of Boston.*

† Howe was brother to Viscount Howe, killed at *Ticonderoga* in 1758; and also of Lord Howe, the admiral.

main inactive, and to go into winter-quarters without attempting offensive operations, was impatient for action. He was prevented, however, from any attempt on the town, by his want of powder. Only small quantities could be collected, and in no proportion to the demand. Apprehensive that the enemy might discover this deficiency, and attack and disperse his army, he resorted to a variety of expedients to conceal his situation. His own officers even, were not aware how little powder was in store. The proposal to surprise the enemy was nevertheless entertained by him, and referred to a council of war, as early as September. It was induced by complaints among the people of the inactivity of the army. The eyes of all were fixed on Washington, and it was very unreasonably expected that he would, by a bold exertion, free the town of Boston from the British troops. The dangerous situation of public affairs led him to conceal the real scarcity of arms and ammunition, and with that magnanimity which is characteristic of great minds, to suffer his character to be assailed, rather than vindicate himself by exposing his many wants. There were not wanting persons, who, judging from the superior numbers of men in the American army, boldly asserted, that, if the commander-in-chief were not desirous of prolonging his importance at the head of an army, he might by a vigorous exertion gain possession of Boston. Such suggestions were reported and believed by many,

while they were uncontradicted by the general, who chose to risk his fame, rather than expose his army and his country.

In the following extract from his letter to the president of Congress of September 21st, he refers to the proposed attack, as well as to the destitute condition of the army : 1775.

“The state of inactivity in which this army has lain for some time, by no means corresponds with my wishes to relieve my country, by some decisive stroke, from the heavy expense its subsistence must create. After frequently reconnoitering the situation of the enemy in the town of Boston, collecting all possible intelligence, and digesting the whole, a surprise did not appear to me wholly impracticable, though hazardous. I communicated it to the general officers some days before I called them to a council, that they might be prepared with their opinions. The result I have the honor of inclosing. I cannot say that I have wholly laid it aside ; but new events may occasion new measures. Of this I hope the Honorable Congress can need no assurance—that there is not a man in America who more earnestly wishes such a termination of the campaign as to make the army no longer necessary.

“It gives me great pain to be obliged to solicit the attention of the honorable Congress to the state of this army, in terms which imply the slightest apprehension of being neglected. But my situation is inexpressibly distressing ;—to



see the winter fast approaching upon a naked army; the time of their service within a few weeks of expiring; and no provision yet made for such important events. Added to these, the military chest is totally exhausted; the paymaster has not a single dollar in hand; the commissary-general assures me he has strained his credit, for the subsistence of the army, to the utmost. The quartermaster-general is precisely in the same situation; and the greater part of the troops are in a state not far from mutiny, upon the deduction from their stated allowance. I know not to whom I am to impute this failure; but I am of opinion, if the evil is not immediately remedied, and more punctually observed in future, the army must absolutely break up. I hoped I had so fully expressed myself on this subject (both by letter, and to those members of the Congress who honored the camp with a visit), that no disappointment could possibly happen: I therefore hourly expected advice from the paymaster, that he had received a fresh supply, in addition to the one hundred and seventy two thousand dollars delivered him in August; and thought myself warranted to assure the public creditors, that in a few days they should be satisfied. But the delay has brought matters to such a crisis, as admits of no further uncertain expectation. I have, therefore, sent off this express, with orders to make all possible dispatch. It is my most earnest request that he may be returned with all possible expedition, unless the

honorable Congress have already forwarded what is so indispensably necessary."

In a letter to Mr. Warren, speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly, we find a still more graphic picture of suffering. In this communication he says:

"I promised the gentlemen who did me the honor to call upon me yesterday, by order of your House, that I would inquire of the quartermaster-general, and let them know to-day, what quantity of wood and hay were necessary to supply this army through the winter. I accordingly did so, and desired General Gates this morning to inform you, that it was his (the quartermaster's) opinion, it would require ten thousand cords of the first, and two hundred tons of the latter, to answer our demands; but the hurry, in which we have been all day engaged, caused him to forget it, till a fresh complaint brought it again to remembrance.

"When the committee were here yesterday, I told them I did not believe we had then more than four days' stock of wood beforehand. I little thought that we had scarce four hours', and that the different regiments were upon the point of cutting each other's throats for a few standing locusts near their encampments, to dress their victuals with. This, however, is the fact; and, unless some expedient is adopted by your honorable body to draw more teams into the service, or the quartermaster-general is empowered to impress them, this army (if there comes a spell of rainy

and cold weather), must inevitably disperse, the consequences of which need no animadversions of mine.

"It has been a matter of great grief to me, to see so many valuable plantations of trees destroyed. I endeavored (whilst there appeared a possibility of restraining it) to prevent the practice; but it is out of my power to do it. From fences to forest-trees, and from forest-trees to fruit-trees, is a natural advance to houses, which must next follow. This is not all; the distress of the soldiers in the article of wood will, I fear, have an unhappy influence upon their enlisting again. In short, sir, if I did not apprehend every evil that can result from the want of these two capital articles, wood especially, I would not be so importunate. My anxiety on this head must plead my excuse. At the same time, I assure you that, with great respect and esteem, I am, sir, your most obedient servant."

Washington's humanity and courtesy are finely illustrated by an incident which took place in October, 1775. Two armed vessels, sent to intercept two brigantines, understood to be bound from England to Quebec with arms and ammunition, failed in that object; but attacked St. John's, plundered the inhabitants, and brought off several prisoners. On their being brought to the camp at Cambridge, Washington severely reprimanded the captors, set the prisoners at liberty, treated them with the utmost kindness, restored the plundered property, and sent them to their

homes. The acting governor of St. John's, who was one of the prisoners, expressed the liveliest gratitude to Washington for the kind treatment received from him.

As the year drew near a close, Washington found himself embarrassed with a new and very serious difficulty.

1775. It had become necessary to form a new army. The term of service of the Connecticut and Rhode Island troops would expire on the first of December, and that of the remainder of the army at the end of that month. Congress had had the matter under consideration, and a committee, consisting of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Lynch, and Oct. 18,  
1775. Mr. Harrison, repaired to headquarters at Cambridge, and there, in conjunction with Washington, made arrangements for organizing, regulating, and supporting the continental army. It was presumed that the spirit which had hitherto operated on the yeomanry of the country, would induce most of the same individuals to engage for another twelvemonth; but on experiment it was found that much of their military ardor had already evaporated. The first impulse of passion, and the novelty of the scene, had brought many to the field who had great objections against continuing in the military line. They found that to be soldiers required sacrifices, of which, when they assumed that character, they had no idea. So unacquainted were the bulk of the people with the mode of carrying on modern war, that many of them flew to



arms with the delusive expectation of settling the whole dispute by a few decisive and immediate engagements. Experience soon taught them that to risk life in open fighting, was but a part of the soldier's duty.

The plan of organization proposed by Washington to the committee of Congress was adopted. It was to be twice as large as that of the enemy in Boston, and to consist of twenty-six regiments of eight companies each, besides riflemen and artillery, the whole amounting to twenty thousand three hundred and seventy-two men. The term of service was to be for one year—an arrangement which, as will be seen, was a source of embarrassment which interfered with Washington's operations very seriously. But such was the jealousy of military power among the members of Congress and the people, that this system of short enlistments was persisted in throughout the war.

The committee of Congress remaining some time in Cambridge, Washington embraced the opportunity of conferring freely with them, and learning what reliance could be placed on the efficient support of Congress in his future operations. This was more satisfactory than the written correspondence which he had hitherto maintained with the Congress, and he was enabled by personal intercourse with the committee, to express his own views frankly and freely. All the proceedings of the committee were, on their return, approved by Congress.

The readiest means of obtaining supplies for the army, was the fitting out of armed vessels for intercepting those sent from England for the enemy in Boston. Congress had hitherto made no provision for a navy, and Washington took on himself the responsibility of creating one. It was on a small scale, indeed; but we should ever remember that to the Father of his Country is due the honor of founding the proud and glorious navy of the United States.

He had no instructions from Congress on the subject; but the public welfare demanded immediate action, and he did not hesitate to take the necessary measures. He caused vessels to be procured in Salem, Beverly, Marblehead, and Plymouth, fitted out and manned by officers and sailors from the army. And he gave to the captains instructions to cruise against such vessels as were found in the service of the enemy, and seize all such as were laden with soldiers, arms, ammunition, or provisions. In a short time six armed schooners were under sail, and cruising off the coast of New England.

One of these schooners, the *Lee*, commanded by Captain Manly, was particularly successful. On the 29th of November, she took the brig *Nancy*, an ordnance vessel from Woolwich, containing a large brass mortar, several pieces of brass cannon, a large quantity of arms and ammunition, with all manner of tools, utensils, and machines, necessary for camps and artillery. Had Congress sent an order for sup-

1775.



plies, they could not have made out a list of articles more suitable to Washington's situation, than what was thus providentially thrown into his hands.

In about nine days after, three ships, with various stores for the British army, and a brig from Antigua with rum, were taken by Captain Manly.\* Before five days more had elapsed, several other store-ships were captured. By these means, the distresses of the British troops in Boston were increased, and supplies for the continental army were procured. Naval captures being unexpected, were matter of triumph to the Americans, and of surprise to the British. The latter scarcely believed that the former would oppose them by land with a regular army, but never suspected that a people so unfurnished as they were with many things necessary for arming vessels, would presume to attempt any thing on the water. A spirit of enterprise, invigorated by patriotic zeal, prompted the hardy New Englandmen to undertake the hazardous business, and their success encouraged them to proceed. Before the close of the year, Congress determined to build five vessels of thirty-two guns, five of twenty-eight, and three of twenty-four. While the Americans were fitting out armed vessels, and before they had made any captures, an event took place which would have disposed a less determined people to desist from provoking the vengeance of the British navy.

This was the burning of Falmouth (now Portland, Maine), which was brought about by a previous incident on the coast of Massachusetts.

The British naval forces were frequently engaged in destroying the armed American vessels which Washington had fitted out, as we have just seen, for cruisers. At Gloucester, the Falcon sloop-of-war having chased an American vessel into the harbor, dispatched three boats, with about forty men, to bring her off, when the party were so warmly received by the militia, who had collected on the shore, that the captain thought it necessary to send a reinforcement, and to commence cannonading the town. A very smart action ensued, which was kept up for several hours; but resulted in the complete defeat of the assailants, leaving upwards of thirty prisoners in the hands of the Americans.

This repulse excited the British to deeds of revenge upon several of the defenceless towns on the coast, and to declare that many of them should be reduced to ashes, unless the inhabitants consented to an unconditional compliance with all their demands. The burning of Falmouth seems to have been a consequence of this determination.

In compliance with a resolution of the Provincial Congress to prevent tories from carrying out their effects, the inhabitants of Falmouth had obstructed the loading of a mast-ship. The destruction of the town was therefore de-

\* See Document [A] at the end of this chapter

terminated on, as an example of vindictive punishment. Captain Mowat, detached for that purpose with armed vessels\* by Admiral Graves, arrived off the place on the evening of the 17th of October, and gave notice to the inhabitants that he would allow them two hours "to remove the human species."

Upon being solicited to afford some explanation of this extraordinary summons, he replied that he had orders to set on fire all the seaport towns from Boston to Halifax, and that he supposed New York was already in ashes. He could dispense with his orders, he said, on no terms but the compliance of the inhabitants to deliver up their arms and ammunition, and their sending on board a supply of provisions, and four of the principal persons of the town as hostages, that they should engage not to unite with their countrymen in any kind of opposition to Britain; and he assured them, that, on a refusal of these conditions, he should lay the town in ashes within three hours. Unprepared for the attack, the inhabitants, by entreaty, obtained the suspension of an answer till the morning, and employed this interval in removing their families and effects.

The next day Captain Mowat commenced a furious cannonade and bombardment; and a great number of peo-

ple, standing on the heights, were spectators of the conflagration, which reduced many of them to penury and despair. More than four hundred houses and stores were burnt. Newport, Rhode Island, being in a very exposed situation, and threatened with a similar attack, was compelled to stipulate for a weekly supply to avert it.

An event of considerable importance occurred in October, which occasioned much surprise and speculation. It was the defection of Dr. Benjamin Church, who had long sustained a high reputation as a patriot and son of liberty. He had for some time been a member of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, and had been appointed surgeon-general and director of the military hospitals at Cambridge. This gentleman was detected in a traitorous correspondence with the enemy in Boston. A letter in cipher, written by him, was intrusted to the care of a female, with whom he was well acquainted, to be conveyed to Boston. On examination, the woman absolutely refused to reveal the name of the writer, till she was terrified by threats of severe punishment; when she named Dr. Church. He was greatly agitated and confounded, manifested marks of guilt, and made no attempts to vindicate himself. But after the letter was deciphered, and he had taken time to reflect, he used all his powers of persuasion to make it appear that the letter contained no information that would injure the American cause; and made a solemn appeal to

\* The force consisted of a sixty-four, a twenty-gun ship, two sloops of eighteen guns, two transports, and six hundred men. They took two mortars, four howitzers, and other artillery—a pretty formidable apparatus for setting fire to a small seaport village. The recent conflict at Gloucester had taught the enemy a lesson.



heaven that it was written for the purpose of procuring some important intelligence from the enemy. He was tried, convicted, and expelled from the House of Representatives, and Congress afterwards resolved, "that he be closely confined in some secure jail in Connecticut, without the use of pen, ink, or paper; and that no person be allowed to converse with him, except in the presence and hearing of a magistrate, or the sheriff of the county." He was finally permitted to depart from the country. He embarked for the West Indies; the vessel foundered at sea, and all were lost.\*

A skirmish occurred at Lechmere's Point on the 9th of November, to which Washington refers in the following extract from a letter to Congress of the 11th, in which his situation and that of the army is feelingly described.

"The trouble I have in the arrangement of the army is really inconceivable. Many of the officers sent in their names to serve, in expectation of promotion; others stood aloof, to see what advantage they could make for themselves; whilst a number who had declined, have again sent in their names to serve. So great has the confusion, arising from these and many other perplexing circumstances, been, that I found it absolutely impossible to fix this very interesting business exactly on the plan resolved on in the conference, though I have kept up to the spirit of it, as near

as the nature and necessity of the case would admit. The difficulty with the soldiers is as great, indeed more so, if possible, than with the officers. They will not enlist until they know their colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, and captain; so that it was necessary to fix the officers the first thing; which is, at last, in some manner done; and I have given out enlisting orders.

"You, sir, can much easier judge, than I can express, the anxiety of mind I must labor under on the occasion, especially at this time, when we may expect the enemy will begin to act on the arrival of their reinforcements, part of which is already come, and the remainder daily dropping in.

"I have other distresses of a very alarming nature. The arms of our soldiery are so exceedingly bad, that I assure you, sir, I cannot place a proper confidence in them. Our powder is wasting fast, notwithstanding the strictest care, economy, and attention are paid to it. The long series of wet weather which we have had, renders the greater part of what has been served out to the men of no use. Yesterday I had a proof of it, as a part of the enemy, about four or five hundred, taking the advantage of a high tide, landed at Lechmere's Point; we were alarmed, and of course ordered every man to examine his cartouch-box, when the melancholy truth appeared; and we were obliged to furnish the greater part of them with fresh ammunition.

"The damage done at the Point was

---

\* Thacher, *Military Journal*.



the taking of a man, who watched a few horses and cows; ten of the latter were carried off. Colonel Thompson marched down with his regiment of riflemen, and was joined by Colonel Woodbridge, with a part of his and a part of Patterson's regiment, who gallantly waded through the water and soon obliged the enemy to embark under cover of a man-of-war, a floating battery, and the fire of a battery on Charlestown Neck. We have two of our men dangerously wounded by grape-shot from the man-of-war; and by a flag sent out this day, we are informed the enemy lost two of their men."

General Putnam,\* who was on duty during the whole siege of Boston, and who enjoyed in a high degree the confidence of Washington, was intrusted with the bold undertaking of fortifying Cobble Hill, afterwards called Barrell's Farm. It is the beautiful eminence which forms the site of the McLean Hospital. Here Putnam, with a strong detachment of the army, broke ground on the night of the 22d of November, without the least annoyance from the enemy, whose works at Bunker Hill were very near.

Next day General Heath† followed with another detachment to complete the works. The enemy were expected to sally out and attack the intrenching party, and Colonel Bond's regiment and the picket-guard on Prospect Hill were ordered to support General Heath. But

General Howe adhered to his policy of inaction till the works were completed. It was considered at the time to be the most perfect piece of fortification constructed by the Americans during the siege, and "on the day of its completion was named Putnam's Impregnable Fortress."\*

Washington, knowing the weakness and destitution of his army in comparison with that of the enemy, considered his position at this time as extremely critical. "Our situation," he writes, November 28, "is truly alarming; and of this General Howe is well apprised, it being the common topic of conversation with the people who left Boston last Friday. No doubt when he is reinforced, he will avail himself of the information."

Washington thus describes the works in addition to those at Cobble Hill, which were erected in November. "I have caused two half-moon batteries to be thrown up for occasional use, between Lechmere's Point and the mouth of Cambridge River, and another work at the causeway going to Lechmere's Point, to command that pass, and rake the little rivulet that runs by it to Patterson's Fort. Besides these, I have been and marked out three places between Sewall's Point and our lines on Roxbury Neck, for works to be thrown up, and occasionally manned, in case of a sortie when the bay gets froze."

In December, notwithstanding the

\* See Document [B] at the end of this chapter.

† See Document [C] at the end of this chapter.

\* Frothingham, *Siege of Boston*.

severe cold and a heavy fall of snow, Washington caused strong fortifications to be erected at Lechmere's Point. The enemy did not fire upon the intrenching party. Washington declares (Dec. 15) that he was unable to account for their silence, unless it were to lull him into a fatal security to favor some attempt they might have in view for the last of the month. "If this be their drift," he writes, "they deceive themselves, for, if possible, it has increased my vigilance, and induced me to fortify all the avenues to our camp, to guard against any approaches on the ice."

The expectation of an assault from the enemy was now general in the army; but the works at Lechmere's Point nevertheless went on. A causeway over the marsh leading to this point was completed on the 16th of December, and on the 17th, General Putnam, with a detachment of three hundred men, broke ground near the water-side, within half a mile of a British man-of-war. A few shots from Cobble Hill drove one of the enemy's ships down the river below the ferry. General Heath, with a second detachment, going to complete the works begun by Putnam, was assailed by a cannonade from the enemy's batteries which lasted several days.

Washington and his staff visited the spot during this time, and the work was persisted in until it was completed, when it was considered as commanding Boston, so that in the event of the bombardment of the town being deemed

advisable, it could easily have been effected from this point. "It will be possible," wrote Colonel Moylan, "to bombard Boston from Lechmere's Point. Give us powder and authority (for that, you know, we want, as well as the other), I say, give us these, and Boston can be set in flames."\*

On the 11th of December, Mrs. Washington arrived at Cambridge, accompanied by her son, John Parke Custis, and his wife. She received a very hospitable welcome from the most distinguished families in Massachusetts. Her presence was, on this as well as on all similar subsequent occasions, hailed with enthusiasm by the army. Her present visit seems to have been induced by an apprehension of danger from the exposed situation of Mount Vernon, accessible as it was to British ships of war. She had no fears on that head herself; and whatever may have prompted her visit to the camp, the practice was continued through the subsequent campaigns of the war. In the winter-time, she was thus enabled to enjoy the society of her illustrious husband, and to cheer him in the midst of his labors and cares. Whenever active operations were to commence in the spring, she would return to Mount Vernon. On the present occasion, she remained at head-quarters till after the close of the siege.

Early in December, the Connecticut troops, availing themselves of the ex-

---

\* Frothingham, *Siege of Boston*



piration of their term of enlistment, left the army. They had demanded a bounty as a condition of re-enlistment, and when it was refused became mutinous; "and deaf to the entreaties of their officers, and regardless of the contempt with which their own government threatened to treat them on their return, they had resolved to quit the lines on the 6th of December." At a convention, composed of a committee of the General Court of Massachusetts and officers of the army, it was decided to call in three thousand of the Massachusetts minute-men, and two thousand from New Hampshire, to man the lines, which would be fearfully weakened by their defection. They were to arrive on the 10th of December.

The Connecticut men did not wait for the coming in of the militia, but went off, many of them, as early as the 1st of December. "Several got away," says Washington, "with their arms and ammunition."

Their places, however, were speedily filled by the reinforcements from Massachusetts and New Hampshire, who promptly and cheerfully complied with the call for their services. By the 18th of December this arrangement was completed. We may vainly attempt to imagine the intense anxiety Washington must have felt, during the time which intervened between the departure of the old soldiers and the arrival of the fresh reinforcements. His lines, at many important points, were literally deserted. In writing to the president

of Congress, however, during this very interval (December 11th), he refers to it, among other matters, as a thing of no very great consequence: "The information I received," he writes, "that the enemy intended spreading the small-pox amongst us, I could not suppose them capable of. I now must give some credit to it, as it has made its appearance on several of those who last came out of Boston. Every necessary precaution has been taken to prevent its being communicated to this army; and the General Court will take care that it does not spread through the country.

"I have not heard that any more troops are arrived at Boston; which is a lucky circumstance, as the Connecticut troops, I now find, are for the most part gone off. The houses in Boston are lessening every day: they are pulled down, either for fire-wood, or to prevent the effects of fire, should we attempt a bombardment, or an attack upon the town. Cobble Hill is strongly fortified, without any interruption from the enemy."

The reinforcements of Massachusetts and New Hampshire minute-men was only a temporary resource. The main thing which occupied the attention of Washington at this time, was the obtaining of recruits for the continental army. He was always of the opinion, that little dependence could be placed upon militia in time of action, and this opinion was confirmed by many incidents of the war. He must therefore



have been greatly chagrined and disappointed at the slow progress made in enlisting recruits for the continental service. The causes for this tardiness were sufficiently apparent.

The period of patriotic enthusiasm had, in some measure, passed away; numbers of officers consented conditionally to remain in the army, and many made no communication on the subject. Immediate decision was necessary; and, in new orders, the commander-in-chief solemnly called upon them for a direct and unconditional answer to his inquiry. "The times," he observed, "and the importance of the great cause we are engaged in, allow no room for hesitation and delay. When life, liberty, and property are at stake; when our country is in danger of being a melancholy scene of bloodshed and desolation; when our towns are laid in ashes; innocent women and children driven from their peaceful habitations, exposed to the rigors of an inclement season, to depend, perhaps, on the hand of charity for support; when calamities like these are staring us in the face, and a brutal enemy are threatening us, and every thing we hold dear, with destruction from foreign troops, it little becomes the character of a soldier to shrink from danger, and condition for new terms. It is the general's intention to indulge both officers and soldiers who compose the new army, with furloughs for a reasonable time; but this must be done in such a manner as not to injure the ser-

vice, or weaken the army too much at once."

The troops were assured, that clothes, on reasonable terms, were provided "for those brave soldiers who intended to continue in the army another year." It was with great difficulty the arrangement of officers had been completed, so that recruiting orders might be issued. Recruiting officers were directed to "be careful not to enlist any persons suspected of being unfriendly to the liberties of America, or any abandoned vagabond, to whom all causes and countries are equal, and alike indifferent. The rights of mankind, and the freedom of America, would have numbers sufficient to support them without resorting to such wretched assistance. Let those who wish to put shackles upon freemen, fill their ranks with, and place their confidence in, such miscreants." To aid the cause, popular songs were composed and circulated through the camp, calculated to inspire the soldiery with the love of country, and to induce them to engage anew in the public service. But, unfortunately, the army at this time was badly supplied with clothing, provisions, and fuel, and the consequent sufferings of the soldiers operating upon their strong desire to visit their homes, prevented their enlistment in the expected numbers.

On the last day of December, when the first term of service expired, only nine thousand six hundred and fifty men had enlisted for the new army, and

many of these were of necessity permitted to be absent on furlough. It was found impossible to retain the old troops a single day after their time expired. Washington, as we have seen, had called upon the governments of the neighboring provinces for detachments of militia to man his lines, and he had been highly gratified by the prompt compliance with his demand. In a letter to Congress, he wrote: "The militia that are come in, both from this province and New Hampshire, are very fine-looking men, and go through their duty with great alacrity. The dispatch made, both by the people in marching, and by the legislative powers in complying, with my requisition, has given me infinite satisfaction."

In the space of time between that of disbanding the old army and of an effective force from the new recruits, the lines were often in a defenceless state; General Howe must have known the fact, but he still adhered to his fixed policy of inaction till the return of spring should permit the removal of the theatre of war to New York. Besides these motives of policy, and probably positive instructions from the ministry, as reasons for remaining quiet, Howe had probably retained a very vivid recollection of General Prescott's defence of the little redoubt on Bunker's Hill; and did not deem it worth while to assail works erected under the auspices of Prescott,\* Putnam, and Washington,

extending from Charlestown to Roxbury, some twelve miles.

"It is not," says General Washington, in his communications to Congress, "in the pages of history to furnish a case like ours. To maintain a post, within musket-shot of the enemy, for six months together, without *ammunition*, and, at the same time, to disband one army and recruit another, within that distance of twenty odd British regiments, is more, probably, than ever was attempted. But if we succeed as well in the last, as we have heretofore in the first, I shall think it the most fortunate event of my whole life."

To defend the American lines with an incompetent number of troops, with defective arms, and without an adequate supply of ammunition; to disband one army and recruit another, in the face of eleven thousand British soldiers, will be viewed as a hazardous measure, and will be supposed, with the organization and discipline of the men, to have employed every active power of the general; yet this did not satisfy his mind. He knew that Congress with solicitude contemplated more decisive measures, and that the country looked for events of greater magnitude. The public was ignorant of his actual situation, and conceived his means for offensive operations to be much greater than in reality they were; and from him expected the capture or expulsion of the British army in Boston. He felt the importance of securing the confidence of his countrymen by some brilliant action, and was fully

\* See Document [D] at the end of this chapter.



sensible that his own reputation was liable to suffer, if he confined himself to measures of defence. To publish to his anxious country, in his vindication, the state of his army, would be to acquaint the enemy with his weakness, and to involve his destruction.

The firmness and patriotism of Washington, were displayed in making the good of his country an object of higher consideration, than the applause of those who were incapable of forming a correct opinion of the propriety of his measures. On this and many other occasions during the war, he withstood the voice of the populace, rejected the entreaties of the sanguine, and refused to adopt the plans of the rash, that he might ultimately secure the great object of contention.

While he resolutely rejected every measure that, in his calm and deliberate judgment, he did not approve, he daily pondered upon the practicability of a successful attack upon Boston. As a preparatory step, he had taken possession of Cobble Hill and Lechmere's Point, and upon them erected fortifications. These posts brought him within half a mile of the enemy's works on Bunker's Hill; and, by his artillery, he drove the British floating-batteries from their stations in Charles River. He erected floating-batteries to watch the movements of his enemy, and to aid in any offensive operations that circumstances might warrant. He took the opinion of his general officers a second time respecting the meditated attack;

they again unanimously gave their opinion in opposition to the measure, and this opinion was immediately communicated to Congress. Congress appeared still to favor the attempt, and, that an apprehension of danger to the town of Boston might not have an undue influence upon the operations of the army, had resolved, in December, 1775, "That if General Washington and his council of war should be of opinion, that a successful attack might be made on the troops in Boston, he should make it in any manner he might think expedient, notwithstanding the town and property therein might thereby be destroyed."

The inability of Washington to accomplish the great object of the campaign repeatedly pointed out by Congress, was a source of extreme mortification; but he indulged in the hope of success in some military operations during the winter, that would correspond with the high expectations of his country. In his reply to the president of Congress, on the reception of the resolution authorizing an attempt on the fortified posts in Boston, he observed: "The resolution relative to the troops in Boston, I beg the favor of you, sir, to assure Congress, shall be attempted to be put in execution the first moment I see a probability of success, and in such a way as a council of officers shall think most likely to produce it; but if this should not happen as soon as you may expect, or my wishes prompt to, I request that Congress will be pleased to



revert to my situation, and do me the justice to believe, that circumstances, and not want of inclination, are the cause of delay."

Early in January, he accordingly summoned a council of war, at which Mr. John Adams, then a member of Congress, and Mr. James Warren, president of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, were present; in which it was resolved, "That a vigorous attempt ought to be made on the ministerial troops in Boston, before they can be reinforced in the spring, if the means can be provided, and a favorable opportunity shall offer." It was also advised, "That thirteen regiments of militia should be asked for from Massachusetts and the neighboring colonies, in order to put them in a condition to make the attempt. The militia to assemble the first of February, and to continue, if necessary, until the first of March." The reinforcements thus obtained, amounted to between four and five thousand men; but thus far the winter proved unusually mild, and the waters about Boston were not frozen. The general, in his official communication to the national legislature, says: "Congress, in my last, would discover my motives for strengthening these lines with the militia; but whether, as the weather turns out exceedingly mild, insomuch as to promise nothing favorable from ice, and there is no appearance of powder, I shall be able to attempt any thing decisive, time only can determine. No person on earth wishes more earnestly to destroy the

nest in Boston than I do; no person would be willing to go greater lengths than I shall to accomplish it, if it shall be thought advisable; but if we have neither powder to bombard with, nor ice to pass on, we shall be in no better situation than we have been in all the year. We shall be worse, because their works are stronger."

While anxiously waiting to embrace any favorable opportunity that might present to annoy the enemy, Washington seriously meditated upon the importance of establishing a permanent army. His experience enabled him to anticipate the evils that must ensue at the expiration of the period for which the present troops were engaged, and he bent the whole force of his mind to induce Congress seasonably to adopt measures to prevent them. In a letter to the president of Congress, dated February 9, he entered thus fully into the subject:

"The disadvantages attending the limited enlistment of troops, are too apparent to those who are eye-witnesses of them, to render any animadversions necessary; but to gentlemen at a distance, whose attention is engrossed by a thousand important objects, the case may be otherwise.

"That this cause precipitated the fate of the brave, and much to be lamented General Montgomery, and brought on the defeat which followed thereupon, I have not the most distant doubt; for, had he not been apprehensive of the troops leaving him at so important a crisis, but continued the blockade of

Quebec, a capitulation (from the best accounts I have been able to collect) must inevitably have followed. And, that we were not at one time obliged to dispute these lines, under disadvantageous circumstances (proceeding from the same cause, to wit, the troops disbanding themselves before the militia could be got in), is to me a matter of wonder and astonishment; and proves that General Howe was either unacquainted with our situation, or restrained by his instructions from putting any thing to a hazard till his reinforcements should arrive.

“The instance of General Montgomery (I mention it because it is a striking one; for a number of others might be adduced) proves, that instead of having men to take advantage of circumstances, you are in a manner compelled, right or wrong, to make circumstances yield to a secondary consideration. Since the first of December, I have been devising every means in my power to secure these encampments; and though I am sensible that we never have, since that period, been able to act upon the offensive, and at times not in a condition to defend, yet the cost of marching home one set of men, bringing in another, the havoc and waste occasioned by the first, the repairs necessary for the second, with a thousand incidental charges and inconveniences which have arisen, and which it is scarce possible to recollect or describe, amount to near as much as the keeping up a respectable body of troops the whole time, ready for any

emergency, would have done. To this may be added, that you never can have a well-disciplined army.

“To bring men well acquainted with the duties of a soldier, requires time. To bring them under proper discipline and subordination, not only requires time, but is a work of great difficulty; and in this army, where there is so little distinction between the officers and soldiers, requires an uncommon degree of attention. To expect, then, the same service from raw and undisciplined recruits, as from veteran soldiers, is to expect what never did, and perhaps never will happen. Men who are familiarized to danger, meet it without shrinking; whereas, those who have never seen service, often apprehend danger where no danger is. Three things prompt men to a regular discharge of their duty in time of action—natural bravery, hope of reward, and fear of punishment. The two first are common to the untutored and the disciplined soldier, but the latter most obviously distinguishes the one from the other. A coward, when taught to believe, that if he breaks his ranks and abandons his colors, he will be punished with death by his own party, will take his chance against the enemy; but a man who thinks little of the one, and is fearful of the other, acts from present feelings, regardless of consequences.

“Again, men of a day’s standing will not look forward; and, from experience, we find that as the time approaches for their discharge, they grow careless of



their arms, ammunition, camp utensils, &c. Nay, even the barracks themselves lay us under additional expense in providing for every fresh set, when we find it next to impossible to procure such articles as are absolutely necessary in the first instance. To this may be added, the seasoning which new recruits must have to a camp, and the loss consequent thereupon. But this is not all: men, engaged for a short, limited time only, have the officers too much in their power; for, to obtain a degree of popularity, in order to induce a second enlistment, a kind of familiarity takes place, which brings on a relaxation of discipline, unlicensed furloughs, and other indulgences, incompatible with order and good government; by which means, the latter part of the time for which the soldier was engaged, is spent in undoing what you were laboring to inculcate in the first.

“To go into an enumeration of all the evils we have experienced in this late great change of the army, and the expenses incidental to it—to say nothing of the hazard we have run, and must run, between the discharging of one army and the enlistment of another, unless an enormous expense of militia be incurred—would greatly exceed the bounds of a letter. What I have already taken the liberty of saying will serve to convey a general idea of the matter; and therefore I shall, with all due deference, take the liberty to give it as my opinion, that if the Congress have any reason to believe that there will

be occasion for troops another year, and consequently of another enlistment, they would save money, and have infinitely better troops, if they were, even at a bounty of twenty, thirty, or more dollars, to engage the men already enlisted till January next, and such others as may be wanted to complete the establishment, for and during the war. I will not undertake to say that the men can be had upon these terms; but I am satisfied that it will never do to let the matter alone, as it was last year, till the time of service was near expiring. The hazard is too great in the first place; in the next, the trouble and perplexity of disbanding one army, and raising another at the same instant, and in such a critical situation as the last was, is scarcely in the power of words to describe, and such as no man who has experienced it once will ever undergo again.”

Unhappily, the reasons which first induced Congress to adopt the plan of short enlistments, still had influence on that body, and on many of the general officers of the army; nor were they convinced of their error but by the most distressing experience. The ice now became sufficiently strong for General Washington to march his forces upon it into Boston; and he was himself inclined to risk a general assault upon the British posts, although he had not powder to make any extensive use of his artillery; but his general officers in council voted against the attempt, with whose decision he reluctantly acquiesced.



In his communication of their opinion to Congress, he observed: "Perhaps the irksomeness of my situation may have given different ideas to me, from those which influence the judgment of the gentlemen whom I consulted, and might have inclined me to put more to hazard than was consistent with prudence. If it had this effect I am not sensible of it, as I endeavored to give the subject all the consideration a matter of such importance required. True it is, and I cannot help acknowledging that I have many disagreeable sensations on account of my situation; for, to have the eyes of the whole continent fixed on me, with anxious expectation of hearing of some great event, and to be restrained in every military operation for the want of the necessary means to carry it on, is not very pleasing; especially, as the means used to conceal my weakness from the enemy, conceal it also from my friends, and add to their wonder."

Late in February the stock of powder was considerably increased, and the regular army amounted to fourteen thousand men, which was reinforced by six thousand of the Massachusetts militia. Colonel Knox had volunteered to transport the cannon which had been taken by Allen and Arnold at Ticonderoga to Boston, and with incredible difficulty had at last accomplished his object; so that Washington now found himself comparatively well supplied with heavy ordnance.

The part of the harbor of Boston contiguous to Cambridge and Roxbury,

was frozen, which greatly facilitated the passage; and for crossing the water that remained up to the walls of Boston, a great number of boats had been provided. In addition to this, two floating batteries were stationed at the mouth of the river of Cambridge. It was known that the garrison suffered severely for the want of provisions, and that it was greatly enfeebled by fatigues and maladies. Washington had, besides, the greatest confidence in the valor and constancy of his soldiers. He accordingly assembled all the generals, and proposed to them his plan of attack. Ward and Gates opposed it; alleging, that without incurring so great a risk, the enemy might be forced to evacuate Boston by occupying the heights of Dorchester, which command the entire city. Washington did not conceal his dissatisfaction at this opposition; but he was constrained to acquiesce in the opinion of the majority. It was resolved, therefore, to take the position of the heights. At the suggestion of generals Ward, Thomas, and Spencer, a great quantity of fascines and gabions had been prepared for this expedition.

The Americans, says Botta,\* in order to occupy the attention of the enemy in another part, erected strong batteries upon the shore at Cobb's Hill, at Lechmere's Point, at Phipp's Farm, and at Lamb's Dam, near Roxbury. They opened a terrible fire in the night of the 2d of March; the bombs, at every in-

\* Botta, *History of the War of Independence*, vol. ii. p. 36.

stant, fell into the city. The garrison was incessantly employed in extinguishing the flames of the houses in combustion, and in all the different services that are necessary in such circumstances. During this time, the Americans prepared themselves with ardor, or rather with joy, to take possession of the Heights. Companies of militia arrived from all parts to reinforce the army. The night of the 4th of March was selected for the expedition; the chiefs hoped that the recollection of the events of the 5th of March, 1770, when the first blood had been shed in Boston by the English, would inflame with new ardor, and a thirst of vengeance, those spirits already so resolute in their cause.

Accordingly, in the evening of the 4th, all the arrangements being made, the Americans proceeded in profound silence towards the peninsula of Dorchester. The obscurity of the night was propitious, and the wind favorable, since it could not bear to the enemy the little noise which it was impossible to avoid. The frost had rendered the roads easy. The batteries of Phipp's Farm, and those of Roxbury, incessantly fulminated with a stupendous roar.

Eight hundred men composed the van-guard; it was followed by carriages filled with utensils of intrenchment, and twelve hundred pioneers led by General Thomas. In the rear-guard were three hundred carts of fascines, of gabions, and bundles of hay, destined to cover the flank of the troops in the passage

of the isthmus of Dorchester, which, being very low, was exposed to be raked on both sides by the artillery of the English vessels.

All succeeded perfectly; the Americans arrived upon the Heights, not only without being molested, but even without being perceived by the enemy.

They set themselves to work with an activity so prodigious, that by ten o'clock at night, they had already constructed two forts, in condition to shelter them from small-arms and grape-shot; one upon the height nearest to the city, and the other upon that which looks towards Castle Island. The day appeared; but it prevented not the provincials from continuing their works, without any movement being made on the part of the garrison. At length, when the haze of the morning was entirely dissipated, the English discovered, with extreme surprise, the new fortifications of the Americans.

The English admiral, having examined them, declared, that if the enemy was not dislodged from this position, his vessels could no longer remain in the harbor without the most imminent hazard of total destruction. The city itself was exposed to be demolished to its foundations, at the pleasure of the provincials. The communication, also, between the troops that guarded the isthmus of Boston, and those within the town, became extremely difficult and dangerous. The artillery of the Americans battered the strand, whence the English would have to embark in case



of retreat. There was no other choice, therefore, left them, but either to drive the colonists from this station by dint of force, or to evacuate the city altogether.

General Howe decided for the attack, and made his dispositions accordingly. Washington, on his part, having perceived the design, prepared himself to repel it. The intrenchments were perfected with diligence; the militia were assembled from the neighboring towns, and signals were concerted to be given upon all the eminences which form a sort of cincture about all the shore of Boston, from Roxbury to Mystic River, in order to transmit intelligence and orders with rapidity from one point to the other.

Washington exhorted his soldiers to bear in mind the 5th of March. Nor did he restrict himself to defensive measures, he thought also of the means of falling, himself, upon the enemy, if, during, or after the battle, any favorable occasion should present itself. If the besieged, as he hoped, should experience a total defeat in the assault of Dorchester, his intention was to embark from Cambridge four thousand chosen men, who, rapidly crossing the arm of the sea, should take advantage of the tumult and confusion, to attempt the assault of the town. General Sullivan commanded the first division; General Greene, the second. An attack was expected like that of Charlestown, and a battle like that of Breed's Hill. General Howe ordered ladders to be pre-

pared to scale the works of the Americans. He directed Lord Percy to embark at the head of a considerable corps, and to land upon the flats near the point opposite Castle Island. The Americans, excited by the remembrance of the anniversary, and of the battle of Breed's Hill, and by the continual exhortations of their chiefs, expected them, not only without fear, but with alacrity; but the tide ebbed, and the wind blew with such violence, that the passage over became impossible. General Howe was compelled to defer the attack to early the following morning. A tempest arose during the night, and when the day dawned, the sea was still excessively agitated. A violent rain came to increase the obstacles; the English general kept himself quiet. But the Americans made profit of this delay; they erected a third redoubt, and completed the other works. Colonel Mifflin had prepared a great number of hogsheads, full of stones and sand, in order to roll them upon the enemy, when he should march up to the assault, to break his ranks, and throw him into confusion, which might smooth the way to his defeat.

Having diligently surveyed all these dispositions, the English persuaded themselves, that the contemplated enterprise offered difficulties almost insurmountable. They reflected that a repulse, or even a victory so sanguinary as that of Breed's Hill, would expose to a jeopardy too serious the English interests in America. Even in case of



success, it was to be considered that the garrison was not sufficiently numerous, to be able, without hazard, to keep possession of the peninsula of Dorchester, having already to guard not only the city, but the peninsula of Charlestown. The battle was rather necessary, and victory desirable, to save the reputation of the royal arms, than to decide the total event of things upon these shores. The advantages, therefore, could not compensate the dangers. Besides, the port of Boston was far from being perfectly accommodated to the future operations of the army that was expected from England; and General Howe himself had, some length of time before, received instructions from Lord Dartmouth, one of the Secretaries of State, to evacuate the city, and to establish himself at New York.

The want of a sufficient number of vessels had hitherto prevented him from executing this order. Upon all these considerations, the English generals determined to abandon Boston to the power of the provincials.

This retreat, however, presented great difficulties. One hundred and fifty transports, great and small, appeared scarcely adequate to the accommodation of ten thousand men, the number to which the crews and the garrison amounted, without comprehending such of the inhabitants, as, having shown themselves favorable to the royal cause, could not with safety remain. The passage was long and difficult; for with these emaciated and

enfeebled troops, it could not be attempted to operate any descent upon the coasts. It was even believed to be scarcely possible to effect a landing at New York, although the city was absolutely without defence on the part of the sea. The surest course appeared to be to gain the port of Halifax; but besides the want of provisions, which was excessive, the season was very unfavorable for this voyage, at all times dangerous.

The winds that prevailed, then blew violently from the northeast, and might drive the fleet off to the West Indies, and the vessels were by no means stocked with provisions for such a voyage. Besides, the territory of Halifax was a sterile country, from which no resource could be expected, and no provision could have been previously made there, since the evacuation of Boston and retreat to Halifax, were events not anticipated. Nor could the soldiers perceive without discouragement, that the necessity of things impelled them towards the north, apprised, as they were, that the future operations of the English army, were to take place in the provinces of the centre, and even in those of the south. But their generals had no longer the liberty of choice. The Americans, however, being able by the fire of their artillery, to interpose the greatest obstacles to the embarkation of the British troops, General Howe deliberated upon the means of obviating this inconvenience. Having assembled the selectmen of Boston, he de-

clared to them that the city being no longer of any use to the king, he was resolved to abandon it, provided that Washington would not oppose his departure. He pointed to the combustible materials he had caused to be prepared to set fire, in an instant, to the city, if the provincials should molest him in any shape. He invited them to reflect upon all the dangers which might result, for them and their habitations, from a battle fought within the walls; and he assured them, that his personal intention was to withdraw peaceably, if the Americans were disposed, on their part, to act in the same manner. He exhorted them, therefore, to repair to the presence of Washington, and to inform him of what they had now heard.

The selectmen waited upon the American general, and made him an affecting representation of the situation of the city. It appears, from what followed, that he consented to the conditions demanded; but the articles of the truce were not written. It has been pretended that one of them was, that the besieged should leave their munitions of war; this, however, cannot be affirmed with assurance. The munitions were, indeed, left; but it is not known whether it was by convention, or from necessity. The Americans remained quiet spectators of the retreat of the English. But the city presented a melancholy spectacle; notwithstanding the orders of General Howe, all was havoc and confusion. Fifteen hundred loy-

alists, with their families, and their most valuable effects, hastened, with infinite dejection of mind, to abandon a residence which had been so dear to them, and where they had so long enjoyed felicity. The fathers carrying burdens, the mothers their children, ran weeping towards the ships; the last salutations, the farewell embraces of those who departed, and of those who remained, the sick, the wounded, the aged, the infants, would have moved with compassion the witnesses of their distress, if the care of their own safety had not absorbed the attention of all.

The carts and beasts of burden were become the occasion of sharp disputes between the inhabitants who had retained them, and the soldiers who wished to employ them. The disorder was also increased, by the animosity that prevailed between the soldiers of the garrison and those of the fleet; they reproached each other mutually, as the authors of their common misfortune. With one accord, however, they complained of the coldness and ingratitude of their country, which seemed to have abandoned, or rather to have forgotten them upon these distant shores, a prey to so much misery, and to so many dangers. For since the month of October, General Howe had not received, from England, any order or intelligence whatever, which testified that the government still existed, and had not lost sight of the army of Boston.

Meanwhile, a desperate band of sol-



diers and sailors took advantage of the confusion, to force doors, and pillage the houses and shops. They destroyed what they could not carry away. The entire city was devoted to devastation, and it was feared every moment the flames would break out, to consummate its destruction.

The 15th of March, General Howe issued a proclamation, forbidding every inhabitant to go out of his house before eleven o'clock in the morning, in order not to disturb the embarkation of the troops, which was to have taken place on this day. But an east wind prevented their departure; and to pass the time, they returned to pillaging. In the mean while, the Americans had constructed a redoubt upon the point of Nook's Hill, in the peninsula of Dorchester, and having furnished it with artillery, they entirely commanded the isthmus of Boston, and all the southern part of the town. It was even to be feared that they would occupy Noddle's Island, and establish batteries, which, sweeping the surface of the water across the harbor, would have entirely interdicted the passage to the ships, and reduced the garrison to the necessity of yielding at discretion. All delay became dangerous; consequently, the British troops and the loyalists began to embark, the 17th of March, at four in the morning; at ten, all were on board. The vessels were overladen with men and baggage; provisions were scanty, confusion was everywhere. The rear-guard was scarcely out of the city,

when Washington entered it on the other side, with colors displayed, drums beating, and all the forms of victory and triumph. He was received by the inhabitants with every demonstration of gratitude and respect due to a deliverer. Their joy broke forth with the more vivacity, as their sufferings had been long and cruel. For more than sixteen months, they had endured hunger, thirst, cold, and the outrages of an insolent soldiery, who deemed them rebels. The most necessary articles of food were risen to exorbitant prices.

Horse flesh was not refused by those who could procure it. For want of fuel, the pews and benches of churches were taken for this purpose; the counters and partitions of warehouses were applied to the same use; and even houses, not inhabited, were demolished for the sake of the wood. The English left a great quantity of artillery and munitions. Two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, of different calibre, were found in Boston, in Castle Island, and in the intrenchments of Bunker's Hill, and the Neck. The English had attempted, but with little success, in their haste, to destroy, or to spike these last pieces; others had been thrown into the sea, but they were recovered. There were found, besides, four mortars, a considerable quantity of coal, of wheat, and of other grains, and one hundred and fifty horses.

The embarkation of the British was attended with many circumstances of



distress and embarrassment. On the departure of the royal army from Boston, a great number of the inhabitants, attached to their sovereign, and afraid of public resentment, chose to abandon their country. From the great multitude about to depart, there was no possibility of procuring purchasers for their furniture, neither was there a sufficiency of vessels for its convenient transportation. Mutual jealousy subsisted between the army and navy; each charging the other as the cause of some part of their common distress. The army was full of discontent. Reinforcements, though long promised, had not arrived. Both officers and soldiers thought themselves neglected. Five months had elapsed since they had received any advice of their destination. Wants and inconveniences increased their ill-humor. Their intended voyage to Halifax subjected them to great dangers. The coast, at all times hazardous, was eminently so at that tempestuous equinoctial season. They had reason to fear they would be blown off to the West Indies, and without a sufficient stock of provisions. They were also going to a barren country. To add to their difficulties, this dangerous voyage, when completed, was directly so much out of their way. Their business lay to the southward, and they were going northward. Under all these difficulties, and with all these gloomy prospects, the fleet steered for Halifax.

Contrary to appearances, the voyage

thither was both short and prosperous. They remained there for some time, waiting for reinforcements and instructions from England. When the royal fleet and army departed from Boston, several ships were left behind for the protection of vessels coming from England, but the American privateers were so alert that they nevertheless made many prizes. Some of the vessels which they captured, were laden with arms and warlike stores. Some transports, with troops on board, were also taken. These had run into the harbor, not knowing that the place was evacuated.

On taking possession of Boston, Washington found the town in a much better condition than he had anticipated. Some of the meaner wooden buildings had been pulled down, in order that the materials might be used for fuel. The Old South Church, greatly revered by the inhabitants, and used for public celebrations as well as for worship, had been converted into a stable for cavalry horses. Some other public buildings had suffered damage; but the houses of the rich had been respected, the furniture and pictures remained in their old places, and scarcely any wanton mischief had been done by the soldiers.

The expulsion of the British from Boston was justly regarded as an event of the utmost importance to the cause of freedom. By relieving New England from the immediate presence of the enemy, it enabled the people of that portion of the country to con-

tribute liberally in men and money to the support of the war in the middle and southern colonies. It gave Washington the opportunity of meeting the British at the point chosen by them for attack; and it inspirited the patriotic in every part of the country. The promptness with which it had been effected, when the proper time for action arrived, was felt to be due to the able generalship of Washington; and all were eager to congratulate and honor him. The Massachusetts Council and House of Representatives complimented him in a joint address, in which they expressed their good wishes in the following words: "May you still go on approved by Heaven—revered by all good men, and dreaded by those tyrants, who claim their fellow-men as their property."

The following is his reply:

"GENTLEMEN,—I return you my most sincere and hearty thanks for your polite address; and feel myself called upon by every principle of gratitude, to acknowledge the honor you have done me in this testimonial of your approbation of my appointment to the exalted station I now fill, and, what is more pleasing, of my conduct in discharging its important duties.

"When the councils of the British nation had formed a plan for enslaving America, and depriving her sons of the most sacred and invaluable privileges, against the clearest remonstrances of the constitution, of justice, and of truth, and,

to execute their schemes, had appealed to the sword, I esteemed it my duty to take a part in the contest, and more especially on account of my being called thereto by the unsolicited suffrages of the representatives of a free people; wishing for no other reward than that arising from a conscientious discharge of the important trust, and that my services might contribute to the establishment of freedom and peace upon a permanent foundation, and merit the applause of my countrymen and every virtuous citizen.

"Your acknowledgment of my attention to the civil constitution of this colony, whilst acting in the line of my department, also demands my grateful thanks. A regard to every provincial institution, where not incompatible with the common interest, I hold a principle of duty and of policy, and it shall ever form a part of my conduct. Had I not learned this before, the happy experience of the advantages resulting from a friendly intercourse with your honorable body, their ready and willing concurrence to aid and to counsel, whenever called upon in cases of difficulty and emergency, would have taught me the useful lesson.

"That the metropolis of your colony is now relieved from the cruel and oppressive invasions of those who were sent to erect the standard of lawless domination and to trample on the rights of humanity, and is again open and free for its rightful possessors, must give pleasure to every virtuous and sympa-



thetic heart; and its being effected without the blood of our soldiers and fellow-citizens, must be ascribed to the interposition of that Providence, which has manifestly appeared in our behalf through the whole of this important struggle, as well as to the measures pursued for bringing about the happy event.

"May that Being, who is powerful to save, and in whose hands is the fate of nations, look down with an eye of tender pity and compassion upon the whole of the united colonies; may He continue to smile upon their counsels and arms, and crown them with success, whilst employed in the cause of virtue and mankind. May this distressed colony and its capital, and every part of this wide-extended continent, through his Divine favor, be restored to more than their former lustre and once happy state, and have peace, liberty, and safety secured upon a solid, permanent, and lasting foundation."

Congress unanimously passed a vote of thanks to Washington, appointed a special committee to communicate it to him by letter, prepared by them and signed by the president, and ordered a gold medal to be struck commemorative of the occasion and in honor of him.

The committee of Congress appointed to prepare the letter of thanks, and a device for the medal, were John Adams, John Jay, and Stephen Hopkins. Mr. Adams describes the circumstances that led to the appointment of this committee, in a private letter to Washington.

"I congratulate you," he writes, "as well as all the friends of mankind, on the reduction of Boston; an event, which appeared to me of so great and decisive importance, that, the next morning after the arrival of the news, I did myself the honor to move for the thanks of Congress to your excellency, and that a medal of gold should be struck in commemoration of it. Congress have been pleased to appoint me, with two other gentlemen, to prepare a device. I should be very happy to have your excellency's sentiments concerning a proper one. I have the honor to be, with very great respect, sir, your most obedient and affectionate servant."

The official letter from the Congress was in these words:

*"To General Washington.*

*"PHILADELPHIA, April 2, 1776.*

"SIR,—It gives me the most sensible pleasure to convey to you, by order of Congress, the only tribute which a free people will ever consent to pay, the tribute of thanks and gratitude to their friends and benefactors. The disinterested and patriotic principles which led you to the field, have also led you to glory; and it affords no little consolation to your countrymen to reflect, that, as a peculiar greatness of mind induced you to decline any compensation for serving them, except the pleasure of promoting their happiness, they may, without your permission, bestow upon you the largest share of their affections and esteem.



"Those pages in the annals of America will record your title to a conspicuous place in the temple of fame, which shall inform posterity, that, under your direction, an undisciplined band of husbandmen, in the course of a few months, became soldiers; and that the desolation meditated against the country by a brave army of veterans, commanded by the most experienced generals, but employed by bad men in the worst of causes, was, by the fortitude of your troops, and the address of their officers, next to the kind interposition of Providence, confined for near a year within such narrow limits, as scarcely to admit more room than was necessary for the encampments and fortifications they lately abandoned. Accept, therefore, sir, the thanks of the United Colonies, unanimously declared by their delegates to be due to you, and the brave officers and troops under your command; and be pleased to communicate to them this distinguished mark of the approbation of their country. The Congress have ordered a golden medal, adapted to the occasion, to be struck, and when finished to be presented to you.

"I have the honor to be, with every sentiment of esteem, sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

"JOHN HANCOCK, *President.*"

Washington's reply was as follows :

"*To the President of Congress.*

"NEW YORK, *April 18, 1776.*

"SIR,—Permit me, through you, to convey to the honorable Congress the

sentiments of gratitude I feel for the high honor they have done me in the public mark of approbation contained in your favor of the 2d instant, which came to hand last night. I beg you to assure them, that it will ever be my highest ambition to approve myself a faithful servant of the public; and that to be in any degree instrumental in procuring to my American brethren a restitution of their just rights and privileges, will constitute my chief happiness.

"Agreeably to your request, I have communicated, in general orders, to the officers and soldiers under my command, the thanks of Congress for their good behavior in the service; and I am happy in having such an opportunity of doing justice to their merit. They were indeed, at first, '*a band of undisciplined husbandmen*;' but it is, under God, to their bravery and attention to their duty, that I am indebted for that success, which has procured me the only reward I wish to receive, the affection and esteem of my countrymen. The medal, intended to be presented to me by your honorable body, I shall carefully preserve as a memorial of their regard. I beg leave to return you, sir, my warmest thanks for the polite manner in which you have been pleased to express their sentiments of my conduct; and am, with sincere esteem and respect, sir, your and their most obedient and most humble servant."

It was generally understood when

Howe took his departure from Boston, that his immediate destination was Halifax. But Washington suspected that his real design was to go at once to New York. He therefore called for two thousand militia from Connecticut, and one thousand from New Jersey, to aid the force already stationed there in defending the city from the expected attack. On the 18th of March, he sent off an additional force of near six thousand, under General Heath, with the same object; and soon after the whole army followed them, except five regiments, left under the command of General Ward for the defence of Boston. General Lee, who had previously been in command at New York, and had acted with great decision and efficiency in checking Governor Tryon and the tories, and bringing the force stationed

there into a state of discipline, had been appointed by Congress to take charge of the southern department, in order to oppose the attempts of General Clinton in that quarter. To supply his place, General Putnam was appointed to the command of the greatly augmented force now concentrated in New York.

Washington, meantime, remained in Boston waiting for the actual departure of the British fleet, which had lingered ten days in Nantasket Road before sailing for Halifax. When satisfied that they had left the coast, he departed for New York, where he arrived on the 13th of April. We must leave him there, while we turn to a retrospect of what was passing elsewhere during the protracted siege of Boston.\*

---

\* See Document [E] at the end of this chapter.







Israel Putnam

## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER V.

---

[A.]

CAPTAIN MANLY.

THIS able and fortunate naval commander deserves notice as one of the earliest heroes of the Revolution who had any success against the enemy.

John Manly, a captain in the navy of the United States, received a naval commission from Washington, October 24, 1775. As commander of the schooner *Lee*, he cruised off the hazardous station of Massachusetts Bay during a most tempestuous season, and the captures which he made were of immense value at the moment. A brig, loaded with ordnance, which fell into his hands, supplied the continental army with heavy pieces, mortars, and working-tools, of which it was very destitute, and which assisted in compelling the evacuation of Boston by the British. His services were the theme of universal eulogy. Being promoted to the command of the frigate *Hancock*, of thirty-two guns, his capture of the *Fox* increased his high reputation for bravery and skill. His vessel was captured by the *Rainbow*, of forty guns, July 8th, 1777, and he suffered a long and rigorous confinement on board that ship at Halifax, and in Mill prison, being thus precluded from further actual service until near the end of the war. In September, 1782, the *Hague* frigate was intrusted to his care, but the cruise was peculiarly unfortunate. A few days after leaving Martinique, he was driven by a British seventy-four on a sand-bank behind the island of Guadaloupe. Three ships-of-the-line having joined this vessel, came to within point-blank range, and putting springs on their cables, opened a most tremendous fire. After supporting the heavy cannonade for three days, on the fourth day the

frigate was got off, and, hoisting the continental standard at the maintop-gallant-mast, thirteen guns were fired as a farewell defiance. On his return to Boston, a few months subsequently, he was arrested to answer a variety of charges made against him by one of his officers. The proceedings of the court did not altogether approve his conduct. Memoirs of his life in vindication of his character, were promised, but have never appeared. He died at Boston, February 12th, 1793, aged fifty-nine, and was buried with great honor.

---

[B.]

GENERAL PUTNAM.

Of all the Revolutionary generals, with the exception of Washington alone, General Putnam was the most popular. His antecedents were of the most romantic kind at the time of his joining the army at Cambridge, as will appear by the following sketch of his life.

Israel Putnam, a major-general in the army of the United States, was born at Salem, Massachusetts, January 7, 1718. His mind was vigorous, but it was never cultivated by education. When he for the first time went to Boston, he was insulted for his rusticity by a boy of twice his size. After bearing his sarcasms until his good-nature was entirely exhausted, he attacked and vanquished the unmannerly fellow, to the great diversion of a crowd of spectators. In running, leaping, and wrestling, he almost always bore away the prize. In 1739, he removed to Pomfret, in Connecticut, where he cultivated a considerable tract of land. He had however to encounter many difficulties, and among his troubles, the depredations of wolves



on his sheepfold was not the least. In one night seventy fine sheep and goats were killed. A she-wolf, who, with her annual whelps had for several years infested the vicinity, being considered as the principal cause of the havoc, Mr. Putnam entered into a combination with a number of his neighbors to hunt alternately, till they should destroy her. At length the hounds drove her into her den, and a number of persons soon collected with guns, straw, fire, and sulphur, to attack the common enemy. But the dogs were afraid to approach her, and the fumes of brimstone could not force her from the cavern. It was now ten o'clock at night. Mr. Putnam proposed to his black servant to descend into the cave, and shoot the wolf; but, as the negro declined, he resolved to do it himself. Having divested himself of his coat and waistcoat, and having a long rope fastened round his legs, by which he might be pulled back at a concerted signal, he entered the cavern, head foremost, with a blazing torch, made of strips of birch bark, in his hand. He descended fifteen feet, passed along horizontally ten feet, and then began the gradual ascent, which is sixteen feet in length. He slowly proceeded on his hands and knees, in an abode which was silent as the house of death. Cautiously glancing forwards, he discovered the glaring eyeballs of the wolf, who started at the sight of his torch, gnashed her teeth, and gave a sullen growl. He immediately kicked the rope, and was drawn out with a friendly celerity and violence, which not a little bruised him. Loading his gun with nine buckshot, and carrying it in one hand, while he held the torch with the other, he descended a second time. As he approached the wolf, she howled, rolled her eyes, snapped her teeth, dropped her head between her legs, and was evidently on the point of springing at him. At this moment he fired at her head, and soon found himself drawn out of the cave. Having refreshed himself, he again descended, and seizing the wolf by her ears, kicked the rope, and his companions above, with no small exultation, dragged them both out together.

During the French war, he was appointed to command a company of the first troops which were raised in Connecticut, in 1755. He ren-

dered much service to the army in the neighborhood of Crown Point. In 1756, while near Ticonderoga, he was repeatedly in the most imminent danger. He escaped in an adventure of one night with twelve bullet-holes in his blanket. In August, he was sent out with several hundred men to watch the motions of the enemy. Being ambuscaded by a party of equal numbers, a general, but irregular action took place. Putnam had discharged his fusée several times, but at length it missed fire while its muzzle was presented to the breast of a savage. The warrior with his lifted hatchet and a tremendous war-whoop compelled him to surrender, and then bound him to a tree. In the course of the action the parties changed their position, so as to bring this tree directly between them. The balls flew by him incessantly; many struck the tree, and some passed through his clothes. The enemy now gained possession of the ground, but being afterwards driven from the field they carried their prisoners with them. At night he was stripped, and a fire was kindled to roast him alive. For this purpose they led him into a dark forest, stripped him naked, bound him to a tree, and piled dry brush, with other fuel, at a small distance, in a circle round him. They accompanied their labors, as if for his funeral dirge, with screams and sounds, inimitable but by savage voices. Then they set the piles on fire. A sudden shower damped the rising flame. Still they strove to kindle it; at last the blaze ran fiercely round the circle. Major Putnam soon began to feel the scorching heat. His hands were so tied that he could move his body. He often shifted sides as the fire approached. This sight, at the very idea of which, all but savages must shudder, afforded the highest diversion to his inhuman tormentors, who demonstrated the delirium of their joy by correspondent yells, dances, and gesticulations. He saw clearly that his final hour was inevitably come. He summoned all his resolution, and composed his mind, so far as the circumstances could admit, to bid an eternal farewell to all he held most dear. To quit the world would scarcely have cost a single pang; but for the idea of home, but for the remembrance of domestic endearments, of the affectionate partner of his soul, and of their be-



loved offspring. His thought was ultimately fixed on a happier state of existence, beyond the tortures he was beginning to endure. The bitterness of death, even of that death which is accompanied with the keenest agonies, was, in a manner, past: nature, with a feeble struggle, was quitting its last hold on sublunary things, when a French officer rushed through the crowd, opened a way by scattering the burning brands, and unbound the victim. It was the famous partisan Molang, to whom a savage, unwilling to see a human victim immolated, had run and communicated the tidings. That commandant spurned and severely reprimanded the barbarians, whose nocturnal powwows and hellish orgies he suddenly ended. Putnam did not want for feeling or gratitude. The French commander, fearing to trust him alone with them, remained till he could safely deliver him into the hands of his master.

The savage approached his prisoner kindly, and seemed to treat him with particular affection. He offered him some hard biscuit; but finding that he could not chew them, on account of the blow he had received from the Frenchman, this more humane savage soaked some of the biscuit in water, and made him suck the pulp-like part. Determined, however, not to lose his captive, the refreshment being finished, he took the moccasins from his feet, and tied them to one of his wrists; then directing him to lie down on his back on the bare ground, he stretched one arm to its full length, and bound it fast to a young tree; the other arm was extended and bound in the same manner; his legs were stretched apart, and fastened to two saplings. Then a number of tall, but slender poles were cut down, which, with some long bushes, were laid across his body from head to foot: on each side lay as many Indians as could conveniently find lodging, in order to prevent the possibility of his escape. In this disagreeable and painful posture he remained till morning. During the night, the longest and most dreary conceivable, our hero used to relate that he felt a ray of cheerfulness come casually across his mind, and could not even refrain from smiling when he reflected on this ludicrous group for a painter, of which he himself was the principal figure.

The next day he was allowed his blanket and moccasins, and permitted to march without carrying any pack, or receiving any insult. To allay his extreme hunger, a little bear's meat was given, which he sucked through his teeth. At night the party arrived at Ticonderoga, and the prisoner was placed under the care of a French guard.

The savages, who had been prevented from glutting their diabolical thirst for blood, took this opportunity of manifesting their malevolence for the disappointment, by horrid grimaces and angry gestures; but they were suffered no more to offer violence or personal indignity to him.

After having been examined by the Marquis de Montcalm, Major Putnam was conducted to Montreal by a French officer, who treated him with the greatest indulgence and humanity.

At this place were several prisoners. Colonel Peter Schuyler, remarkable for his philanthropy, generosity, and friendship, was of the number. No sooner had he heard of Major Putnam's arrival, than he went to the interpreter's quarters, and inquired whether he had a provincial major in his custody. He found Major Putnam in a comfortless condition, without coat, waistcoat, or hose; the remnant of his clothing miserably dirty and ragged, his beard long and squalid, his legs torn by thorns and briars, his face gashed with wounds, and swollen with bruises. Colonel Schuyler, irritated beyond all sufferance at such a sight, could scarcely restrain his speech within limits consistent with the prudence of a prisoner, and the meekness of a Christian. Major Putnam was immediately treated according to his rank, clothed in a decent manner, and supplied with money by this liberal and sympathetic patron of the distressed; and by his assistance he was soon after exchanged.

When General Amherst was marching across the country to Canada, the army coming to one of the lakes, which they were obliged to pass, found the French had an armed vessel of twelve guns upon it. He was in great distress, his boats were no match for her; and she alone was capable of sinking his whole army in that situation. While he was pondering what should be done, Putnam comes to him, and says, "*Gen-*

eral, *that ship must be taken.*" "Aye," says Amherst, "I would give the world she was taken." "I'll take her," says Putnam. Amherst smiled, and asked how? "Give me some wedges, a beetle (a large wooden hammer, or maul, used for driving wedges), and a few men of my own choice." Amherst could not conceive how an armed vessel was to be taken by four or five men, a beetle and wedges. However, he granted Putnam's request. When night came, Putnam, with his materials and men, went in a boat under the vessel's stern, and in an instant drove in the wedges between the rudder and ship, and left her. In the morning, the sails were seen fluttering about: she was adrift in the middle of the lake; and being presently blown ashore, was easily taken.

At the commencement of hostilities between the colonies and the mother country, Colonel Putnam, on hearing of the battle at Lexington, left his plough in the middle of the field, and, without changing his clothes, repaired to Cambridge, riding in a single day one hundred miles. He was soon appointed a major-general in the provincial army, and returning to Connecticut, he made no delay in bringing on a body of troops.

Among other examples of patriotism that might be related is the following. The day that the report of the battle of Lexington reached Barnstable, a company of militia immediately assembled and marched off to Cambridge. In the front rank there was a young man, the son of a respectable farmer, and his only child. In marching from the village, as they passed his house, he came out to meet them. There was a momentary halt. The drum and fife paused for an instant. The father, suppressing a strong and evident emotion, said, "God be with you all, my friends! and John, if you, my son, are called into battle, take care that you behave like a man, or else let me never see your face again!" A tear started into every eye, and the march was resumed.

Not long after his appointment, the commander of the British army, unwilling that so valuable an officer should act in opposition, pri-

vately conveyed to him a proposal that if he would quit the *rebel* party, he might rely on being made a major-general in the British establishment, and receiving a great pecuniary compensation for his services; but he spurned the offer. On the 16th of June, 1775, it was determined in a council of war, at which General Putnam assisted, that a fortified post should be established at or near Bunker Hill. General Putnam marched with the first detachment, and commenced the work: he was the principal agent or engineer who traced the lines of the redoubt, and he continued most if not all the night with the workmen; at any rate he was on the spot before sun-rising in the morning, and had taken his station on the top of Bunker Hill, and participated in the danger, as well as the glory, of that day.

When the army was organized by General Washington at Cambridge, General Putnam was appointed to command the reserve. In August, 1776, he was stationed at Brooklyn, on Long Island. After the defeat of our army, on the 27th of that month, he went to New York, and was very serviceable in the city and neighborhood. In October or November, he was sent to Philadelphia to fortify that city. In January, 1777, he was directed to take post at Princeton, where he continued until spring. At this place, a sick prisoner, a captain, requested that a friend in the British army at Brunswick, might be sent for, to assist him in making his will. Putnam was perplexed. He had but fifty men under his command, and did not wish to have his weakness known; but yet he was unwilling to deny the request. He, however, sent a flag of truce, and directed the officer to be brought in the night. In the evening, lights were placed in all the college windows, and in every apartment of the vacant houses throughout the town. The officer, on his return, reported that General Putnam's army could not consist of less than four or five thousand men. In the spring, he was appointed to the command of a separate army, in the Highlands of New York. One Palmer, a lieutenant in the tory new levies, was detected in the camp: Governor Tryon reclaimed him as a British officer, threatening vengeance if he was not restored.



General Putnam wrote the following pithy reply :

"SIR:—Nathan Palmer, a lieutenant in your king's service, was taken in my camp as a spy ; he was tried as a spy ; he was condemned as a spy ; and he shall be hanged as a spy.

"ISRAEL PUTNAM.

"P. S.—Afternoon. He is hanged."

After the loss of Fort Montgomery, the commander-in-chief determined to build another fortification, and he directed General Putnam to fix on a spot. To him belongs the praise of having chosen West Point. The campaign of 1779, which was principally spent in strengthening the works at this place, finished the military career of Putnam. A paralytic affection impaired the activity of his body, and he passed the remainder of his days in retirement, retaining his relish for enjoyment, his love of pleasantries, his strength of memory, and all the faculties of his mind.

He died at Brookline, Connecticut, May 29th, 1790, aged seventy-two years.

### [C.]

#### GENERAL HEATH.

The fidelity and efficiency of this officer are attested by the numerous and important commands intrusted to him by Washington in the most critical periods of the war.

William Heath was a native of Roxbury, Massachusetts, and was from his youth a cultivator of the soil, which was his favorite pursuit. He was not conversant with general literature, but being particularly attached to the study of military tactics, he acquired a knowledge of modern warfare in its various branches and duties.

At an early period of the opposition of the colonies to the unjust and oppressive measures of the British ministry, he was an active militia officer, and assiduously engaged in organizing and disciplining the companies of militia and minute-men. In the year 1775, being ranked among the patriots and advocates for liberty, he

was by the Provincial Congress commissioned as a brigadier-general.

During the siege of Boston, he was in commission as a general officer. When Washington contemplated an attack on Boston, General Heath was offered the command of a division, but he declined it.

In August, 1776, he was promoted by Congress to the rank of major-general in the continental army, and in the campaign of that year he commanded a division near the enemy's lines at King's Bridge and Morrisiana. During the year 1777, and till November, 1778, he was the commanding officer of the eastern department, and his head-quarters were at Boston. Here devolved on him the very arduous duties of superintendent of the convention troops, captured with General Burgoyne at Saratoga, which were quartered at Cambridge. This station required a character of uncommon firmness and decision, and had General Heath been destitute of these qualities, he would have been subjected to the grossest impositions and indignities from the haughty generals, Burgoyne and Phillips, and the perverse temper of their soldiery. These officers, lofty in spirit, and of high rank and character, now chagrined by a state of captivity, occasioned to General Heath a series of difficulties and vexations. He soon, however, convinced them that he was neither deficient in spirit, nor ignorant of his duty as a military commander. In all his proceedings with these turbulent captives, he supported the authority of Congress, and the honor and dignity of the command reposed in him ; and he received the entire approbation of that honorable body, to whom he was amenable for his conduct. In the most interesting and critical circumstances in which a general could possibly be placed, he uniformly exhibited a prudence, animation, decision, and firmness, which did him honor, and fully justified the confidence reposed in him.

The cordial and most explicit approbation of the army, the inhabitants of this town, the army and navy of our illustrious ally, the government of his State, his excellency the commander-in-chief, and of Congress, added to the consciousness of his having discharged his trust with fidelity, must, in a great measure, have alleviated



the fatigues incident to his arduous station, and compensated the loss of his health, so much impaired by an incessant attention to business. In June, 1779, General Heath was elected by Congress a commissioner of the Board of War, with a salary of four thousand dollars per annum, and allowed to retain his rank in the army, which he declined, preferring to participate in active operations in the field.

In the summer of 1780, he was directed by the commander-in-chief to repair to Rhode Island, to make arrangements for the reception of the French fleet and army which were expected soon to arrive. In his interview with the Count Rochambeau, and other officers of the French army and navy, he proffered his friendly civilities, and contributed all in his power to their comfortable accommodation, which was productive of a mutual and lasting friendship between them. Indefatigable attention to duty in the various stations assigned him, was a prominent trait in his character. In May, 1781, General Heath was directed by the commander-in-chief to repair to the New England States, to represent to their respective executives the distressing condition of our army, and to solicit a speedy supply of provisions and clothing, in which he was successful. As senior major-general, he was more than once commander of the right wing of our army, and during the absence of the commander-in-chief at the siege of Yorktown, he was intrusted with the command of the main army posted at the Highlands and vicinity, to guard the important works on the Hudson. At the conclusion of the war he retired to private life, and composed a volume of "Memoirs." He died in 1814, aged 77.

---

[D.]

GENERAL PRESCOTT.

There has been much discussion on the question, "Who was the commander at Bunker Hill?" This distinction undoubtedly belongs to Prescott; but we must not be surprised at its being denied, since we have seen quite a controversy on the question whether General Putnam was present at that celebrated battle.

William Prescott, says a late writer, was an officer distinguished by the most determined bravery, and became conspicuous as an American officer, from the circumstance of his having commanded the American troops at the battle of Bunker Hill, on the memorable 17th of June, 1775. He was born in 1726, at Goshen, in Massachusetts, and was a lieutenant of the provincial troops at the capture of Cape Breton, in 1758. The British general was so much pleased with his conduct in that campaign, that he offered him a commission in the regular army, which he declined, to return home with his countrymen. From this time till the approach of the Revolutionary War, he remained on his farm in Pepperrell, filling various municipal offices, and enjoying the esteem and affection of his fellow-citizens. As the difficulties between the mother country and the colonies grew more serious, he took a deeper and more decided part in public affairs.

In 1774, he was appointed to command a regiment of minute-men, organized by the Provincial Congress. He marched his regiment to Lexington, immediately on receiving notice of the intended operations of General Gage against Concord; but the British detachment had retreated before he had time to meet it. He then proceeded to Cambridge, and entered the army that was ordered to be raised; and the greater part of his officers and privates volunteered to serve with him for the first campaign.

On the 16th June, three regiments were placed under him, and he was ordered to Charlestown in the evening, to take possession of Bunker Hill, and throw up works in its defence. When they reached the ground, it was perceived that Breed's Hill, which is a few rods south of Bunker Hill, was the most suitable station. The troops under the direction of Colonel Gridley, an able engineer, were busily engaged in throwing up a small redoubt and breastwork, which latter was formed by placing two rail fences near together, and filling the interval with the new-mown hay lying on the ground. There was something in the rustic materials of these defences, hastily made, in a short summer's night, within gunshot of a powerful enemy, that was particularly apposite to a body

of armed husbandmen, who had rushed to the field at the first sound of alarm.

As soon as these frail works were discovered the next morning, the British commander made preparations to get possession of them. General Howe, with various detachments, amounting to near five thousand men, was ordered to dislodge the "rebels." The force which Colonel Prescott could command for the defence of the redoubt and breastwork, was about twelve hundred men. Very few of these had ever seen an action. They had been laboring all night in creating these defences; and the redoubt, if it could be so called, was open on two sides. Instead of being relieved by fresh troops, as they had expected, they were left without supplies of ammunition or refreshment; and thus fatigued and destitute, they had to bear the repeated assaults of a numerous, well-appointed, veteran army. They destroyed nearly as many of their assailants, as the whole of their own number engaged; and they did not retreat till their ammunition was exhausted, and the enemy, supplied with fresh troops and cannon, completely overpowered them.

Colonel Prescott lost nearly one quarter of his own regiment in the action. When General Warren came upon the hill, Colonel Prescott asked him if he had any orders to give: he answered, "No, colonel, I am only a volunteer; the command is yours." When he was at length forced to tell his men to retreat as well as they could, he was one of the last who left the intrenchment. He was so satisfied with the bravery of his companions, and convinced that the enemy were disheartened by the severe and unexpected loss which they had sustained, that he requested the commander-in-chief to give him two regiments, and he would retake the position the same night.

He continued in the service till the beginning of 1777, when he resigned, and returned to his home; but in the autumn of that year he went as a volunteer to the northern army under General Gates, and assisted in the capture of General Burgoyne. This was his last military service. He was subsequently, for several years, a member of the legislature, and died in 1795, in the seventieth year of his age.

VOL. I.—54

Colonel Prescott was a genuine specimen of an energetic, brave, and patriotic citizen, who was ready in the hour of danger to place himself in the van, and partake in all the perils of his country; feeling anxious for its prosperity, without caring to share in its emoluments; and maintaining beneath a plain exterior and simple habits, a dignified pride in his native land, and a high-minded love of freedom.

The immediate results of this engagement were great and various. Though the Americans were obliged to yield the ground for want of ammunition, yet their defeat was substantially a triumph. The actual loss of the British army was severe, and was deeply felt by themselves and their friends. The charm of their invincibility was broken. The hopes of the whole continent were raised. It was demonstrated that although they might burn towns, or overwhelm raw troops by superior discipline and numbers, yet the conquest at least would not be an easy one. Those patriots, who, under the most arduous responsibility, at the peril of every thing which men of sense and virtue can value, hazarded in the support of public principles, present ruin and future disgrace, though they felt this onset to be only the beginning of a civil war, yet were invigorated by its results, which cleared away some painful uncertainties; while the bravery and firmness that had been displayed by their countrymen, inspired a more positive expectation of being ultimately triumphant.

In the *Life of James Otis*, by William Tudor, of Boston, from which work the foregoing is taken, the following note is made relative to the battle: "The anxiety and various emotions of the people of Boston, on this occasion, had a highly dramatic kind of interest. Those who sided with the British troops, began to see even in the duration of this battle, the possibility that they had taken the wrong side, and they might become exiles from their country. While those whose whole soul was with their countrymen, were in dreadful apprehension for their friends, in a contest, the severity of which was shown by the destruction of so many of their enemies.

"After the battle had continued for some time, a young person living in Boston, possessed of very keen and generous feelings, bordering a



little perhaps on the romantic, as was natural to her age, sex, and lively imagination, finding that many of the wounded troops brought over from the field of action were carried by her residence, mixed a quantity of refreshing beverage, and with a female domestic by her side, stood at the door and offered it to the sufferers as they were borne along, burning with fever and parched with thirst. Several of them, grateful for the kindness, gave her, as they thought, consolation, by assuring her of the destruction of her countrymen. One young officer said, 'Never mind it, my young lady, we have peppered 'em well, depend upon it.' Her dearest feelings, deeply interested in the opposite camp, were thus unintentionally lacerated, while she was pouring oil and wine into their wounds."

General Henry Lee, in his *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department*, makes the following remark in relation to Prescott and his gallant band:

"When future generations shall inquire, Where are the men who gained the brightest prize of glory in the arduous contest which ushered in our nation's birth? upon Prescott and his companions in arms will the eye of history beam. The military annals of the world rarely furnish an achievement which equals the firmness and courage displayed on that proud day by the gallant band of Americans; and it certainly stands first in the brilliant events of the war."

---

[E.]

EXTRACTS FROM WASHINGTON'S OFFICIAL REPORTS OF THE EXPULSION OF THE BRITISH FROM BOSTON.

The following extracts from the official letters of Washington to John Hancock, president of Congress, serve to explain the motives of many of his movements directed to the expulsion of the British army from Boston, and afford not only the best commentary on the history narrated in the text, but a lively description of one of the most important and thrilling events of the war.

The following extract is from a letter dated February 26, 1776:\*

"We are making every necessary preparation for taking possession of Dorchester Heights as soon as possible, with a view of drawing the enemy out. How far our expectations may be answered, time only can determine: but I should think, if any thing will induce them to hazard an engagement, it will be our attempting to fortify these heights; as, on that event's taking place, we shall be able to command a great part of the town, and almost the whole harbor, and to make them rather disagreeable than otherwise, provided we can get a sufficient supply of what we greatly want.

"Within these three or four days I have received sundry accounts from Boston, of such movements there (such as taking the mortars from Bunker's Hill; the putting them, with several pieces of heavy ordnance, on board of ship, with a quantity of bedding; the ships all taking in water; the baking a large quantity of biscuit, &c.), as to indicate an embarkation of the troops from thence. A Mr. Ides, who came out yesterday, says, that the inhabitants of the town, generally, believe that they are about to remove either to New York or Virginia, and that every vessel in the harbor, on Tuesday last, was taken up for government's service, and two month's pay advanced them. Whether they really intend to embark, or whether the whole is a feint, is impossible for me to tell. However, I have thought it expedient to send an express to General Lee, to inform him of it (in order that he may not be taken by surprise, if their destination should be against New York), and continued him on to you. If they do embark, I think the possessing themselves of that place, and of the North River, is the object they have in view, thereby securing the communication with Canada, and rendering the intercourse between the northern and southern united colo-

---

\* "Official Letters to the Honorable Congress, written during the War between the United Colonies and Great Britain, by his excellency, George Washington, Commander-in-chief of the Continental forces, now President of the United States. Copied by special permission from the original papers, preserved in the office of the secretary of state, Philadelphia. London, 1795."



nies exceedingly precarious and difficult. To prevent them from effecting their plan, is a matter of the highest importance, and will require a large and respectable army, and the most vigilant and judicious exertions.

"I shall be as attentive to the enemy's motions as I can, and obtain all the intelligence in my power; and, if I find them embark, shall, in the most expeditious manner, detach a part of the light troops to New York, and repair thither myself, if circumstances shall require it. I shall be better able to judge what to do when the matter happens. At present, I can only say, that I will do every thing that shall appear proper and necessary."

In the next letter to Hancock, March 7, 1776, he says:

"On the 26th ultimo I had the honor of addressing you, and then mentioned that we were making preparations for taking possession of Dorchester Heights. I now beg leave to inform you, that a council of general officers having determined a previous bombardment and cannonade expedient and proper, in order to harass the enemy and divert their attention from that quarter, on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday nights last, we carried them on from our posts at Cobble Hill, Lechmere's Point, and Lamb's Dam. Whether they did the enemy any considerable, and what injury, I have not yet heard, but have the pleasure to acquaint you, that they greatly facilitated our schemes, and would have been attended with success equal to our most sanguine expectations, had it not been for the unlucky bursting of two thirteen and three ten-inch mortars, among which was the brass one taken in the ordnance brig. To what cause to attribute this misfortune, I know not; whether to any defect in them, or to the inexperience of the bombardiers.

"But to return; on Monday evening, as soon as our firing commenced, a considerable detachment of our men, under the command of Brigadier-general Thomas, crossed the neck, and took possession of the two hills without the least interruption or annoyance from the enemy; and by their great activity and industry, before the morning, advanced the works so far as to be secure against their shot. They are now going on

with such expedition, that in a little time I hope they will be complete, and enable our troops stationed there to make a vigorous and obstinate stand. During the whole cannonade, which was incessant the two last nights, we were fortunate enough to lose but two men; one, a lieutenant, by a cannon-ball taking off his thigh; the other, a private, by the explosion of a shell, which also slightly wounded four or five more.

"Our taking possession of Dorchester Heights is only preparatory to taking post on Nook's Hill, and the points opposite to the south end of Boston. It was absolutely necessary that they should be previously fortified, in order to cover and command them. As soon as the works on the former are finished, measures will be immediately adopted for securing the latter, and making them as strong and defensible as we can. Their contiguity to the enemy will make them of much importance and of great service to us. As mortars are essential, and indispensably necessary for carrying on our operations, and for the prosecution of our plans, I have applied to two furnaces to have some thirteen-inch ones cast with all expedition imaginable, and am encouraged to hope, from the accounts I have had, that they will be able to do it. When they are done, and a proper supply of powder obtained, I flatter myself, from the posts we have just taken and are about to take, that it will be in our power to force the ministerial troops to an attack, or to dispose of them in some way that will be of advantage to us. I think from these posts they will be so galled and annoyed, that they must either give us battle or quit their present possessions. I am resolved that nothing on my part shall be wanting to effect the one or the other.

"It having been the general opinion, that the enemy would attempt to dislodge our people from the heights and force their works as soon as they were discovered, which probably might have brought on a general engagement, it was thought advisable that the honorable council should be applied to, to order in the militia from the neighboring and adjacent towns. I wrote to them on the subject, which they most readily complied with; and, in justice to the militia, I cannot but inform you, that they came

in at the appointed time, and manifested the greatest alertness and determined resolution to act like men engaged in the cause of freedom.

"When the enemy first discovered our works in the morning, they seemed to be in great confusion, and, from their movements, to intend an attack. It is much to be wished that it had been made. The event, I think, must have been fortunate, and nothing less than success and victory on our side, as our officers and men appeared impatient for the appeal, and to possess the most animated sentiments and determined resolution. On Tuesday evening a considerable number of their troops embarked on board of their transports, and fell down to the castle, where part of them landed before dark. One or two of the vessels got aground, and were fired at by our people with a field-piece, but without any damage. What was the design of this embarkation and landing, I have not been able to learn. It would seem as if they meant an attack; for it is most probable, that, if they make one on our works at Dorchester at this time, they will first go to the castle, and come from thence. If such was their design, a violent storm that night, which lasted till eight o'clock the next day, rendered the execution of it impracticable. It carried one or two of their vessels ashore, which they have since got off.

"In case the ministerial troops had made an attempt to dislodge our men from Dorchester Heights, and the number detached upon the occasion had been so great as to have afforded a probability of a successful attack being made upon Boston, on a signal given from Roxbury for that purpose, agreeably to a settled and concerted plan, four thousand chosen men, who were held in readiness, were to have embarked at the mouth of Cambridge River, in two divisions, the first under the command of Brigadier-general Sullivan, the second under Brigadier-general Greene; the whole to have been commanded by Major-general Putnam. The first division was to land at the powder-house, and gain possession of Beacon Hill and Mount Horam; the second at Barton's Point, or a little south of it, and, after securing that post, to join the other division, and force the enemy's gates and works at the Neck, for letting in the

Roxbury troops. Three floating-batteries were to have preceded, and gone in front of the other boats, and kept up a heavy fire on that part of the town where our men were to land.

"How far our views would have succeeded, had an opportunity offered for attempting the execution, it is impossible for me to say. Nothing less than an experiment could determine with precision. The plan was thought to be well digested; and, as far as I could judge from the cheerfulness and alacrity which distinguished the officers and men, who were to engage in the enterprise, I had reason to hope for a favorable and happy issue."

On the next day but one (March 9th), Washington's narrative to President Hancock proceeds as follows:

"Yesterday evening, a Captain Irvine, who escaped from Boston the night before, with six of his crew, came to head-quarters, and gave the following intelligence: 'That our bombardment and cannonade caused a great deal of surprise and alarm in town; that the cannon-shot, for the greatest part, went through the houses; that, early on Tuesday morning, Admiral Shulldham, discovering the works our people were throwing up on Dorchester Heights, immediately sent an express to General Howe, to inform him that it was necessary they should be attacked and dislodged from thence, or he would be under the necessity of withdrawing the ships from the harbor, which were under his command; and, from twelve to two o'clock, about three thousand men embarked on board the transports, which fell down to the castle, with a design of landing on that part of Dorchester, next to it, and attacking our works on the Heights at five o'clock, next morning; that Lord Percy was appointed to command; that it was generally believed the attempt would have been made, had it not been for the violent storm which happened that night.'

"He further informs, 'that the army is preparing to leave Boston, and that they will do it, in a day or two.'

"The account given by Captain Irvine, as to the embarkation, and their being about to leave the town, I believe true. There are other circumstances corroborating; and it seems fully



confirmed by a paper signed by four of the selectmen of the town (a copy of which I have the honor to inclose to you), which was brought out yesterday evening by a flag, and delivered to Colonel Learned, by Major Bassett, of the tenth regiment, who desired it might be delivered to me as soon as possible. I advised with such of the general officers upon the occasion as I could immediately assemble; and we determined it right (as it was not addressed to me, nor to any one else, nor authenticated by the signature of General Howe, or any other act obliging him to a performance of the promise mentioned on his part) that I should give it no answer; at the same time, that a letter should be returned, as going from Colonel Learned, signifying his having laid it before me; with the reasons assigned for not answering it. A copy of this is sent.

"To-night I shall have a battery thrown up on Nook's Hill, Dorchester Point, with a design of acting as circumstances may require; it being judged advisable to prosecute our plans of fortification as we intended before this information from the selectmen came. It being agreed on all hands, that there is no possibility of stopping them in case they determine to go, I shall order look-outs to be kept upon all the head-lands, to discover their movements and course, and moreover direct Commodore Manly and his little squadron to dog them, as well for the same purpose, as for picking up any of their vessels that may chance to depart from their convoy. From their loading with such precipitancy, it is presumable they will not be in the best condition for sea.

"If the ministerial troops evacuate the town, and leave it standing, I have thoughts of taking measures for fortifying the entrance into the harbor, if it shall be thought proper, and the situation of affairs will admit of it. Notwithstanding the report from Boston, that Halifax is the place of their destination, I have no doubt but that they are going to the southward, and, I apprehend, to New York. Many reasons lead to this opinion. It is in some measure corroborated by their sending an express-ship there, which, on Wednesday week, got on shore and bilged at Cape Cod. The dispatches, if writ-

ten, were destroyed when she was boarded. She had a parcel of coal, and about four thousand cannon-shot, six carriage-guns, a swivel or two, and three barrels of powder.

"I shall hold the riflemen and other parts of our troops in readiness to march at a moment's warning, and govern my movements by the events that happen, or such orders as I may receive from Congress, which I beg may be ample, and forwarded with all possible expedition."

Ten days after this letter (March 19th, 1776), he announces to Hancock the closing of this grand drama of the siege of Boston. His narrative of the intervening events is more clear and vivid than that of any of the historians of the time:

"It is with the greatest pleasure," he says, "I inform you, that, on Sunday last, the 17th instant, about nine o'clock in the forenoon, the ministerial army evacuated the town of Boston, and that the forces of the united colonies are now in actual possession thereof. I beg leave to congratulate you, sir, and the Honorable Congress, on this happy event, and particularly, as it was effected without endangering the lives and property of the remaining unhappy inhabitants.

"I have great reason to imagine their flight was precipitated, by the appearance of a work which I had ordered to be thrown up last Saturday night, on an eminence at Dorchester, which lay nearest to Boston Neck, called Nook's Hill. The town, although it has suffered greatly, is not in so bad a state as I expected to find it; and I have a particular pleasure in being able to inform you, sir, that your house has received no damage worth mentioning.\* Your furniture is in tolerable order, and the family pictures are all left entire and untouched. Captain Cazneau takes charge of the whole until he shall receive further orders from you. As soon as the ministerial troops had quitted the town, I ordered a thousand men (who had had the small-pox), under command of General Putnam, to take possession of the Heights, which I shall endeavor to fortify in

---

\* Mr. Hancock's house is still standing, one of the finest monuments of the olden time in Boston.



such a manner as to prevent their return, should they attempt it. But, as they are still in the harbor, I thought it not prudent to march off with the main body of the army, until I should be fully satisfied they had quitted the coast. I have, therefore, only detached five regiments, besides the rifle battalion, to New York, and shall keep the remainder here, till all suspicion of their return ceases.

“The situation in which I found their works, evidently discovered that their retreat was made with the greatest precipitation. They have left their barracks, and other works of wood, at Bunker’s Hill, &c., all standing, and have de-

stroyed but a small part of their lines. They have also left a number of fine pieces of cannon, which they first spiked up, also a very large iron mortar; and, as I am informed, they have thrown another over the end of your wharf. I have employed proper persons to drill the cannon, and doubt not I shall save the most of them. I am not yet able to procure an exact list of all the stores they have left. As soon as it can be done, I shall take care to transmit it to you. From an estimate of what the quarter-master-general has already discovered, the amount will be twenty-five or thirty thousand pounds.”

## CHAPTER VI.

1776.

### WASHINGTON IN NEW YORK.

Want of stable government in the colonies.—New Hampshire.—South Carolina and Virginia advised by Congress to establish provisional governments.—Second petition to the king not received.—Warlike preparations.—The king's hostile speech.—Force resolved on.—Parliament supports the king in his hostile measures.—Non-intercourse law.—Clause for impressment of seamen.—Mr. Penn examined.—Result.—Duke of Richmond intercedes for peace.—Voted down.—Independence recommended by the press.—Paine's Common Sense.—Congress retaliates the non-intercourse law; and recommends provisional governments to all the colonies.—North Carolina speaks out.—Resolutions of Virginia.—Washington's opinion of them.—Sir Peter Parker and Earl Cornwallis invade South Carolina with a formidable fleet and army.—Noble defence of Moultrie and his men in the Palmetto Fort on Sullivan's Island.—Sergeant Jasper's feat.—The South relieved for the present.—Indians defeated.—Putnam in command at New York.—His proceedings.—Washington arrives at New York.—Forts on Long Island.—Greene placed in command there.—Washington finds the force in New York small and scattered.—Detachments sent to Canada.—Washington goes to Philadelphia to confer with Congress.—Mrs. Washington accompanies him.—His letter to his brother.—His constant trust in Providence.—He foretells to Congress a long war.—Enlistments for three years ordered.—Flying camp.—Want of arms.—Board of War and Ordnance established.—Washington returns to New York.—The tories.—Their plots.—Plot to seize Washington.—New York Convention takes action on the subject.—The Howes and their fleet and army.—General Howe arrives and debarks at Staten Island. Washington reinforces the army.—Declaration of Independence discussed and passed by Congress.—Washington's joy at the declaration.—It is received cordially by the army.—General order.—Celebration of Independence in New York.—King's statue destroyed.—The Phoenix and Rose sail up the Hudson.—Great alarm.—Washington prepares to defend the shores of the Hudson.—Arrival of Lord Howe.—He addresses letters to the deposed royal governors.—Washington intercepts, and Congress publishes them.—Lord Howe writes to Franklin.—His answer.—Washington refuses to receive Howe's letter to him.—Interview with Colonel Patterson.—Dissensions in the army.—Allayed by Washington.—Force of the Howes.—Of Washington.—Position of the army on Long Island.—Washington's address to the soldiers.—Washington hears of the battle at Charleston. His address to the army on that occasion.—Force at Brooklyn.—Sullivan reinforced.—Landing of the British on Long Island.—Putnam takes command at Brooklyn.—Position of the British army.—Battle of Long Island.—Washington's distress at this disaster.—His masterly retreat from Long Island.—Lord Howe sends General Sullivan to Congress with new offers of peace.—A committee of Congress hear and reject the offers.—Congress endeavors to detach the German mercenaries from the British army.

WHILE Washington was engaged in conducting the siege of Boston, many events had transpired both in America and England, to which it now becomes necessary to advert.

Notwithstanding the extent to which hostilities had been carried, a large portion of the colonists had hitherto con-

tinued to entertain some hope of an amicable termination of the dispute; and it is evident from the transactions we are about to record, that many felt sincerely desirous to frustrate such a result; particularly the leading statesmen of New England and Virginia. The want of more regular and stable gov-

ernments had for some time been felt in those colonies where royal governments had hitherto existed; and in the autumn of 1775, New Hampshire had applied to Congress for their advice and direction on this subject.

In November, Congress advised the convention of that colony to call a full and free representation of the people; when the representatives, if they thought it necessary, should establish such a form of government, as, in their judgment, would best promote the happiness of the people, and most effectually secure peace and good order during the continuance of the dispute between Great Britain and the colonies.

On this question, the members of Congress were not unanimous. It was viewed by some as a step necessarily leading to independence; and by some of its advocates it was probably intended as such. To render the resolution less exceptionable, the duration of the government was limited to the continuance of the dispute with the parent country. Soon afterwards, similar directions and advice were given to South Carolina and Virginia.

The last hopes of the colonies for reconciliation rested on the success of their second petition to the king; and the answer of their sovereign to this application was expected with extreme solicitude. Information, however, was soon received from Mr. Penn, who was intrusted with the petition, that no answer would be given.

This intelligence was followed by that

of great additional preparations to subdue the "American rebels." The king, in his speech at the opening of parliament in October, not only accused the colonists of revolt, hostility, and rebellion, but stated that the rebellion which was carried on by them, was for the purpose of establishing an independent empire. To prevent this, he declared that the most decisive and vigorous measures were necessary; that he had consequently increased his naval establishment, had augmented his land forces, and had also taken measures to procure the aid of foreign troops. He, at the same time, stated his intention of appointing certain persons with authority to grant pardons to individuals, and to receive the submission of whole colonies disposed to return to their allegiance.

Large majorities in both Houses assured the king of their firm support in his measures for reducing the colonists to obedience. The addresses, however, in answer to the speech, were opposed with great ability. The project of employing foreign troops to destroy American subjects, was reprobated by the minority in the strongest terms. The plans of the ministry, however, were not only approved by parliament, but by a majority of the nation. The idea of making the colonists share their burdens, could not easily be relinquished by the people of Great Britain; and national pride would not permit them to yield the point of supremacy. War was now, therefore, to be waged against the colonies, and a force sent out suffi-



ciently powerful to compel submission, even without a struggle.

For these purposes the aid of parliament was requisite; and about the end of December, an act was passed prohibiting all trade and commerce with the colonies, and authorizing the capture and condemnation, not only of all American vessels, with their cargoes, but all other vessels found trading in any port or place in the colonies, as if the same were the vessels and effects of open enemies; and the vessels and property thus taken were vested in the captors. An additional clause of the act provided that the crews were to be compelled to serve in the king's ships. This was *impressment* of the worst possible kind.

The passing of this act shut the door against the application of the colonies for a reconciliation. The last petition of Congress to the king had, indeed, been laid before parliament, but both houses refused to hear it, or even to treat upon any proposition coming from such an unlawful assembly, or from those who were then in arms against their lawful sovereign.

In the House of Lords, on the motion of the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Penn was examined on American affairs. He stated, among other things, that the colonists were desirous of reconciliation, and did not aim at independence; that they were disposed to conform to the acts regulating their trade, but not to taxation; and that on this point a spirit of resistance was universal.

After this examination, the Duke of Richmond moved a resolution, declaring that the petition of Congress to the king was a ground for a reconciliation of the differences between the two countries. This motion was negatived, after a warm debate, by eighty-six to thirty-three. These proceedings of the king and parliament, with the employment of sixteen thousand foreign mercenaries, convinced the leading men in each colony that the sword alone must decide the contest, and that the colonists must now declare themselves totally independent of Great Britain.

Time, however, was still requisite to convince the great mass of the American people of the necessity of a complete separation from their parent country, and the establishment of an independent government. The ablest pens were employed throughout America in the winter of 1775-76, on this momentous subject.

The propriety and necessity of the measure was enforced in the numerous gazettes, and in pamphlets. Among the latter, "Common Sense," from the pen of Thomas Paine, produced a wonderful effect in the different colonies in favor of independence. Influential individuals in every colony, urged it as a step absolutely necessary to preserve the rights and liberties, as well as to secure the happiness and prosperity of the people.

When the prohibitory act reached America, Congress, justly viewing it as a declaration of war, directed reprisals

to be made, both by public and private armed vessels, against the ships and goods of the inhabitants of Great Britain, found on the high seas, or between high and low water mark. They also burst the shackles of commercial monopoly, which had so long kept them in bondage, and opened their ports to all the world, except the dominions of Great Britain.

In this state of things, it was preposterous for the colonists any longer to consider themselves as holding or exercising the powers of government under the authority of Great Britain. Congress, therefore, on the 10th of May, recommended to the Assemblies and conventions of the colonies, where no sufficient government had been established, "to adopt such government as should, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general."

They also declared it necessary, that the exercise of every kind of authority under the crown should be suppressed, and that all the powers of government should be exercised, "under the authority of the people of the colonies, for the preservation of internal peace, virtue, and good order, as well as for the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, against the hostile invasions and cruel depredations of their enemies." This was a preliminary step to a general declaration of independence.

Some of the colonial Assemblies and

conventions about the same time began to express their opinions on this great question. On the 22d of April, the convention of North Carolina empowered their delegates in Congress "to concur with those in the other colonies in declaring independency." This, it is believed, was the first direct public act of any colonial Assembly or convention in favor of the measure. The convention of Virginia soon afterwards expressed itself still more decidedly. After full deliberation, the following resolutions were passed unanimously :

"That the delegates appointed to represent this colony in General Congress, be instructed to propose to that respectable body, *to declare the united colonies free and independent States*, absolved from all allegiance to, or dependence upon, the crown or parliament of Great Britain ; and, that they give the assent of this colony to such declaration, and to whatever measures may be thought proper and necessary by the Congress for forming foreign alliances, and a confederation of the colonies, at such time, and in the manner as to them shall seem best. *Provided*, that the power of forming governments for, and the regulations of, the internal concerns of each colony, be left to the respective colonial legislatures.

"That a committee be appointed to prepare a declaration of rights, and to form such a plan of government as will be most likely to maintain peace and order in this colony, and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people."



Washington's opinion respecting this resolution is thus expressed in a letter to his brother: "I am very glad to find that the Virginia Convention have passed so noble a vote, and with so much unanimity. Things have come to such a pass now, as to convince us that we have nothing more to expect from the justice of Great Britain; also, that she is capable of the most delusive arts; for I am satisfied that no commissioners were ever designed, except Hessians and other foreigners, and that the idea was only to deceive and throw us off our guard. The first has been too effectually accomplished, as many members of Congress, in short, the representation of whole provinces, are still feeding themselves upon the dainty food of reconciliation; and, though they will not allow that the expectation of it has any influence upon their judgment with respect to their preparations for defence, it is but too obvious that it has an operation upon every part of their conduct, and is a clog to their proceedings. It is not in the nature of things to be otherwise; for no man that entertains a hope of seeing this dispute speedily and equitably adjusted by commissioners, will go to the same expense and run the same hazards to prepare for the worst event, as he who believes that he must conquer, or submit to unconditional terms, and the concomitants, such as confiscation, hanging, and the like."<sup>\*</sup>

This letter was written in May, 1776, when Washington's visit to Congress, to which we shall presently refer, had enabled him to study the disposition of the members; and when the question of independence was the subject of discussion in all circles of public men.

Early in the year, the British government had prepared a considerable expedition to reduce the southern colonies to obedience. The com-<sup>1776.</sup>mand was intrusted to Sir Peter Parker and Earl Cornwallis. On the 3d of May, Admiral Parker, with twenty sail, arrived at Cape Fear. They found General Clinton ready to co-operate with them. He had left New York and proceeded to Virginia, where he had an interview with Lord Dunmore; but finding nothing could be effected in that colony, he repaired to Cape Fear, to await the arrival of the armament from England. Meanwhile, the Carolinians had been making great exertions.

In Charleston, the utmost energy and activity were evinced. The citizens pulled down the valuable storehouses on the wharfs, barricaded the streets, and constructed lines of defence along the shore. Abandoning their commercial pursuits, they engaged in incessant labor, and prepared for bloody conflicts. The troops, amounting to between five and six thousand men, were stationed in the most advantageous positions. Amidst all this bustle and preparation, lead was so extremely scarce, that the windows of Charleston were stripped of

<sup>\*</sup> See Document [A] at the end of this chapter.



their weights, in order to procure a small supply of that necessary article for bullets.

Early in June, the armament, consisting of between forty and fifty vessels, appeared off Charleston Bay, and thirty-six of the transports passed the bar, and anchored about three miles from Sullivan's Island. Some hundreds of the troops landed on Long Island, which lies on the west of Sullivan's Island, and which is separated from it by a narrow channel, often fordable.

On the 10th of the month, the *Bristol*, a fifty-gun ship, having taken out her guns, got safely over the bar; and on the 25th, the *Experiment*, a ship of equal force arrived, and, next day, passed in the same way. On the part of the British, every thing was now ready for action. Sir Henry Clinton had nearly three thousand men under his command. The naval force, under Sir Peter Parker, consisted of the *Bristol* and *Experiment* of fifty guns; the *Active*, *Acteon*, *Solebay*, and *Syren* frigates; the *Friendship* of twenty-two, and the *Sphinx* of twenty, guns; the *Ranger* sloop, and *Thunder* bomb.

On the forenoon of the 28th of June, this fleet advanced against the fort on Sullivan's Island, which was defended by Colonel Moultrie, with about three hundred and fifty regular troops, and some militia. The *Thunder* bomb began the battle. The *Active*, *Bristol*, *Experiment*, and *Solebay* followed boldly to the attack, and a terrible cannonade ensued. The fort returned

the fire of the ships slowly, but with deliberate and deadly aim; and the contest was carried on during the whole day with unabating fury.

The *Sphinx*, *Acteon*, and *Syren* were ordered to attack the western extremity of the fort, which was in a very unfinished state; but, as they proceeded for that purpose, they got entangled with a shoal, called the Middle Ground. Two of them ran foul of each other; the *Acteon* stuck fast; the *Sphinx* and *Syren* got off; but fortunately for the Americans, that part of the attack completely failed. It was designed that Sir Henry Clinton, with his corps, should co-operate with the naval operations by passing the narrow channel which separates Long Island from Sullivan's Island, and assail the fort by land; but this the general found impracticable, for the channel, though commonly fordable, was at that time, by a long prevalence of easterly winds, deeper than usual; and even had the channel been fordable, the British troops would have found the passage an arduous enterprise, for Colonel Thomson, with a strong detachment of riflemen, regulars, and militia, was posted on the east end of Sullivan's Island, to oppose any attack made in that quarter.

The engagement, which began about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, continued with unabated fury till seven in the evening, when the fire slackened, and about nine, entirely ceased on both sides. During the night, all the ships, except the *Acteon*, which was aground,

removed about two miles from the island.

Next morning, the fort fired a few shots at the *Acteon*, and she at first returned them; but in a short time, her crew set her on fire, and abandoned her. She blew up shortly afterwards. In this obstinate engagement both parties fought with great gallantry. The loss of the British was very considerable, upwards of sixty being killed, and one hundred and sixty being wounded; whilst the garrison lost only ten men killed, and twenty-two wounded.

Although the Americans were raw troops, yet they behaved with the steady intrepidity of veterans. One circumstance may serve to illustrate the cool but enthusiastic courage which pervaded their ranks. In the course of the engagement, the flag-staff of the fort was shot away; but Sergeant Jasper leaped down upon the beach, snatched up the flag, fastened it to a sponge-staff, and while the ships were incessantly directing their broadsides upon the fort, he mounted the merlon, and deliberately replaced the flag.

The fate of this expedition contributed greatly to establish the popular government it was intended to destroy, while the news of it spread rapidly through the continent, and exercised an equally unfavorable influence on the royal cause; the advocates of the irresistibility of British fleets and armies were mortified and silenced; and the brave defence of Fort Moultrie saved

the Southern States from the horrors of war for several years.

In South Carolina, the government took advantage of the hour of success to conciliate their opponents in the province. The adherents of royal power, who, for a considerable time, had been closely imprisoned, on promising fidelity to their country, were set at liberty, and restored to all the privileges of citizens. The repulse of the British was also attended with another advantage, that of leaving the Americans at liberty to turn their undivided force against the Indians, who had attacked the western frontier of the Southern States with all the fury and carnage of savage warfare.

In 1775, when the breach between Great Britain and her colonies was daily becoming wider, one Stuart, the agent employed in conducting the intercourse between the British authorities and the Cherokees and Creeks, used all his influence to attach the Indians to the royal cause, and to inspire them with jealousy and hatred of the Americans. He found little difficulty in persuading them that the Americans, without provocation, had taken up arms against Britain, and were the means of preventing them from receiving their yearly supplies of arms, ammunition, and clothing from the British government.

The Americans had endeavored to conciliate the good-will of the Indians, but their scanty presents were unsatisfactory, and the savages resolved to



take up the hatchet. Deeming the appearance of the British fleet in Charleston Bay a fit opportunity, the Cherokees invaded the western frontier of the province, marking their track with murder and devastation.

The speedy retreat of the British left the savages exposed to the vengeance of the Americans, who, in separate divisions, entered their country at different points, from Virginia and Georgia, defeated their warriors, burned their villages, laid waste their corn-fields, and incapacitated the Cherokees, for a considerable time, from giving the settlers further annoyance. Thus, in the South, the Americans triumphed over the British and Indians.

We have seen that before leaving Boston, Washington ordered General Putnam to take command of the army in New York. He was directed to fortify the city and the passes of the Hudson, according to the plans of General Lee, his predecessor in the command. Putnam, aware of the number of tories in the city, established strict regulations for preserving order; and sternly interdicting the free intercourse which had hitherto prevailed between the inhabitants and the British ships in the neighboring waters, in one of which the royal ex-governor Tryon was engaged in carrying a variety of plots and hostile intrigues by means of emissaries to his numerous adherents in the city and colony.

On his arrival at New York, April 13th, Washington found that the inde-

fatigable Putnam had exerted his usual energy and ability in completing the fortifications, which had been commenced under the direction 1776. of General Lee. Those on Brooklyn Heights commanded the city, and, as the possession of them would probably be the first object of General Howe on his arrival, Washington placed them under the command of General Greene, of whose superior ability, courage, and prudence he had already become aware.

Washington found the whole force in New York and its neighborhood to consist of little more than ten thousand men; and these were distributed in various posts in the city, Long Island, Staten Island, and elsewhere. Many of the soldiers were new recruits without arms; and others were sick or absent on furlough; thus reducing the available force to between eight and nine thousand. Of these, considerable detachments, upon request from Congress, were sent off to Canada, where the ill-fated expedition, of which we have already given the history, was not yet brought to a close. Ten regiments were taken from the army at New York, in two detachments, for this purpose. The measure was justified to Washington's mind by the consideration, that the portion of the army already engaged in Canada could only be reinforced from New York; while those under his immediate command, could receive support, if necessary, by calling in the militia from the surrounding country.



In May, Washington, at the request of Congress, paid a visit to Philadelphia for the purpose of devising measures for the prosecution of the ensuing campaign. During the fifteen days that his visit lasted, General Putnam held the command at New York. Mrs. Washington, who had accompanied him to New York, and had since resided there, was with him also during this visit to Philadelphia. They were invited by President Hancock to be his guests during their stay. In a letter from that place to his brother John Augustine, already quoted, he says: "We expect a very bloody summer at New York and Canada, as it is there, I presume, the grand efforts of the enemy will be aimed; and I am sorry to say, that we are not, either in men or arms, prepared for it. However, it is to be hoped, that, if our cause is just, as I do most religiously believe it to be, the same Providence, which has in many instances appeared for us, will still go on to afford its aid."

There is every reason to believe, that this reliance on Providence was the constant habit of Washington's mind. It would seem that nothing else could have sustained him under the tremendous responsibilities and emergencies to which he was subject. It is equally clear, that relying on Providence under his severe trials never induced him to relax his energy or vigilance. The circumstances in which he was placed at the time when the letter, above quoted, was written, were sufficiently appalling

to have deterred any one who had not deliberately placed his whole trust in Providence; for he had already, as the letter shows, divined the real purpose of the British, which was to land an overwhelming force at New York, to take that place, pass up the Hudson River, and meet another powerful army already dispatched to relieve the British forces in Canada; thus dividing the country into two parts, so that it might be easily conquered in detail. There was every human probability of the success of this plan; and Washington knew it. Yet he was not moved, for an instant, from that serene calmness which was his habitual state of mind. Truly he was a man who put his trust in God.

In his conferences with Congress, Washington expressed the opinion, that no acceptable terms would be offered by the British, and that a long war must ensue, which would require more men and better regulations. Congress accordingly ordered enlistments for the regular army to be made for three years' service, with a bounty of ten dollars to each soldier; and made provision for reinforcements of militia, and the building of gondolas and five rafts for the defence of New York harbor.

They also determined on a plan to reinforce the army, by bringing into the field a new species of troops that would be more permanent than the common militia, and yet more easily raised than regulars. With this view they instituted a flying-camp, to consist of an in-

intermediate corps, between regular soldiers and militia. Ten thousand men were called for from the States of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, to be in constant service to the first day of the ensuing December. Congress at the same time called for thirteen thousand eight hundred of the common militia from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey. The men for forming the flying-camp were generally procured; but there were great deficiencies of the militia, and many of those who obeyed their country's call, so far as to turn out, manifested a reluctance to submit to the necessary discipline of camps.

The difficulty of providing the troops with arms while before Boston, was exceeded by the superior difficulty of supplying them in their new position. By the returns of the garrison at Fort Montgomery, in the Highlands, in April, it appeared that there were two hundred and eight privates, and only forty-one guns fit for use. In the garrison at Fort Constitution, there were one hundred and thirty-six men, and only sixty-eight guns fit for use. Flints were also much wanted. Lead would have been equally deficient, had not a supply for the musketry been obtained by stripping dwelling-houses.\*

The measures necessary to remedy these deficiencies formed a subject of consultation between Washington and Congress; as well as the establishment

of a permanent board of war and ordnance, composed of John Adams, Colonel Benjamin Harrison, Roger Sherman, Edward Rutledge, and James Wilson, who were henceforth to act instead of the various military committees of Congress, who had hitherto had charge of military affairs.

On Washington's return to New York, he resumed preparations for receiving the enemy, who were daily expected to arrive with a fleet and a powerful army. He was also under the necessity of attending to the various operations of the tories, who infested the province of New York to a fearful extent.

Mr. Sparks gives an account of the plots of these tories, Governor Tryon being the main-spring of all their movements. Washington, after a great deal of urgency, got Congress to appoint a secret committee, to take up and examine suspected persons. It is true, that this was a dangerous responsibility to be placed in the hands of any man; but the necessity of the case demanded some action. The tories were bound to take one side or the other in the questions at issue; open enmity could be met; but they who wished to be considered neutrals, while they covertly aided and gave intelligence to the enemy, could not be suffered to remain in a position which gave them every advantage over the patriots and their cause. The power of apprehending the tories had wisely been put into the hands of the civil authority of each colony, and the conven-

\* "One house," says Gordon, "supplied them with 1200 pounds, and another with 1000 pounds."



tions, assemblies, and committees, were authorized to employ, when they thought it necessary for the purpose, a militia force from the continental army. "Many

1776. Tories were apprehended in New York and on Long Island; some were imprisoned; others disarmed.

A deep plot, originating with Governor Tryon, was defeated by a timely and fortunate discovery. His agents were found enlisting men in the American camp, and enticing them with rewards. The infection spread to a considerable extent, and even reached the general's guard, some of whom enlisted. A soldier of the guard was proved guilty by a court martial, and executed. It was a part of the plot to seize General Washington and convey him to the enemy."\*

The rumors of these proceedings were spread through the country, and occasioned no small degree of indignation and alarm. Indeed, the danger to the cause of freedom by the machinations of the tories was real and imminent.

In this crisis of particular danger, the people of New York acted with spirit. Though they knew they were to receive the first impression of the British army, yet their convention resolved, "that all persons residing within the State of New York, and claiming protection from its laws, owed it allegiance, and that any person owing it allegiance and levying war against the State, or being

an adherent to the king of Great Britain, should be deemed guilty of treason and suffer death." They also resolved, "that one-fourth of the militia of Westchester, Dutchess, and Orange counties, should be forthwith drawn out for the defence of the liberties, property, wives, and children of the good people of the State, to be continued in service till the last day of December," and "that as the inhabitants of King's county had determined not to oppose the enemy, a committee should be appointed to inquire into the authenticity of these reports, and to disarm and secure the disaffected, to remove or destroy the stock of grain, and if necessary to lay the whole country waste."

The fleet and army daily expected to arrive when Washington returned from Philadelphia, were formidable, even had he been at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army.

The command of the force which was designed to operate against New York, was given to Admiral Lord Howe, and his brother, Sir William,\* officers who, as well from their personal characters as the known bravery of their family, stood high in the confidence of the British nation. To this service was allotted a very powerful army, consisting of about thirty thousand men. This force was far superior to any thing that America had heretofore seen. The troops were amply provided with artillery, military stores, and warlike ma-

\* Sparks, *Life of Washington*, p. 169.  
VOL. I.—56

\* Sir William Howe was the same officer who had held the command in Boston after Gage's recall.



terials of every kind, and were supported by a numerous fleet. The admiral and general, in addition to their military powers, were appointed commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies.

General Howe having in vain waited two months at Halifax for his brother, and the expected reinforcements from England, impatient of further delays, sailed from that harbor, with the force which he had previously commanded in Boston, and directing his course towards New York, arrived in the latter end of June, off Sandy Hook. Admiral Lord Howe, with part of the reinforcement from England, arrived at Halifax soon after his brother's departure. Without dropping anchor he followed, but did not arrive at Staten Island till about the middle of July. The British general, on his approach, found every part of New York Island, and the most exposed parts of Long Island, fortified and well defended by artillery.

About fifty British transports anchored near Staten Island, which had not been so much the object of Washington's attention. The inhabitants of the island, either from fear, policy, or affection, expressed great joy on the arrival of the royal forces. General Howe was there met by Tryon, and by several of the loyalists, who had taken refuge with him in an armed vessel. He was also joined by about sixty persons from New Jersey, and two hundred of the inhabitants of Staten Island were embodied, as a royal militia. From

these appearances, great hopes were indulged that as soon as the army was in a condition to penetrate into the country, and protect the loyalists, such numbers would flock to their standard as would facilitate the attainment of the objects of the campaign.

Washington, knowing that the force already arrived—forty ships with between nine and ten thousand troops—was only the vanguard of the still greater force expected to arrive under Admiral Lord Howe, took immediate steps to strengthen his army. He called on Congress for a reinforcement from Massachusetts, to consist of five regiments of regular soldiers, whose place should be supplied in Boston by calling in militia, and for the formation of a flying-camp to be stationed in New Jersey, ready to act on any emergency.

On the 2d of July he issued one of those general orders, with which he was accustomed to address the army in lieu of what the French call a "military allocution." In it he called upon the soldiers to prepare for the coming contest, on which their liberty and safety depended; promised rewards to the brave and patriotic, and threatened punishment to those who should refuse or neglect to do their duty.\*

The contest was indeed approaching; and at this very moment Congress was

\* These general orders are characteristic of Washington's modesty and aversion to display. Napoleon and Jackson, on similar occasions, had recourse to a speech. Of course it is impossible for a numerous army to hear a speech, so the paper is published and distributed as the general's speech.

preparing to throw down the gauntlet of defiance in good earnest. We have already noticed the spirited action of the Virginia Assembly, with Washington's own commentary on it. Since that action, Congress had received from a majority of the colonies, which it represented, either urgent entreaties or deliberate consent and authority to the dissolution of all further political connection with Great Britain.

One or two of the provincial assemblies yet refrained from giving any explicit directions on this subject to their representatives; the directions from Maryland were latterly unfavorable to an immediate assertion of independence; and those from Pennsylvania and Delaware were flatly opposed to it.

But the leading partisans of independence perceived that the season had arrived when this great design must be either openly espoused or definitively abandoned; they remarked, that, in general, the main objections that were still urged against it applied rather to the time than to the measure itself, and they were convinced, that in every one of the States the majority of the people, however credulous or desirous of a reconciliation with Britain, would rather repudiate such views than retain them in opposition to the declared and general policy of America.

On the 7th of June, accordingly, it was formally proposed in Congress by Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, that the American States should be declared free and independent. This proposition in-

duced long and animated debates, and afforded scope to the largest display of wisdom, genius, and eloquence, in the discussion of a question than which none more interesting to human liberty and happiness was ever before submitted to the decision of a national assembly.

The American Congress, in its original composition, exhibiting the citizens of a subordinate commonwealth in the act of assuming into their own hands the reins of government which a superior state had previously wielded over them, presented a spectacle of deep and stirring interest to human nature and civilized society. Deliberating now if the grand conception which it had suggested was to be despondingly abandoned or resolutely fulfilled, it addressed the universal sentiments of mankind with extended interest and augmented dignity. While European sovereigns were insulting and violating every sanction and safeguard of national right and human liberty by the infamous partition of Poland, a revolutionary principle of nobler nature and vindictive destiny was developed to the earnest and wondering eyes of the world, in America.

A very ordinary degree of knowledge and reflection may enable any person to suggest to himself the principal arguments which must have been employed in the conduct of this solemn and important debate; but no authentic report of the actual discussion has been transmitted. John Adams, who supported the project of independence, and Dickinson, who opposed it, were acknowl-



edged to have pre-eminently distinguished themselves by their rhetoric and ingenuity.

Adams, it is said, forcibly maintained that a restoration of union and harmony between Britain and America was impossible; that military conquest alone could restore the British ascendancy; and that an open declaration of independence was imperatively required to harmonize the views of the Americans, to elevate and confirm their spirits in an inevitable conflict, and to enable them to obtain effectual succor from foreign powers. Prudence and justice alike demanded that the brave men who had taken arms in defence of their country's freedom, should be enabled to dismiss the apprehension of fighting for a hollow and precarious reconciliation, and a return to the yoke of dependence.

Dickinson is said to have insisted (and very plausibly, it must be allowed), that an instant dissolution of the American confederacy would be produced by the mere act of Great Britain in withdrawing her fleets and armies at the present juncture; but in maintaining, as he is also reported to have done, that the same breach of federal union, aggravated by an effervescence of popular spirit incompatible with civil order, must ensue from the withdrawment of the British troops at a later period, and after a prolonged contest and the excitation of furious passion in every part of America, he disregarded the continued influence of that bond of union whose initial operation he was so strong-

ly impressed with, and undervalued the wisdom and virtue which his countrymen were capable of exerting for the extinction of the flames of revolutionary passions.

Some members of the Congress opposed a declaration of independence as unwarrantable or premature; and others, for awhile, were reluctantly deterred from supporting it by the instructions of their constituents. After the discussion had been protracted for nearly a month, during which interval the hesitation or opposition of a minority of the States was overborne, as had been foreseen, by the general current of national will—the measure proposed by Lee was approved and embraced by a vote almost unanimous; and a document, entitled “Declaration of the Independence of the Thir-

July 4,  
1776.

teen United States of North America,” composed by Thomas Jefferson, was subscribed by all the members who were anxious to confront the danger, and accomplish the glory, of their country.

“In the body that elected Mr. Jefferson to draft the Declaration of Independence,” says Mr. Everett,\* “there were other men of great ability. Franklin was a member of it, a statesman of the highest reputation in Europe and America, and especially master of a most pure, effective English style of writing. And John Adams was pronounced by Jefferson himself the ablest

---

\* Eulogy on Adams and Jefferson.









# Declaration of Independence.

Facsimile of the original document in the hand-writing of Thomas Jefferson.

[Copied by permission from the MS. in the Department of State, at Washington.]

A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in General Congress assembled.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for <sup>one</sup> people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to ~~assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature & of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the~~ <sup>the</sup> separation.

We hold these truths to be <sup>self-evident</sup>, that all men are created equal, & ~~independent~~ <sup>they are endowed by their creator with</sup>; that ~~from that equal creation they derive~~ <sup>certain</sup> ~~inherent~~ <sup>rights, that</sup> ~~inalienable~~ <sup>these</sup>, among ~~which are~~ <sup>are</sup> life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these <sup>rights</sup>, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government ~~shall~~ becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, & to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles & organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety & happiness. prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light & transient causes: and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed but





when a long train of abuses & usurpations, [begun at a distinguished period  
&] pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to ~~reduce~~ reduce  
them <sup>under absolute Despotism</sup> ~~under absolute Despotism~~, It is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such  
government & to provide new guards for their future security. such has  
been the patient sufferance of these colonies, & such is now the necessity  
which constrains them to <sup>alter</sup> [expunge] their former systems of government.  
the history of <sup>the</sup> ~~this~~ present <sup>\* King of Great Britain</sup> ~~reign~~, is a history of <sup>repeated</sup> [unremitting] injuries and  
usurpations, [among which, <sup>appears no solitary fact</sup> ~~for a single instance~~ to contra-  
dict the uniform tenor of the rest, <sup>but all</sup> ~~all of which~~ <sup>having</sup> in direct object the  
establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. to prove this, let facts be  
submitted to a candid world. [for the truth of which we pledge a faith  
yet unsullied by falsehood]

he has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the pub-  
-lic good:

he has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate & pressing importance,  
unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained,  
and when so suspended, he has <sup>utterly</sup> neglected ~~attended~~ to attend to them.

he has refused to pass other laws for the accomodation of large districts of people  
unless those people would relinquish the right of <sup>in the legislature</sup> representation, a right  
inestimable to them, & formidable to tyrants only:

he has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, & distant from  
the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance  
with his measures;

he has dissolved Representative houses repeatedly [ & continually ] for opposing with  
manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people:

~~he has refused~~, he has refused for a long <sup>time after such Dissolutions\*</sup> ~~space of time~~ to cause others to be elected.

whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, & convulsions within:

he has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither; & raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands:

he has <sup>obstructed</sup> ~~suffered~~ the administration of justice <sup>or</sup> totally to cease in some of these ~~states~~ <sup>states</sup>, refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers:

he has made <sup>our</sup> judges dependant on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, <sup>the + & payment</sup> and amount of their salaries:

he has erected a multitude of new offices <sup>[by a self-assumed power]</sup>, & sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people & eat out their substance:

he has kept among us in times of peace, ~~standing~~ <sup>without the</sup> standing armies <sup>consent of our</sup> <sup>legislature</sup> ~~& ships of war~~:

he has affected to render the military independent of & superior to the civil power:

he has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their <sup>acts of</sup> pretended ~~acts~~ of legislation, for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

for protecting them by a mock-trial from punishment for any murders <sup>which</sup> they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

for imposing taxes on us without our consent;

for depriving us <sup>in many cases</sup> of the benefits of trial by jury;

for transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example & fit instrument for introducing the same elsewhere into these colonies: <sup>as to the</sup> ~~established~~



abolishing our most <sup>valuable</sup> ~~important~~ laws  
for taking away our charters, <sup>altering</sup> fundamentally the forms of our governments,  
for suspending our own legislatures & declaring themselves invested with power to  
legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.  
he has abdicated government here, <sup>by declaring us out of his protection & support</sup> [withdrawing his governors, & declaring us out  
of his allegiance & protection:]

he has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns & destroyed the  
lives of our people:

he is at this time transporting large armies of <sup>Scotch and other</sup> foreign mercenaries to complete  
the works of death, desolation & tyranny, already begun with circumstances  
scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages and totally  
of cruelty & perfidy unworthy the head of a civilized nation.  
<sup>he has endeavored to</sup> excite domestic insurrections amongst us and has  
he has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian  
savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of  
all ages, sexes, & conditions [of existence.]

He has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow-citizens with the  
allurements of forfeiture & confiscation of our property  
<sup>he has constrained others to follow him no longer by the high seas to beg arms against their country & brother  
or to fall themselves by their hands, to become the executioners of their friends & brethren</sup>  
he has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating it's most sa-  
cred rights of life & liberty in the persons of a distant people who never of-  
fended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery in another hemis-  
phere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This  
piratical warfare the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the  
Christian king of Great Britain [determined to keep open a market  
where MEN should be bought & sold he has prostituted his negative  
for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this  
determining to keep open a market where MEN should be bought & sold:  
execrable commerce: and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact



of distinguished one, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms  
amongus, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them,  
by murdering the people upon whom he also abused them: thus paying  
off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes  
which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.]

in every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble  
terms: our repeated petitions have been answered <sup>only</sup> by repeated injuries. a prince  
whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, "is unfit  
to be the ruler of a <sup>free</sup> people. [who mean to be free" future ages will scarce believe  
that the hardness of one man, adventured within the short compass of twelve years  
to <sup>erect</sup> a foundation for broad & undisguised, for tyranny  
only, ~~to lay the foundation for tyranny & slavery~~, over a people fostered & fixed in principles  
of ~~liberty~~, freedom.]

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren: we have  
warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend a juris-  
-diction over [these <sup>our</sup> states], we have reminded them of the circumstances of  
our emigration & settlement here, [no one of which could warrant so strange a  
pretension: that these were effected at the expence of our own blood & treasure,  
unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain: that in constituting  
indeed several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby  
laying a foundation for perpetual league & amity with them: but that submission to their  
parliament was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea if history may be  
credited: and] we <sup>have</sup> appealed to their native justice & magnanimity <sup>we have convinced them</sup> [as well as to] the ties  
of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which <sup>would inevitably</sup> [were likely to] interrupt  
our <sup>connection &</sup> correspondence. ~~connection~~. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice &  
of consanguinity. [We must therefore when occasions have been given them, by the regular course of

their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have by their free election re-established them in power. at this very time too they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch & foreign mercenaries to invade <sup>+ destroy us.</sup> ~~& deluge us in blood.~~ These facts have given the last stab to agonizing affection, and manly spirit bids us to renounce for ever these unfeeling brethren. we must endeavor to forget our former love for them, and to hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends we might have been a free & a great people together; but a communication of grandeur & of freedom it seems is below their dignity, be it so since they will have it: the road to ~~glory~~ <sup>to glory</sup> & to glory is open to us too; we will ~~separate~~ <sup>must tread</sup> it ~~apart from them,~~ and acquiesce in the necessity which <sup>den-</sup> ~~pronounces~~ <sup>and holds them as we hold the rest of mankind</sup> our ~~separation~~ <sup>separation</sup>!

We therefore the representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled, <sup>appealing to the summing judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions</sup> do in the name & by authority of the good people of these <sup>colonies</sup> States, [re]ject and renounce all allegiance & subjection to the kings of Great Britain. & all others who may hereafter claim by, through, or under them; we utterly dissolve & ~~break off~~ all political connection which may ~~have~~ <sup>have</sup> heretofore <sup>sub</sup>-sisted between us & the people or parliament of Great Britain; and finally we do assert and declare these colonies to be free and independant states, and that as free & independant states they ~~shall hereafter~~ <sup>full</sup> have power to levy war conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, & to do all other acts and things which independant states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration] we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, & our sacred honour.

John Hancock

Rob Morris	Lewis Morris
Benjamin Rush	
Benj. Franklin	Samuel Chase
	James Wilson
John Morton	Geo Ross
Wm Hooper	
Joseph Hewes	Ruth Storkton
John Penn	Jas Witherspoon
Wm Paro	
Thos Stone	Bras Hopkinson
	John Hart
Geo Taylor	Abra Clark
W Lloyd	
Phil. Livingston	Button Guinness
Jaas Lewis	Lyman Hall
	Geo Walton



Francis Lightfoot Lee  
 Carter Braxton Benj. Harrison  
 Casar Rodney Thos Nelson Jr  
 Geo. Read Matthew Thornton  
 Tho. M. Kear Stephen Hopkins  
 Edward Rutledge William Ellery  
 Roger Sherman  
 Thos. Mays was a friend  
 Thomas Lynch Jun<sup>r</sup>  
 Arthur Middleton Charles Carroll of Carrollton  
 Geo. Lymer  
 George Wythe Jas. Smith  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> W. Huntington  
 Richard Henry Lee Wm. Williams  
 Josiah Bartlett Oliver Wolcott  
 Wm. Whipple John Adams  
 Sam<sup>l</sup> Adams Robt. Treat Paine  
 Th. Jefferson Elbridge Gerry

advocate of independence, in a Congress which could boast among its members such men as Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and Samuel Adams. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were great among great men; mightiest among the mighty; and enjoyed their lofty standing in a body of which half the members might, with honor, have presided over the deliberative councils of a nation. Glorious as their standing in this council of sages has proved, they beheld the glory only in distant vision, while the prospect before them was shrouded with darkness and terror. 'I am not transported with enthusiasm,' is the language of Mr. Adams the day after the resolution was adopted; 'I am well aware of the toil, the treasure, and the blood it will cost to maintain this declaration, to support and defend these States. Yet, through all the gloom, I can see a ray of light and glory. I can see that the end is worth more than all the means.'

No one rejoiced more cordially at the news of the declaration of independence than Washington. He had long desired it. He had long been hampered, —almost paralyzed in his military operations, by the anomalous condition in which he was placed as the commander-in-chief of an army acting against a sovereign whose allegiance had not been openly renounced. His action would now be more free, his position completely defined. He was henceforth to fight for a free and independent country.

On the 9th of July, the declaration

by Washington's order was read at the head of each brigade of the army, and was received by the soldiers with joyous acclamations. In the general order of the day, he said: "The general hopes that this important event will serve as a fresh incentive to every officer and soldier, to act with fidelity and courage; as knowing that now the peace and safety of his country depend, under God, solely on the success of our arms; and that he is now in the service of a State possessed of sufficient power to reward his merit, and advance him to the highest honors of a free country."

On the evening of the same day, a number of the people of New York, in order to complete the celebration by a significant token, pulled down a leaden statue of George the Third, which had been erected on the Bowling Green in 1770, and broke it to pieces. The lead of which it was composed, was subsequently cast into bullets, "to be used in the cause of independence."

Three days after these proceedings, the city was thrown into great alarm. Two ships from the British fleet, the *Phoenix*, of forty guns, and the *Rose*, of twenty, with three tenders, taking advantage of a favorable breeze, sailed up the bay, and were proceeding up the Hudson River. They were fired upon by the batteries of the city and those on the opposite Jersey shore at Paulus Hook, and answered with broadsides. They passed the forts with little injury, as the men on deck were protected by ramparts of

July 12,  
1776.

sand-bags; while the cannonade spread terror among the quiet people of the city, who were apprehensive of a general attack.

The ships went up the Hudson to the Tappan Sea and Haverstraw Bay, where the breadth of the river enabled them to anchor without being molested by the firing from the shore.

Washington, apprehending an attack on forts Constitution and Montgomery, lately erected on the Hudson River, sent off expresses to General Mifflin, who commanded the former, and to the New York Convention, then in session at White Plains, apprising them of the danger. General George Clinton was then in command of the militia of Orange and Ulster counties. To him Washington sent off another dispatch, urging him to collect a force for the protection of the Highlands, a request which that active officer had already more than anticipated by sending reinforcements to Fort Montgomery, Fort Constitution, and the Highlands.

The ships remained in the river for a period of five weeks, taking soundings, observing the positions on the shores, and communicating secretly with the tories, notwithstanding the vigilance of the garrisons and armed parties on shore, by whom their motions were watched. Their real object was to make observations with a view to certain future objects of General Howe, which were to cut off communication by water between Washington's army and Canada, and between the city and

country, as well as to communicate with the tories and encourage them in measures of hostility. Before their return to the fleet, one of the tenders was destroyed by a fire-ship, under command of Captain Thomas, which, with others, had been sent up the river by Washington.\*

Meantime (July 12th) Lord Howe arrived at Staten Island and joined his brother, with a powerful fleet and army. Immediately after his arrival, he sent ashore a flag of truce to Amboy, with a circular letter, together with a declaration to several of the late royal governors, presuming them to be still in power, acquainting them with his authority as commissioner from the king, and the terms proposed for reconciliation, and desiring them to publish the same as generally as possible, for the information of the people. The declaration and letters were intercepted and forwarded to Congress by General Washington; and ordered by them to be published in the several newspapers, that the inhabitants might be informed of the terms offered by Lord Howe, which were merely offers of pardon and favor to individuals, or whole colonies, who would return to their allegiance and assist in "*restoring tranquillity*," that is, desert the cause of their country, and give aid and comfort to its enemies. Congress was perfectly willing to make known, as widely as possible, these terms, with the expecta-

1776.

\* Sparks, *Life of Washington*, p. 170.



tion of which the court of Britain had endeavored to amuse and disarm them ; and that the few who were still suspended by a hope founded either in the justice or moderation of the British government, might be convinced that the valor alone of their country was to save its liberties.

There is no reason to doubt that Lord Howe was sincerely anxious for peace. He addressed a note to Dr. Franklin, to whom he was personally well known, earnestly expressing his wishes, that the differences between the Americans and the mother country might be amicably settled. Franklin, in his reply, courteously regretted that he had crossed the Atlantic on an errand so fruitless, as to expect to obtain submission from his countrymen. "It is impossible," he writes, "that we should think of submission to a government, that has, with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty, burnt our defenceless towns, in the midst of winter ; excited the savages to massacre our peaceful farmers, and our slaves to murder their masters ; and is now bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our settlements with blood. Long did I endeavor, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preserve from breaking, that fine and noble China vase, the British empire ; for I knew that being once broken, the separate parts could not retain even their share of the strength and value that existed in the whole ; and that a perfect reunion could scarce ever be hoped for." In

conclusion, he says, "I know your great motive, in coming hither, was the hope of being instrumental in a reconciliation ; and I believe, when you find that to be impossible, on any terms given you to propose, you will then relinquish so odious a command, and return to a more honorable private station."

Failing in these efforts, the commissioners next attempted to open a communication with Washington, whom they addressed as *George Washington, Esq.* ; but as they were not prepared to acknowledge the official position and station of the commander-in-chief, a difficulty at once arose. Washington never suffered the slightest deviation from exact propriety in all his public relations. The commissioners, anxious to accomplish something, next had recourse to an expedient, by which they hoped to obviate all difficulty ; they changed the address of their letter for the superscription following : *To George Washington, etc., etc.* Adjutant-general Patterson was sent with this dispatch. Being introduced to Washington, he gave him in conversation the title of *Excellency*. The general received him with great politeness, but at the same time with much dignity. The adjutant expressed himself greatly concerned, on behalf of his principals, on account of the difficulties that had arisen about the superscription of the letter ; assured him of their high regard for his personal character, and that they had no intention to undervalue his rank.

It was hoped, therefore, that the *et ceteras*, being in use between ambassadors, when they were not perfectly agreed upon points of etiquette, would remove all obstructions to their mutual intercourse.

Washington answered, that a letter written to a person invested with a public character, should specify it, otherwise it could not be distinguished from a private letter; that it was true the *et ceteras* implied every thing; but it was no less true, that they implied any thing; and that, as to himself, he would never consent to receive any letter, relating to public affairs, that should be directed to him, without a designation of his rank and office. Patterson requested that this question might be waived; and turned the conversation upon prisoners of war. He expatiated in magnificent terms upon the goodness and clemency of the king, who had chosen for negotiators Lord and General Howe. He affirmed that their desire to terminate the differences which had arisen between the two peoples, was as earnest as their powers were ample; and that he hoped the general would consider this visit as the first step towards it. Washington replied, that he was not authorized to negotiate; but that it did not appear that the powers of the commissioners consisted in any more than in granting pardons; that America, not having committed any offence, asked for no forgiveness; and was only defending her unquestionable rights. Patterson remarked, that

this subject would open too vast a field of discussion. He expressed his acknowledgments for the favor done him, in omitting the usual ceremony of blinding his eyes, when passing the American works. Washington invited him to partake of a collation, and he was introduced to the general officers. After many compliments and polite expressions, and repeating his regrets that a strict observation of formalities should interrupt the course of so important an affair, he took leave of Washington, and withdrew. This conference thus remained without result, and all thoughts were again turned towards hostilities. Congress were perfectly aware, on the one hand, of the shame they must incur, by departing from the resolution so recently taken, of asserting independence, and they feared, on the other, that the propositions of England might contain some secret poison. They caused an exact relation to be printed of the interview between the commander-in-chief and the English adjutant-general.

At this time of imminent danger, Washington had the grief and mortification to learn, that dissensions were breaking out among the different portions of the army, which threatened the most serious consequences. The officers, coming from various parts of the country, were jealous of each other, and openly expressed themselves in terms so disrespectful, as necessarily to produce a very bad state of feeling towards each other, which



spread also among the soldiers to such an extent, as to excite an apprehension of actual collision between the different corps. Washington, foreseeing all the evils which would inevitably result from such a state of things, had recourse to persuasion and reprimand. In a general order, he thus addressed the army :

“The general most earnestly entreats the officers and soldiers to consider the consequences ; that they can no way assist our enemies more effectually than by making divisions among ourselves ; that the honor and success of the army, and the safety of our bleeding country, depend upon harmony and good agreement with each other ; that the provinces are all united to oppose the common enemy, and all distinctions sunk in the name of an American. To make this name honorable, and to preserve the liberty of our country, ought to be our only emulation ; and he will be the best soldier and the best patriot, who contributes most to this glorious work, whatsoever his station, or from whatever part of the continent he may come. Let all distinctions of nations, countries, and provinces be lost in the generous contest, who shall behave with the most courage against the enemy, and the most kindness and good-humor to each other. If there be any officers or soldiers so lost to virtue and a love of their country, as to continue in these practices after this order, the general assures them, and is authorized by Congress to declare to the whole army, that such persons shall be severely punished,

and dismissed from the service with disgrace.”

This order produced a marked effect, from the habitual reverence ever felt for Washington by the army. But the evil was never wholly eradicated. Throughout the war, it was deemed important to keep the troops from each State together, and place them under the command of general officers from their own part of the country.

The reinforcements to the British army, of whom about four hundred and fifty had been captured by the American cruisers, were now arriving daily from Europe ; and General Howe had also been joined by the troops from Charleston. His strength was estimated at twenty-four thousand men.

To this army, alike formidable for its numbers, its discipline, and its equipments,—aided in its operations by a numerous fleet, and conducted by commanders of skill and experience, Washington had to oppose a force, unstable in its nature,—incapable, from its structure, of receiving discipline,—and inferior to its enemy, in numbers, in arms, and in every military equipment. It consisted, when General Howe landed on Staten Island, of ten thousand men, who were much enfeebled by sickness. The diseases which always afflict new troops, were increased by exposure to the rain and night air, without tents. In consequence of Washington’s earnest representations to Congress, some regiments, stationed in the different States, were ordered to join him ; and, in addi-



tion to the requisitions of men to serve until December—requisitions not yet complied with—the neighboring militia were called into service for the exigency of the moment. Yet, in a letter written to Congress on the 8th of August, he stated that “for the  
1776. several posts on New York, Long and Governor’s Islands, and Paulus Hook, the army consisted of only seventeen thousand two hundred and twenty-five men, of whom three thousand six hundred and sixty-eight were sick; and that, to repel an immediate attack, he could count certainly on no other addition to his numbers, than a battalion from Maryland, under the command of Colonel Smallwood.”\*

The army was rendered the more inadequate to its objects by being necessarily divided for the defence of posts, some of which were fifteen miles distant from others, with navigable waters between them. “These things,” continued the letter, “are melancholy, but they are nevertheless true. I hope for better. Under every disadvantage, my utmost exertions shall be employed to bring about the great end we have in view; and, so far as I can judge from the professions and apparent disposi-

tions of my troops, I shall have their support. The superiority of the enemy, and the expected attack, do not seem to have depressed their spirits. These considerations lead me to think, that though the appeal may not terminate so happily as I could wish, yet the enemy will not succeed in their views without considerable loss. Any advantage they may gain, I trust will cost them dear.”

Soon after this letter, the army was reinforced by Smallwood’s regiment, and by two regiments from Pennsylvania, with a body of New England and New York militia, which increased it to twenty-seven thousand men, of whom one-fourth were sick.

A part of the army was stationed on Long Island, under the command of Major-general Sullivan, who had been ordered to this point in consequence of the illness of General Greene. The residue occupied different stations on York Island, except two small detachments, one on Governor’s Island, and the other at Paulus Hook; and except a part of the New York militia under General Clinton, who were stationed on the Sound, towards New Rochelle, and about East and West Chester, in order to oppose any sudden attempt which might be made to land above Kingsbridge, and cut off the communication with the country.

Expecting daily to be attacked, and believing that the influence of the first battle would be extremely important, Washington employed every expedient

\* Most of the continental troops were without uniforms. In the Connecticut regiments, the officers were distinguished from the men only by wearing cockades in their hats. But the battalion from Maryland under Colonel Smallwood, composed of young men from rich families, wore an elegant uniform of scarlet and buff, which contrasted strongly with the homespun apparel of many of the Eastern troops. The army had no cavalry, a deficiency which was severely felt in the battle of Long Island.

which might act upon that enthusiastic love of liberty, that indignation against the invaders of their country, and that native courage, which were believed to animate the bosoms of his soldiers ; and which were relied on as substitutes for discipline and experience. "The time," say his orders issued soon after the arrival of General Howe (August 2d), "is now near at hand, which must determine whether Americans are to be freemen or slaves ; whether they are to have any property they can call their own ; whether their houses and farms are to be pillaged and destroyed, and themselves consigned to a state of wretchedness from which no human efforts will deliver them. The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the courage and conduct of this army. Our cruel and unrelenting enemy leaves us only the choice of a brave resistance, or the most abject submission. We have therefore to resolve to conquer or to die. Our own, our country's honor, call upon us for a vigorous and manly exertion ; and if we now shamefully fail, we shall become infamous to the whole world. Let us then rely on the goodness of our cause, and the aid of the Supreme Being, in whose hands victory is, to animate and encourage us to great and noble actions. The eyes of all our countrymen are now upon us, and we shall have their blessings and praises, if happily we are the instruments of saving them from the tyranny meditated against them. Let us therefore

animate and encourage each other, and show the whole world that a freeman contending for liberty, on his own ground, is superior to any slavish mercenary on earth."\*

To the officers, he recommended coolness in time of action ; and to the soldiers, strict attention and obedience, with a becoming firmness and spirit.

He assured them, that any officer, soldier, or corps, distinguished by any acts of extraordinary bravery, should most certainly meet with notice and rewards ; whilst, on the other hand, those who should fail in the performance of their duty, would as certainly be exposed and punished.

Whilst preparations were making for the expected engagement, intelligence was received of the repulse of the British squadron which had attacked Fort Moultrie. Washington availed himself of the occasion of communicating this success to his army, to add a spirit of emulation to the other motives which should impel them to manly exertions. "This glorious example of our troops," he said, "under the like circumstances with ourselves, the general hopes, will animate every officer and soldier to imitate, and even to out-do them, when the enemy shall make the same attempt on us. With such a bright example before us of what can be done by brave men

---

\* This general order of Washington has been greatly admired ; and frequently published, as a remarkably fine specimen of military eloquence. It is indeed fraught with the eloquence which is brought forth from a strong mind by a great emergency.



fighting in defence of their country, we shall be loaded with a double share of shame and infamy, if we do not acquit ourselves with courage, and manifest a determined resolution to conquer or die."

As the crisis approached, his anxiety increased. Endeavoring to breathe into his army his own spirit, and to give them his own feeling, he thus addressed them: "The enemy's whole reinforcement is now arrived; so that an attack must, and will soon be made. The general, therefore, again repeats his earnest request that every officer and soldier will have his arms and ammunition in good order; keep within his quarters and encampments as far as possible; be ready for action at a moment's call; and, when called to it, remember, that liberty, property, life, and honor, are all at stake; that upon their courage and conduct, rest the hopes of their bleeding and insulted country; that their wives, children, and parents, expect safety from them only; and that we have every reason to believe, that Heaven will crown with success so just a cause.

"The enemy will endeavor to intimidate by show and appearance; but remember, they have been repulsed on various occasions by a few brave Americans; their cause is bad; and if opposed with firmness and coolness on their first onset, with our advantage of works, and knowledge of the ground, the victory is most assuredly ours. Every good soldier will be silent and

attentive, wait for orders, and reserve his fire until he is sure of doing execution; of this the officers are to be particularly careful."

He directed explicitly that any soldier who should attempt to conceal himself, or retreat without orders, should instantly be shot down; and solemnly promised to notice and reward those who should distinguish themselves. Thus did he, by infusing those sentiments which would stimulate to the greatest individual exertion, into every bosom, endeavor to compensate for the want of arms, of discipline, and of numbers.

As the defence of Long Island was intimately connected with that of New York, a brigade had been stationed at Brooklyn, a post capable of being maintained for a considerable time. An extensive camp had been marked out and fortified at the same place. Brooklyn is situated on a small peninsula made by East River, the Bay, and Gowanus Bay. The encampment fronted the main land of the island, and the works stretched quite across the peninsula, from Wallabout Bay in the East River on the left, to a deep marsh on a creek emptying into Gowanus Bay, on the right. The rear was covered and defended against an attack from the ships, by strong batteries on Red Hook and on Governor's Island, which in a great measure commanded that part of the bay, and by other batteries on East River, which kept open the communication with York Island. In front of



the camp was a range of hills covered with thick woods, which extended from east to west nearly the breadth of the island, and across which were three different roads leading to Brooklyn Ferry. These hills, though steep, were everywhere passable by infantry.

The movements of General Howe indicating an intention to make his first attack on Long Island, General Sullivan was strongly reinforced. Early in the

morning of the 22d of August, 1776.

the principal part of the British army, under the command of General Clinton, landed under cover of the guns of the fleet, and extended from the ferry at the Narrows, through Utrecht and Gravesend, to Flatlands.

Confident that an engagement must soon take place, Washington made still another effort to inspire his troops with the most determined courage. "The enemy," said he, in addressing them, "have now landed on Long Island, and the hour is fast approaching on which the honor and success of this army, and the safety of our bleeding country depend. Remember, officers and soldiers, that you are freemen, fighting for the blessings of liberty—that slavery will be your portion and that of your posterity, if you do not acquit yourselves like men." He repeated his instructions respecting their conduct in action, and concluded with the most animating and encouraging exhortations.

Major-general Putnam was now directed to take command at Brooklyn, with a reinforcement of six regiments;

and he was charged most earnestly by the commander-in-chief to be in constant readiness for an attack, and to guard the woods between the two camps with his best troops. This order was obeyed with great alacrity, as the active and indefatigable veteran was heartily tired of his monotonous life in the city.

Washington had passed the day at Brooklyn, making arrangements for the approaching action; and, at night, had returned to New York.

The Hessians, under General De Heister, composed the centre of the British army at Flatbush; Major-general Grant commanded the left wing which extended to the coast, and the greater part of the British forces under General Clinton, Earl Percy, and Lord Cornwallis, turned short to the right, and approached the opposite coast of Flatlands.

The two armies were now separated from each other by the range of hills already mentioned. The British centre at Flatbush was scarcely four miles distant from the American lines at Brooklyn; and a direct road led across the heights from the one to the other. Another road, rather more circuitous than the first, led from Flatbush by the way of Bedford, a small village on the Brooklyn side of the hills. The right and left wings of the British army were nearly equidistant from the American works, and about five or six miles from them. The road leading from the Narrows along the coast, and by the way of Gowanus Cove, afforded the most direct

route to their left; and their right might either return by the way of Flatbush and unite with the centre, or take a more circuitous course, and enter a road leading from Jamaica to Bedford. These several roads unite between Bedford and Brooklyn, a small distance in front of the American lines.

The direct road from Flatbush to Brooklyn was defended by a fort which the Americans had constructed in the hills; and the coast and Bedford roads were guarded by detachments posted on the hills within view of the British camp. Light parties of volunteers were directed to patrol on the road leading from Jamaica to Bedford; about two miles from which, near Flatbush, Colonel Miles of Pennsylvania was stationed with a regiment of riflemen. The convention of New York had directed a small body of militia to be assembled on the high grounds, near the enemy, under the command of General Woodhull, for the purpose of interrupting their communication with their numerous friends in that neighborhood; but he was not placed under the orders of the regular officer commanding on the island.

About nine at night, General Clinton silently drew off the van of the British army across the country, in order to seize a pass in the heights about three miles east of Bedford, on the Jamaica road.\* In the morning, about two

hours before daybreak, within half a mile of the pass, his patrols fell in with and captured one of the American parties, which had been stationed on this road. Learning, to his great surprise, from his prisoners that the pass was unoccupied, General Clinton immediately seized it; and, on the appearance of day, the whole column passed the heights, and advanced into the level country between them and Brooklyn.

Before Clinton had secured the passes on the road from Jamaica, General Grant advanced along the coast at the head of the left wing, with ten pieces of cannon. As his first object was to draw the attention of the Americans from their left, he moved slowly, skirmishing as he advanced with the light parties stationed on that road.

This movement was soon communicated to General Putnam, who reinforced the parties which had been advanced in front; and, as General Grant continued to gain ground, still stronger detachments were employed in this service. About three in the morning, Brigadier-general Lord Stirling was directed to meet the enemy, with the two nearest regiments, on the road leading from the

---

sequences. "Most unfortunately, General Greene was seized with a violent fever about the middle of August, and the command devolved on General Putnam, whose want of thorough knowledge of the ground led to the Jamaica road being left without sufficient protection, and most unhappily afforded the British commander an opportunity of assaulting the Americans in front and rear at the same time. In the confusion and want of discipline which prevailed, the orders to watch and guard the passes were imperfectly obeyed; and, as Washington apprehended, the chances of success were greatly in favor of the enemy."—*Spencer, History of the United States.*

---

\* The arrangements for guarding against surprise at this point were very incomplete, and the neglect to occupy it with a strong force led to the most disastrous con-



Narrows. Major-general Sullivan, who commanded all the troops without the lines, advanced at the head of a strong detachment on the road leading directly to Flatbush; while another detachment occupied the heights between that place and Bedford.

About the break of day, Lord Stirling reached the summit of the hills, where he was joined by the troops which had been already engaged, and were retiring slowly before the enemy, who almost immediately appeared in sight. A warm cannonade was commenced on both sides, which continued for several hours; and some sharp, but not very close skirmishing took place between the infantry. Lord Stirling, being anxious only to defend the pass he guarded, could not descend in force from the heights; and General Grant did not wish to drive him from them until that part of the plan, which had been intrusted to Sir Henry Clinton, should be executed.

In the centre, General De Heister, soon after daylight, began to cannonade the troops under General Sullivan; but did not move from his ground at Flatbush until the British right had approached the left and rear of the American line. In the mean time, in order the more effectually to draw their attention from the point where the grand attack was intended, the fleet was put in motion, and a heavy cannonade was commenced on the battery at Red Hook.

About half-past eight, the British

right having then reached Bedford, in the rear of Sullivan's left, General De Heister ordered Colonel Donop's corps to advance to the attack of the hill; following, himself, with the centre of the army. The approach of Clinton was now discovered by the American left, which immediately endeavored to regain the camp at Brooklyn. While retiring from the woods by regiments, they encountered the front of the British.

About the same time, the Hessians advanced from Flatbush against that part of the detachment which occupied the direct road to Brooklyn. Here, General Sullivan commanded in person; but he found it difficult to keep his troops together long enough to sustain the first attack. The firing heard towards Bedford had disclosed the alarming fact, that the British had turned their left flank, and were getting completely into their rear. Perceiving at once the full danger of their situation, they sought to escape it by regaining the camp with the utmost possible celerity. The sudden rout of this party enabled De Heister to detach a part of his force against those who were engaged near Bedford. In that quarter, too, the Americans were broken, and driven back into the woods; and the front of the column led by General Clinton, continuing to move forward, intercepted and engaged those who were retreating along the direct road from Flatbush. Thus attacked both in front and rear, and alternately driven



by the British on the Hessians, and by the Hessians back again on the British, a succession of skirmishes took place in the woods, in the course of which some parts of corps forced their way through the enemy, and regained the lines of Brooklyn, and several individuals saved themselves under cover of the woods; but a great proportion of the detachment was killed or taken. The fugitives were pursued up to the American works; and such is represented to have been the ardor of the British soldiers, that it required the authority of their cautious commander to prevent an immediate assault.

The fire towards Brooklyn gave the first intimation to the American right, that the enemy had gained their rear. Lord Stirling perceived the danger, and that he could only escape it by retreating instantly across the creek. This movement was immediately directed; and, to secure it, his lordship determined to attack, in person, a British corps under Lord Cornwallis, stationed at a house rather above the place at which he intended to cross the creek. About four hundred men of Smallwood's regiment were drawn out for this purpose, and the attack was made with great spirit. This small corps was brought up several times to the charge; and Lord Stirling stated that he was on the point of dislodging Lord Cornwallis from his post; but the force in his front increasing, and General Grant also advancing on his rear, the brave men he commanded were no longer able to op-

pose the superior numbers which assailed them on every quarter. Upwards of two hundred and fifty of Smallwood's regiment were killed, and those who survived were, with their general, made prisoners of war. This attempt, though unsuccessful, gave an opportunity to a large part of the detachment to save themselves by crossing the creek.

The loss sustained by the American army in this battle could not be accurately ascertained by either party. Numbers were supposed to have been drowned in the creek, or suffocated in the marsh, whose bodies were never found; and exact accounts from the militia are seldom to be obtained, as the list of the missing is always swelled by those who return to their homes. Washington did not admit it to exceed a thousand men; but in this estimate he must have included only the regular troops. In a letter written by Howe, the amount of prisoners is stated at one thousand and ninety-seven; among whom were Major-general Sullivan, and brigadiers Lord Stirling and Woodhull, by him named Udell. He computes the loss of the Americans at three thousand three hundred men; but his computation is excessive. The actual loss of the Americans was about two thousand, including the killed, wounded, and prisoners. He supposes, too, that the troops engaged on the heights, amounted to ten thousand; but they could not have much exceeded half that number. His own loss is stated at twenty-one officers, and three hundred

and forty-six privates,—killed, wounded, and taken.

As the action became warm, Washington passed over to the camp at Brooklyn, where he saw, with inexpressible anguish, the destruction in which his best troops were involved, and from which it was impossible to extricate them. Should he attempt any thing in their favor with the men remaining within the lines, it was probable the camp itself would be lost, and that whole division of his army destroyed. Should he bring over the remaining battalions from New York, he would still be inferior in point of numbers; and his whole army, perhaps the fate of his country, might be staked on the issue of a single battle thus inauspiciously commenced. Compelled to behold the carnage of his troops, without being able to assist them, his efforts were directed to the preservation of those which remained.

Believing the Americans to be much stronger than they were in reality, and unwilling to commit any thing to hazard, General Howe made no immediate attempt to force their lines. He encamped in front of them; and, on the 28th, at night, broke ground in form, within six hundred yards of a redoubt on the left.

In this critical state of things, a retreat seemed unavoidable; every moment was precious, since a sudden shift of wind, by bringing the British fleet between Brooklyn and New York, would cut off the possibility of escape.

It was known besides, that Clinton was threatening to send part of his army across the Sound, thus menacing New York. Washington called a council of war, at which it was resolved to retreat with the troops at once. The hour of eight in the evening of the 29th of August was fixed upon for the embarkation. Every thing had been prepared, and the troops were ready to march down, but the force of the wind and ebb tide delayed them for some hours, and seemed as if it would entirely frustrate the enterprise. The enemy, toiling hard at the approaches, were now so near, that the blows of their pickaxes and instruments could be distinctly heard, while the noise of these operations deadened all sound of the American movements, which were carried on in the deepest silence. About two in the morning, a thick fog settling over Long Island prevented all sight of what was going on, and the wind shifting round to the southwest, the soldiers entered the boats, and were rapidly transferred to the opposite shore. So complete were the arrangements, that almost all the artillery, with the provisions, horses, wagons, and ammunition, safely crossed over to New York. Washington, who for forty-eight hours had hardly been off his horse, and never closed his eyes, though repeatedly entreated, refused to enter a boat until all the troops were embarked, and crossed the river in the last boat of all.\*

\* The service of managing the boats was performed by Marblehead fishermen. Otherwise the result might have



Washington, leaving a considerable force in the city of New York, encamped with the main body on Harlem Heights, at the northern end of the island; he was also prepared to retreat into Westchester county, if need be. The British had entire possession of Long Island; the ships of war anchored within cannon-shot of the city; and Howe was gradually making his arrangements to pursue the dispirited and defeated American troops.

It was under no ordinary suffering of mind that Washington addressed the President of Congress on the 2d of September: "Our situation is truly distressing. The check our detachment sustained on the 27th ultimo, has dispirited too great a proportion of our troops, and filled their minds with apprehension and despair. The militia, instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to a brave and manly opposition, in order to repair our losses, are dismayed, intractable, and impatient to return. Great numbers of them have gone off; in some instances, almost by whole regiments, by half ones, and by companies at a time. This circumstance of itself, independent of others, when fronted by a well-appointed enemy, su-

---

been widely different. "Colonel Glover, who belonged to Marblehead, was called upon with the whole of his regiment fit for duty, to take the command of the vessels and flat-bottomed boats. Most of the men were formerly employed in the fishery, and so peculiarly well qualified for the service. The colonel went over himself from New York to give directions; and, about seven o'clock at night, officers and men went to work with a spirit and resolution peculiar to that corps."—*Gordon's History of the American Revolution.*

perior in number to our whole collected force, would be sufficiently disagreeable; but, when their example has infected another part of the army, when their want of discipline, and refusal of almost every kind of restraint and government, have produced a like conduct but too common to the whole, and an entire disregard of that order and subordination necessary to the well-doing of an army, and which had been inculcated before, as well as the nature of our military establishment would admit of,—our condition becomes still more alarming; and, with the deepest concern, I am obliged to confess my want of confidence in the generality of the troops."

This unfortunate state of things induced Washington again to repeat the opinion, which he had so often expressed to Congress, that little reliance could be placed on soldiers enlisted for short periods. The only means of preserving the liberties of the country, he considered to be the enlistment of troops to serve during the whole war.

The British commanders did not seem to be in haste to press the advantage they had gained by the battle of Long Island. On the contrary, they considered the present a favorable time for a fresh attempt at pacification. To accomplish this object, General Sullivan, who had been taken prisoner on Long Island, was immediately sent on parole, with the following verbal message from Lord Howe to Congress, "that though he could not at present



treat with them in that character, yet he was very desirous of having a conference with some of the members, whom he would consider as private gentlemen; that he, with his brother, the general, had full powers to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America, upon terms advantageous to both; that he wished a compact might be settled, at a time when no decisive blow was struck, and neither party could say it was compelled to enter into such agreement; that were they disposed to treat, many things which they had not yet asked, might and ought to be granted, and that if upon conference they found any probable ground of accommodation, the authority of Congress would be afterwards acknowledged to render the treaty complete."

Three days after this message was received, General Sullivan was requested to inform Lord Howe, "that Congress being the representatives of the free and independent States of America, they cannot with propriety send any of their members to confer with his lordship in their private characters; but that ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they will send a committee of their body, to know whether he has any authority to treat with persons authorized by Congress for that purpose, on behalf of America, and what that authority is; and to hear such propositions as he shall think fit to make respecting the same."

They elected Dr. Franklin, John

Adams, and Edward Rutledge, their committee for this purpose. In a few days they met Lord Howe on Staten Island, and were received with great politeness. On their return they made a report of their conference, which they summed up by saying, "It did not appear to your committee that his lordship's commission contained any other authority than that expressed in the act of parliament—namely, that of granting pardons, with such exceptions as the commissioners shall think proper to make, and of declaring America, or any part of it, to be in the king's peace, on submission: for as to the power of inquiring into the state of America, which his lordship mentioned to us, and of conferring and consulting with any persons the commissioners might think proper, and representing the result of such conversation to the ministry, who, provided the colonies would subject themselves, might after all, or might not, at their pleasure, make any alterations in the former instructions to governors, or propose in parliament any amendment of the acts complained of, we apprehended any expectation from the effect of such a power would have been too uncertain and precarious to be relied on by America, had she still continued in her state of dependence."

Lord Howe had ended the conference on his part, by expressing his regard for America, and the extreme pain he would suffer in being obliged to distress those whom he so much regarded. Dr. Frank-

lin\* thanked him for his regards, and assured him "that the Americans would show their gratitude, by endeavoring to lessen as much as possible all pain he might feel on their account, by exerting their utmost abilities in taking good care of themselves."

The committee, in every respect, maintained the dignity of Congress. Their conduct and sentiments were such as became their character. The friends to independence rejoiced that nothing resulted from this interview that might disunite the people. Congress, trusting to the good sense of their countrymen, ordered the whole to be printed for their information. All the States would have then rejoiced at less beneficial terms than they obtained about seven years after. But Great Britain counted on the certainty of their absolute conquest, or unconditional submission. Her offers, therefore, comported so little with the feelings of America, that they neither caused demur nor disunion among the new-formed States.

While Lord Howe's conciliatory propositions to Congress were under discussion, hostilities advanced slowly; but tory emissaries were constantly sent into the country to detach as many of the people as possible from the cause of freedom, by representing the great danger incurred by attempting to resist the powerful fleet and army which were to carry all before them; and by offers of pardon and reward to all deserters. As

in all political disputes, many were hesitating which party to join. The system adopted by the enemy was retaliated.

While the British, by their manifestoes and declarations, were endeavoring to separate those who preferred a reconciliation with Great Britain from those who were the friends of independence, Congress, by a similar policy, was attempting to detach the foreigners, who had come with the royal troops, from the service of his Britannic majesty. Before hostilities had commenced, the following resolution was adopted and circulated among those on whom it was intended to operate: "Resolved, that these States will receive all such foreigners who shall leave the armies of his Britannic majesty in America, and shall choose to become members of any of these States, and they shall be protected in the free exercise of their respective religions, and be invested with the rights, privileges, and immunities of natives, as established by the laws of these States, and moreover, that this Congress will provide for every such person, fifty acres of unappropriated lands in some of these States, to be held by him and his heirs, as absolute property."

Washington, in a letter to Congress of the 26th of August, refers to these offers. "The papers," he says, "designed for the foreign troops have been put into several channels, in order that they might be conveyed to them; and from the information I had yesterday, I have reason to believe many have

\* See Document [B] at the end of this chapter.

fallen into their hands." Franklin was one of the committee for carrying the resolutions into effect; and one of the expedients adopted was worthy his ingenuity. In a letter to General Gates,\* he says: "The Congress being advised that there was a probability that the Hessians might be induced to quit the British service by offers of land, they came to two resolves for this purpose, which, being translated into German, and printed, are to be sent to Staten Island to be distributed, if practicable, among that people. Some of them have tobacco marks on the back, that so tobacco being put up in them in small quantities, as the tobacconists use, and suffered to fall into the hands of these people, they might divide the papers as

plunder, before their officers could come to the knowledge of the contents, and prevent their being read by the men. That was the first resolve. A second has since been made for the officers themselves. I am desired to send some of both sorts to you, that, if you find it practicable, you may convey them among the Germans, who may come against you."

Our narrative has now brought us near the close of the summer of 1776; a period when the position of Washington was nearly the reverse of what it had been at the same season of the preceding year. Then he was besieging the British in Boston. Now they were endeavoring to entrap him in New York. We shall presently see that his strategy was far superior to theirs.

\* Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, vol. iv. p. 67



## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER VI.

---

[A.]

### DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE BY NEW HAMPSHIRE IN 1776.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, JUNE 11, 1776.

"*Voted*, That Samuel Curtis, Timothy Walker, and John Dudley, Esquires, be a committee of this House to join a committee of the Honorable Board, to make a draft of a Declaration of this General Assembly for INDEPENDENCE of the united colonies on Great Britain.

"JUNE 15, 1776.

"The committee of both houses, appointed to prepare a draft setting forth the sentiments and opinion of the Council and Assembly of this colony relative to the united colonies setting up an independent State, make report as on file—which report being read and considered,

"*Voted unanimously*, That the report of said committee be received and accepted, and that the draft by them brought in be sent to our delegates at the Continental Congress forthwith as the sense of the House.

"The draft made by the committee of both houses, relating to independency, and voted as the sense of this House, is as follows, viz. :

"Whereas it now appears an undoubted fact, that notwithstanding all the dutiful petitions and decent remonstrances from the American colonies, and the utmost exertions of their best friends in England on their behalf, the British ministry, arbitrary and vindictive, are yet determined to reduce by fire and sword our bleeding country to their absolute obedience; and, for this purpose, in addition to their own forces, have engaged great numbers of foreign merce-

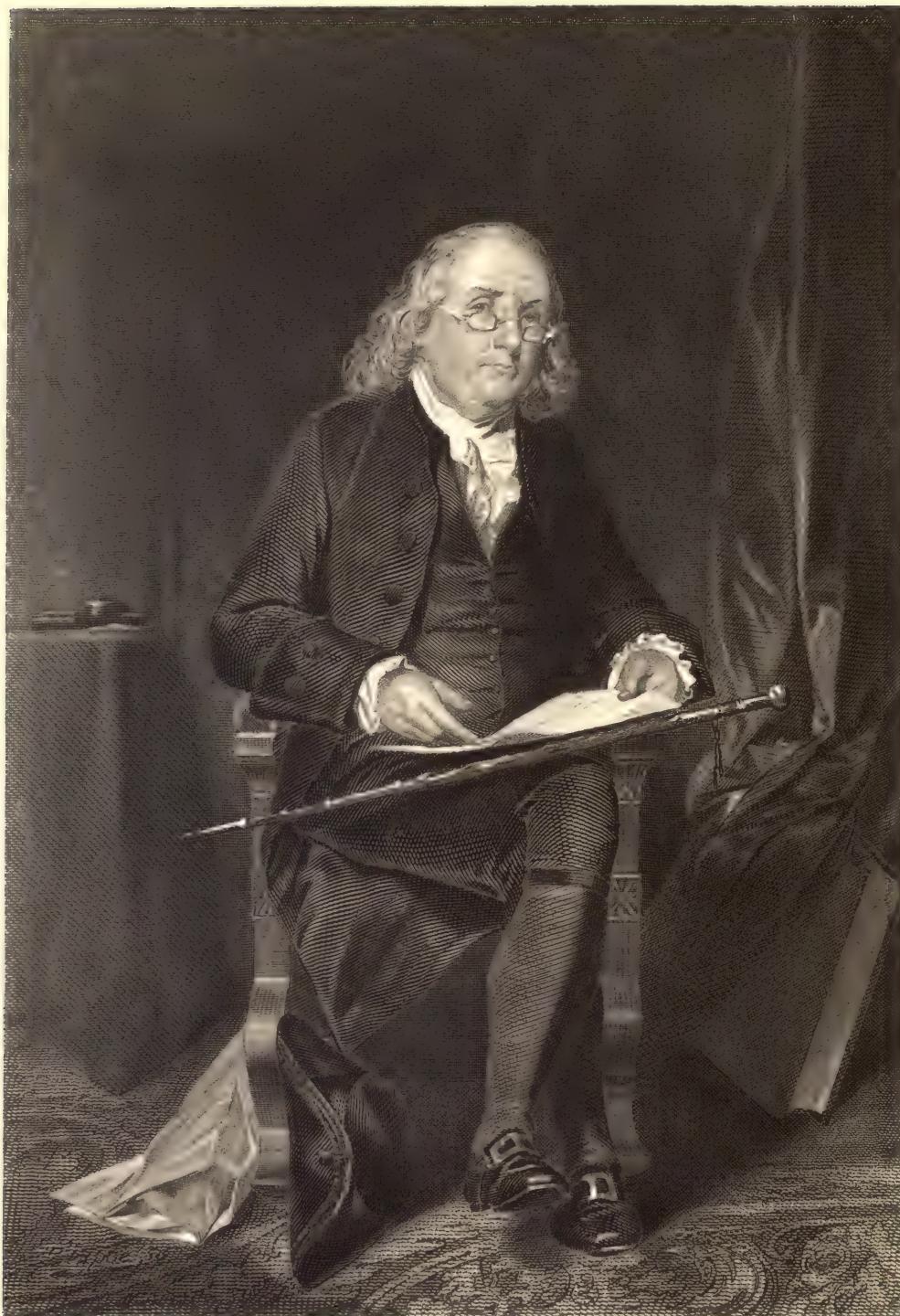
naries, who may now be on their passage here, accompanied by a formidable fleet to ravish and plunder the sea-coast; from all which we may reasonably expect the most dismal scenes of distress the ensuing year, unless we exert ourselves by every means and precaution possible; and whereas we of this colony of New Hampshire, have the example of several of the most respectable of our sister colonies before us for entering upon that most important step of disunion from Great Britain, and declaring ourselves free and independent of the crown thereof, being impelled thereto by the most violent and injurious treatment; and it appearing absolutely necessary in this most critical juncture of our public affairs, that the Honorable the Continental Congress, who have this important object under immediate consideration, should be also informed of our resolutions thereon without loss of time;—we do hereby declare, that it is the opinion of this Assembly that our delegates at the Continental Congress should be instructed, and they are hereby instructed, to join with the other colonies in declaring the thirteen united colonies a free and independent State,—solemnly pledging our faith and honor, that we will on our parts support the measure with our lives and fortunes,—and that in consequence thereof they, the Continental Congress, on whose wisdom, fidelity, and integrity we rely, may enter into and form such alliances as they may judge most conducive to the present safety and future advantage of these American colonies; *provided*, the regulation of our internal police be under the direction of our own Assembly.

"Entered according to the original.

"*Attest*, NOAH EMERY, *Clk. D. Reps.*"

(Farmer & Moore's Historical and Miscellaneous Collections.)





Engraving by Benjamin Franklin

Engr. by J. M. Smith

Benj. Franklin

Engr. by J. M. Smith



[B.]

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

The life of this eminent philosopher and statesman is identified, like that of Washington, with the revolutionary period of his country's history. The following short review of his career will show, more fully than our limits in the text would permit, the immense influence he exerted in urging forward the resistance to tyranny which gave independence and freedom to his countrymen.

Benjamin Franklin was born in Boston, Massachusetts, January 17, 1706. His father, who was a native of England, was a soap-boiler and tallow-chandler in that town. At the age of eight years, he was sent to a grammar-school, but at the age of ten his father required his services to assist him in his business. Two years afterwards, he was bound an apprentice to his brother, who was a printer. In this employment he made great proficiency, and having a taste for books he devoted much of his leisure time to reading. So eager was he in the pursuit of knowledge, that he frequently passed the greater part of the night in his studies. He became expert in the Socratic mode of reasoning by asking questions, and thus he sometimes embarrassed persons of understanding superior to his own. In 1721, his brother began to print the *New England Courant*, which was the third newspaper published in America. The two preceding papers were the *Boston News Letter* and *Boston Gazette*. Young Franklin wrote a number of essays for the *Courant*, which were so well received, as to encourage him to continue his literary labors. To improve his style, he resolved to imitate Addison's *Spectator*. The method which he took was, to make a summary of a paper after he had read it, and, in a few days, when he had forgotten the expression of the author, to endeavor to restore it to its original form. By this means he was taught his errors, and perceived the necessity of being more fully acquainted with the synonymous words of the language. He was much assisted also in acquiring a facility and variety of expression by writing poetry.

At this early period, the perusal of *Shaftsbury*

and *Collins* made him completely a skeptic, and he was fond of disputing upon the subject of religion. This circumstance caused him to be regarded by pious men with abhorrence, and on this account as well as on account of the ill-treatment which he received from his brother, he determined to leave Boston. His departure was facilitated by the possession of his indenture, which his brother had surrendered to him in 1723, in order that the *New England Courant* might be published in Benjamin's name as proprietor; the General Court having at that time forbidden its publication by himself. He privately went on board a sloop, and soon arrived at New York. Finding no employment here, he pursued his way to Philadelphia, and entered the city without a friend and with only a dollar in his pocket. Purchasing some rolls at a baker's shop, he put one under each arm, and eating a third, walked through several streets in search of a lodging. There were at this time two printers in Philadelphia, Mr. Andrew Bradford, and Mr. Keimer, by the latter of whom he was employed. Sir William Keith, the governor, having been informed that Franklin was a young man of promising talents, invited him to his house, and treated him in the most friendly manner. He advised him to enter into business for himself, and, to accomplish this object, to make a visit to London in order that he might purchase the necessary articles for a printing-office. Receiving the promise of assistance, Franklin prepared himself for the voyage, and on applying for letters of recommendation, previously to sailing, he was told that they would be sent on board. When the letter-bag was opened, there was no packet for Franklin; and he now discovered, that the governor was one of those men who love to oblige everybody, and who substitute the most liberal professions and offers in the place of active, substantial kindness. Arriving in London in 1724, he was obliged to seek employment as a journeyman printer. He lived so economically that he saved a great part of his wages.

He returned to Philadelphia in October, 1726, as a clerk to Mr. Denham, a merchant; but the death of that gentleman in the following year,

induced him to return to Mr. Keimer, in the capacity of foreman in his office. He was very useful to his employer, for he gave him assistance as a letter-founder. He engraved various ornaments, and made printer's ink. He soon began business in partnership with Mr. Meredith, but in 1729 he dissolved the connection with him. Having purchased of Keimer a paper, which had been conducted in a wretched manner, he now conducted it in a style which attracted much attention. At this time, though destitute of those religious principles which give stability and elevation to virtue, he yet had discernment enough to be convinced, that truth, probity, and sincerity, would promote his interest, and be useful to him in the world, and he resolved to respect them in his conduct. The expenses of his establishment in business, notwithstanding his industry and economy, brought him into embarrassments, from which he was relieved by the generous assistance of William Coleman and Robert Grace. In addition to his other employments, he now opened a small stationer's shop. But the claims of business did not extinguish his taste for literature and science. He formed a club, which he called "The Junto," composed of the most intelligent of his acquaintance. Questions of morality, politics, or philosophy, were discussed every Friday evening, and the institution was continued almost forty years. As books were frequently quoted in the club, and as the members had brought their books together for mutual advantage, he was led to form the plan of a public library, which was carried into effect in 1731, and became the foundation of that noble institution, the present library company of Philadelphia. In 1732, he began to publish Poor Richard's Almanac, which was enriched with maxims of frugality, temperance, industry, and integrity. So great was its reputation, that he sold ten thousand annually, and it was continued by him about twenty-five years. The maxims were collected in the last almanac in the form of an address, called "The Way to Wealth," which has appeared in various publications. In 1736, he was appointed clerk of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, and in 1737, postmaster of Philadelphia. The first fire company was formed by

him in 1738. When the frontiers of Pennsylvania were endangered in 1744, and an ineffectual attempt was made to procure a militia law, he proposed a voluntary association for the defence of the province, and in a short time obtained ten thousand names. In 1747, he was chosen a member of the Assembly, and continued in this station ten years. In all important discussions, his presence was considered as indispensable. He seldom spoke, and never exhibited any oratory; but by a single observation he sometimes determined the fate of a question. In the long controversies with the proprietaries or their governors, he took the most active part, and displayed a firm spirit of liberty.

He was now engaged for a number of years in a course of electrical experiments, of which he published an account. His great discovery was the identity of the electric fluid and lightning. This discovery he made in the summer of 1752. To the upright stick of a kite, he attached an iron point; the string was of hemp, excepting the part which he held in his hand, which was of silk; and a key was fastened where the hempen string terminated. With this apparatus, on the approach of a thunderstorm, he raised his kite. A cloud passed over it, and no signs of electricity appearing, he began to despair; but observing the loose fibres of his string to move suddenly towards an erect position, he presented his knuckle to the key, and received a strong spark. The success of this experiment completely established his theory. The practical use of this discovery in securing houses from lightning by pointed conductors, is well known in America and Europe. In 1753, he was appointed deputy-postmaster-general of the British colonies, and in the same year the Academy of Philadelphia, projected by him, was established. In 1754, he was one of the commissioners who attended the Congress at Albany, to devise the best means of defending the country against the French. He drew up a plan of union for defence and general government, which was adopted by the Congress. It was, however, rejected by the Board of Trade in England, because it gave too much power to the representatives of the people; and it was



rejected by the Assemblies of the colonies, because it gave too much power to the president-general. After the defeat of Braddock, he was appointed colonel of a regiment, and he repaired to the frontiers, and built a fort.

Higher employments, however, at length called him from his country, which he was destined to serve more effectually as its agent in England, whither he was sent in 1757. The stamp-act, by which the British ministry wished to familiarize the Americans to pay taxes to the mother country, revived that love of liberty which had led their forefathers to a country at that time a desert.\* The war that was just terminated, and the exertions made by the colonists to support it, had given them a conviction of their strength; they opposed the stamp-act, and the minister gave way, but he reserved the means of renewing the attempt. Once cautioned, however, they remained on their guard; liberty, cherished by their alarms, took deeper root; and the rapid circulation of ideas by means of newspapers, for the introduction of which they were indebted to the printer of Philadelphia, united them together to resist every fresh enterprise. In the year 1766, this printer, called to the bar of the House of Commons, underwent that famous interrogatory, which placed the name of Franklin as high in politics as in natural philosophy. From that time he defended the cause of America with a firmness and moderation becoming a great man, pointing out to the ministry all the errors they committed, and the consequences they would produce, till the period when the tax on tea, meeting the same opposition as the stamp-act had done, England blindly fancied herself capable of subjecting, by force, three millions of men determined to be free.

In 1766, he visited Holland and Germany, and received the greatest marks of attention from men of science. In his passage through Holland, he learned from the watermen the effect which the diminution of the quantity of water in canals has in impeding the progress of boats. Upon his return to England, he was led

to make a number of experiments, all of which tended to confirm the observation.

In the following year, he travelled into France, where he met with no less favorable reception than he had experienced in Germany. He was introduced to a number of literary characters, and to the king, Louis XV.

He returned to America, and arrived in Philadelphia in the beginning of May, 1775, and was received with all those marks of esteem and affection which his eminent services merited. The day after his arrival, he was elected by the legislature of Pennsylvania, a member of Congress.

Almost immediately on his arrival from England, he wrote letters to some of his friends in that country, in a strain fitted to inspire lofty ideas of the virtue, resolution, and resources of the colonies. "All America," said he to Dr. Priestley, "is exasperated, and more firmly united than ever. Great frugality and great industry are become fashionable here. Britain, I conclude, has lost her colonies forever. She is now giving us such miserable specimens of her government, that we shall even detest and avoid it, as a complication of robbery, murder, famine, fire, and pestilence. If you flatter yourselves with beating us into submission, you know neither the people nor the country. You will have heard before this reaches you, of the defeat of a great body of your troops by the country people at Lexington, of the action at Bunker's Hill, &c. Enough has happened, one would think, to convince your ministers, that the Americans will fight, *and that this is a harder nut to crack than they imagined*. Britain, at the expense of three millions, has killed one hundred and fifty Yankees this campaign. During the same time sixty thousand children have been born in America. From these data the mathematical head of our dear good friend, Dr. Price, will easily calculate the time and expense necessary to kill us all, and conquer our whole territory. Tell him, as he sometimes has his doubts and despondencies about our firmness, that America is determined and unanimous."

It was in this varied tone of exultation, resentment, and defiance, that he privately com-

\* The first idea of a colonial congress was originated by Franklin in 1754, at the conferences at Albany.



municated with Europe. The strain of the papers respecting the British government and nation, which he prepared for Congress, was deemed by his colleagues too indignant and vituperative; to such a pitch were his feelings excited by the injuries and sufferings of his country, and so anxious was he that the strongest impetus should be given to the national spirit. His anger and his abhorrence were real; they endured without abatement during the whole continuance of the system which provoked them; they wore a complexion which rendered it impossible to mistake them for the offspring of personal pique or constitutional irritability; they had a vindictive power, a corrosive energy, proportioned to the weight of his character, and the dignity of the sentiments from which they sprung.

It was in this year that Dr. Franklin addressed that memorable and laconic epistle to his old friend and companion, Mr. Strahan, then king's printer, and member of the British parliament, of which the following is a correct copy, and of which a *fac-simile* is given in the last, and most correct edition of his works:

"PHILADA., July 5, 1775.

"MR. STRAHAN:—You are a Member of Parliament, and one of that Majority which has doomed my Country to Destruction.—You have begun to burn our Towns, and murder our People.—Look upon your hands!—They are stained with the Blood of your Relations!—You and I were long Friends:—You are now my Enemy,—and

"I am, yours,

"B. FRANKLIN."

In October, 1775, Dr. Franklin was appointed by Congress, jointly with Mr. Harrison and Mr. Lynch, a committee to visit the American camp at Cambridge, and, in conjunction with the commander-in-chief (General Washington), to endeavor to convince the troops, whose term of enlistment was about to expire, of the necessity of their continuing in the field, and persevering in the cause of their country.

He was afterwards sent on a mission to Canada, to endeavor to unite that country to the common cause of liberty. But the Canadians

could not be prevailed upon to oppose the measures of the British government.

It was directed that a printing apparatus, and hands, competent to print in French and English, should accompany this mission. Two papers were written and circulated very extensively through Canada; but it was not until after the experiment had been tried, that it was found not more than one person in five hundred could read. Dr. Franklin, who was accustomed to make the best of every occurrence, suggested that if it were intended to send another mission, it should be a mission composed of schoolmasters.

He was, in 1776, appointed a committee with John Adams and Edward Rutledge, to inquire into the powers with which Lord Howe was invested in regard to the adjustment of our differences with Great Britain. When his lordship expressed his concern at being obliged to distress those whom he so much regarded, Dr. Franklin assured him, that the Americans, out of reciprocal regard, would endeavor to lessen, as much as possible, the pain which he might feel on their account, by taking the utmost care of themselves. In the discussion of the great question of independence, he was decidedly in favor of the measure.

In July, 1776, he was called to add to his federal duties, those of president of a convention held at Philadelphia, for the purpose of giving a new constitution to the State of Pennsylvania. The unbounded confidence reposed in his sagacity and wisdom, induced the convention to adopt his favorite theory of a plural executive and single legislature, which the experience of modern times has justly brought into disrepute. It may be said to be the only instance in which he cherished a speculation that experiment would not confirm.

Franklin early conjectured that it would become necessary for America to apply to some foreign power for assistance. To prepare the way for this step, and ascertain the probability of its success, he had, towards the close of 1775, opened, under the sanction of Congress, a correspondence with Holland, which he managed with admirable judgment. When, at the end of 1776, our affairs had assumed so threatening

an aspect, the hopes of Congress were naturally turned to Europe, and to France particularly, the inveterate and most powerful rival of England. Every eye rested on Franklin as a providential instrument for sustaining the American cause abroad; and though he had repeatedly signified from London, his determination to revisit Europe no more, yet, having consecrated himself anew to the pursuit of national independence, he accepted, without hesitation, in his seventy-first year, the appointment of commissioner-plenipotentiary to the court of France.

He wished, partly with a view to protect his person, in case of capture on the voyage across the Atlantic, to carry with him propositions for peace with England, and submitted to the secret committee of Congress, a series of articles, which his grandson has published. We are especially struck with that one of them which asks the cession to the United States, of Canada, Nova Scotia, the Floridas, &c., and the explanation annexed to the article by this long-sighted statesman, is not a little remarkable: "It is worth our while to offer such a sum — for the countries to be ceded, since the vacant lands will in time sell for a great part of what we shall give, if not more; and if we are to obtain them by conquest, after perhaps a long war, they will probably cost us more than that sum. It is absolutely necessary for us to have them for our own security; and though the sum may seem large to the present generation, in less than half the term of years allowed for their payment, it will be to the whole United States a mere trifle." Who does not, on reading this passage, recollect with gratitude, and feel disposed to honor as a master-stroke, the purchase of Louisiana, accomplished by Franklin's successor in the mission to France?

In the month of October, 1776, our philosopher set sail on his eventful mission, having first deposited in the hands of Congress all the money he could raise, between three and four thousand pounds, as a demonstration of his confidence in their cause, and an incentive for those who might be able to assist it in the same way. His passage to France was short, but extremely boisterous. During some part of the month of December, he remained at the country-seat of an

opulent friend of America, in the neighborhood of Nantz, in order to recover from the fatigues of the voyage, and to ascertain the posture of American affairs at Paris, before he approached that capital. With his usual sound discretion he forbore to assume, at the moment, any public character, that he might not embarrass the court which it was his province to conciliate, nor subject the mission to the hazard of a disgraceful repulse.

From the civilities with which he was loaded by the gentry of Nantz, and the surrounding country, and the lively satisfaction with which they appeared to view his supposed errand, he drew auguries that animated him in the discharge of his first duties at Paris. The reception given to him and his colleagues, by M. de Vergennes, the minister for foreign affairs, at the private audience to which they were admitted, towards the end of December, was of a nature to strengthen his patriotic hopes, and eminently to gratify his personal feelings. The particular policy of the French cabinet did not admit, at this period, of a formal recognition of the American commissioners. Franklin abstained from pressing a measure for which circumstances were not ripe, but urged, without delay, in an argumentative memorial, the prayer of Congress for substantial aid.

History presents no other case in which the interests of a people abroad derived so much essential, direct aid from the auspices of an individual; there is no other instance of a concurrence of qualities in a national missionary, so full and opportune. Foreign assistance had become, as it was thought, indispensable for the rescue of the colonies: France was the only sufficient auxiliary; and by her intervention, and the influences of her capital, alone, could any countenance or supplies be expected from any other European power. Her court, though naturally anxious for the dismemberment of the British empire, shrunk from the risks of a war; and could be prevented from stagnating in irresolution only by a strong current of public opinion. Her people, already touched by the causes and motives of the colonial struggle, required, however, some striking, immediate circumstance, to be excited to a clamorous sympathy. It was



from Paris that the impulse necessary to foster and fructify this useful enthusiasm was to be received, as well by the whole European continent, as by the mass of the French nation. At the time when Franklin appeared in Paris, the men of letters and of science possessed a remarkable ascendancy over all movement and judgment; they gave the tone to general opinion, and contributed to decide ministerial policy. Fashion, too, had no inconsiderable share in moulding public sentiment and regulating events; and at this epoch, beyond any other, it was determined, and liable to be kindled into passion, by anomalous or fanciful external appearances, however trivial in themselves, and moral associations of an elevated or romantic cast.

Observing the predilection of the people of France for the American cause, the rapid diffusion of a lively sympathy over the whole continent, the devotion of the literary and fashionable circles of Paris to his objects, the diligent preparations for war made daily in France, and the frozen mien of all the continental powers towards Great Britain, Franklin did not allow himself to be discouraged by the reserve of the court of Versailles: and, in order to counteract its natural effect, and that of other adverse appearances upon the resolution of his countrymen, he emphatically detailed those circumstances, in his correspondence with America; adding, at the same time, accounts of the domestic embarrassments and growing despair of the enemy.

When the news of the surrender of Burgoyne reached France in October, 1777, and produced there an explosion of public opinion, he seized upon the auspicious crisis to make his decisive effort, by urging the most persuasive motives for a formal recognition and alliance. The epoch of the treaty concluded with the court of Versailles on the 6th of February, 1778, is one of the most splendid in his dazzling career.

In conjunction with Mr. John Adams, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Laurens, he signed the provisional articles of peace, November 30, 1782, and the definitive treaty, September 30, 1783. While he was in France he was appointed one of the commissioners to examine Mesmer's animal magnet-

ism. In 1784, being desirous of returning to his native country, he requested that an ambassador might be appointed in his place, and on the arrival of his successor, Mr. Jefferson, he immediately sailed for Philadelphia, where he arrived in September, 1785. He was received with universal applause, and was soon appointed president of the supreme executive council. In 1787, he was a delegate to the grand convention which formed the constitution of the United States. In this convention he had differed in some points from the majority; but when the articles were ultimately decreed, he said to his colleagues, "We ought to have but one opinion; the good of our country requires that the resolution should be unanimous;" and he signed.

Dr. Franklin's third and last term of office as president of Pennsylvania expired in October, 1788. The short remainder of his life was passed in retirement at his residence in Market-street, Philadelphia.

On the 17th of April, 1790, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, he expired in the city of Philadelphia; encountering this last solemn conflict with the same philosophical tranquillity and pious resignation to the will of Heaven, which had distinguished him through all the various events of his life.

He was interred on the 21st of April, and Congress ordered a general mourning for him throughout America, of one month. In France, the expression of public grief was scarcely less enthusiastic. There the event was solemnized, under the direction of the municipality of Paris, by funeral orations; and the National Assembly, his death being announced in a very eloquent and pathetic discourse, decreed that each of the members should wear mourning for three days, "in commemoration of the event;" and that a letter of condolence, for the irreparable loss they had sustained, should be directed to the American Congress;—honors extremely glorious to his memory, and such, it has been remarked, as were never before paid by any public body of one nation to the citizen of another.

He lies buried in the northwest corner of Christ churchyard, Philadelphia; distinguished from the surrounding dead by the humility of his sepulchre. He is covered by a small marble



slab, on a level with the surface of the earth, and bearing the single inscription of his name, with that of his wife. A monument sufficiently corresponding to the plainness of his manners, little suitable to the splendor of his virtues.

He had two children, a son and a daughter, and several grandchildren, who survived him. The son, who had been governor of New Jersey, under the British government, adhered, during the Revolution, to the royal party, and spent the remainder of his life in England. The daughter married Mr. Bache, of Philadelphia, whose descendants yet reside in that city.

Franklin enjoyed, during the greater part of his life, a healthy constitution, and excelled in exercises of strength and activity. In stature he was above the middle size; manly, athletic, and well proportioned. His countenance, as it is represented in his portrait, is distinguished by an air of serenity and satisfaction; the natural consequences of a vigorous temperament, of strength of mind, and conscious integrity. It is also marked, in visible characters, by deep thought and inflexible resolution.

The whole life of Franklin, his meditations and his labors, have all been directed to public utility; but the grand object that he had always in view, did not shut his heart against private friendship; he loved his family, and his friends, and was extremely beneficent. In society he was sententious, but not fluent; a listener rather than a talker; an informing rather than a pleasing companion: impatient of interruption, he often mentioned the custom of the Indians, who always remain silent some time before they give an answer to a question, which they have heard attentively; unlike some of the politest societies in Europe, where a sentence can scarcely be finished without interruption. In the midst of his greatest occupations for the liberty of his country, he had some physical experiments always near him in his closet; and the sciences, which he had rather discovered than studied, afforded him a continual source of pleasure. He made various bequests and donations to cities, public bodies, and individuals.

The following epitaph was written by Dr. Franklin, for himself, when he was only twenty-three years of age, as appears by the original

(with various corrections) found among his papers, and from which this is a faithful copy:

“The body of  
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,  
PRINTER,  
(like the cover of an old book,  
its contents torn out,  
and stript of its lettering and gilding),  
lies here, food for worms:  
but the work shall not be lost,  
for it will (as he believed) appear once more,  
in a new, and more elegant edition,  
revised and corrected  
by  
THE AUTHOR.”

The name of Dr. Franklin, says a British writer,\* has long been a household word in America—he was her moralist, statesman, and philosopher: his discoveries in electricity have given him a permanent place in scientific history; and he deserves highest honor from all mankind, because of his services to the cause of rational liberty and the independence of nations. We must omit all details concerning Franklin's early life; however, if any one would sustain hope amid unpromising labor—discern the inestimable value of small portions of time economized and put scrupulously to uses—or learn how cheerfulness, patience, and fortitude, guided by good sense and integrity, must ever command success, he will find nowhere better instruction than in that graphic narrative of the events and struggles of his opening manhood, by which Franklin has let us into the innermost being of the journeyman printer of Philadelphia. Distinguished no less by practical benevolence, than by an almost intuitive appreciation of the wants and character of early American society, Franklin could not fail to rise into authority among his countrymen: accordingly we find him their favorite counsellor in most of the grave difficulties belonging to that epoch of American history. Commencing public life in the struggle between the Assembly of Pennsylvania and the old proprietary governors—we again meet him proposing to the different States a project of union, which afterwards became the basis of the confederacy: then, on a mission to England re-

\* Professor Nicholl.

garding the American stamp-act: afterwards, driven from his loyalty, ambassador to France on the part of his countrymen; the observed of all observers in Paris, soliciting aid in arms from the court of Versailles: finally minister to England, signing the treaty by which the mother country, in due humiliation, bowed her head before the independence of her former colonies. It has been said that Franklin represented the practical genius, the moral and political spirit of the eighteenth century, as Voltaire represented its metaphysical and religious skepticism: this, at least, is certain—no man saw more clearly, or felt more profoundly in his own person, the political and moral ideas which necessarily bear sway in a strictly industrial community like the one emerging from infancy in the New World. Unconnected with England by birth or close association, he looked only with astonishment on those pretensions to prerogative, which certainly could find no natural soil where all men were socially equal; and his system of morals included every sanction and precept, likely to recommend themselves to a people, who could never reach prosperity unless through patient industry, and the exercise of the prudential virtues. His code was, "The Way to Wealth;" and the wisdom of "Poor Richard" instructed every man, how by the strength of his arm, and dominion over his passions, wealth might be attained and made secure. Since Franklin's time a new element has arisen in America; powerful tendencies are developing with higher aims than mere wealth, and which demand a larger code than the utilitarian. Franklin did not recognize, or rather had not foreseen, the necessary advent of that speculative habit now very rapidly becoming dominant

over American thought; but in his treatment of the equally powerful tendency of which he saw the influence, and whereof he himself so largely partook, his "Poor Richard" is complete; he threw off all prerogative and tradition, and looked at things as they are. Temperance, silence, order, resolution, frugality, activity, sincerity, justice, moderation, cleanliness, tranquillity, chastity, humility—these are his virtues; and Franklin teaches how to acquire them, by precepts, which, in earlier times, would have ranked as *golden verses*; they are as valuable as any thing that has descended from Pythagoras. It is rare that a single mind establishes claims so various as those of Franklin: he ranks also among the foremost as a physical inquirer and discoverer. Attracted by the opening subject of *electricity*, he was the first who reduced it to order; and that grand step is owing to him which identified the attraction and repulsion of rubbed glass and amber, with the energy that produces lightning, and causes the most imposing of meteorological phenomena. His memoirs on electricity and other physical subjects, still astonish one by their clearness and chastity, and the precision and elegance of their method; their style and manner are as worthy of admiration as their doctrines. They gained for the author immediate admission to the highest scientific societies in Europe. In his personal bearing Franklin was sedate and weighty. He had no striking eloquence; he spoke sententiously; but men instinctively felt his worth, and submitted themselves to his wisdom. Except Washington, whom in many qualities he much resembled, the New World yet ranks among her dead nowhere so great a man

## CHAPTER VII.

1776.

### WASHINGTON CROSSES THE HUDSON.

Difficulties of Washington's position.—His system of defence the best possible for the time.—His contempt of ignorant censure.—Position of the two armies.—Howe's preparations for attacking New York.—Washington removes stores.—Council of war decides to hold New York.—Washington's letter to Congress.—A middle course adopted.—Army divided.—Howe's plan to inclose the American army in New York.—Council of war decides to evacuate the city.—The British land at Kipp's Bay.—Disgraceful conduct of the troops at that post.—Washington's emotion at seeing it.—Putnam retreats from the city.—Washington at Harlem Heights.—He meets Hamilton.—Anecdote from Gordon.—Fire in New York.—Howe's position.—Spirited skirmish.—Death of Knowlton.—State of the army.—Washington's letter to Congress.—Congress adopts the suggestions of Washington for remodelling the army.—Washington's gratification.—Prisoners exchanged.—Tories forming a partisan force.—De Lancey.—Rogers.—Howe's plan to surround the army.—Frigates ascend the Hudson.—Howe lands a force at Frog's Neck.—Washington checks him there.—Council of war decides to hold Fort Washington.—Howe lands at Pell's Point.—Washington at New Rochelle.—Battle of White Plains.—Washington expects to have his camp assaulted.—Strengthens his works.—Howe waits for reinforcements.—They arrive.—A storm.—No assault.—Howe determines to make a dash at Fort Washington.—Washington penetrates his design.—His letter to Congress, and to the Governor of New Jersey.—To Greene.—Washington crosses the Hudson.—Siege of Fort Washington.—Brave defence.—Its fall.—Washington's distress at sight of the Hessian barbarities.—Capture of Fort Lee.—Affairs at the North.—Arnold's fleet on Lake Champlain.—Sir Guy Carleton builds a fleet to oppose it.—Naval action on the Lake.—Arnold defeated.—Crown Point taken.—Ticonderoga still held by the Americans.

AFTER the disastrous battle of Long Island, the situation of Washington in New York was one of the most trying in which he had ever been placed. He was not only embarrassed by doubt as to the enemy's intentions, and by the weakness, discontent, and positive misconduct of the army, but by the clamors of that noisy portion of the community called "the public," who were incapable of estimating the difficulties of his position, or the motives of his conduct.

Before the British landed, it was impossible to tell what place would be first attacked. This made it necessary to erect works for the defence of a va-

riety of places, as well as of New York. Though every thing was abandoned when the crisis came that either the city must be relinquished, or the army risked for its defence, yet, from the delays occasioned by the redoubts and other works, which had been erected on the idea of making the defence of the States a war of posts, a whole campaign was lost to the British and saved to the Americans. The year began with hopes that Great Britain would recede from her demands, and therefore every plan of defence was on a temporary system. The Declaration of Independence, which the violence of



Great Britain forced the colonies to adopt in July, though neither foreseen nor intended at the commencement of the year, pointed out the necessity of organizing an army, on new terms, corresponding to the enlarged objects for which they had resolved to contend. Congress accordingly determined some

time after to raise eighty-eight  
Sept. 16,  
1776. battalions, to serve during the

war. Under these circumstances, to wear away the campaign with as little misfortune as possible, and thereby to gain time for raising a permanent army against the next year, was to the Americans a matter of the last importance. Though Washington abandoned those works, which had engrossed much time and attention, yet the advantage resulting from the delays they occasioned, far overbalanced the expense incurred by their erection.

The same short-sighted politicians who had before censured Washington for his cautious conduct in not storming the British lines at Boston, renewed their clamors against him for adopting this evacuating and retreating system. Supported by a consciousness of his own integrity, and by a full conviction that these measures were best calculated for securing the independence of America, he, for the good of his country, voluntarily subjected his fame to be overshadowed by a temporary cloud. We now return to the events of the tedious and difficult, though, in its results, successful campaign.

The British army, now in full posses-

sion of Long Island, was posted from Bedford to Hellgate; and thus fronted and threatened New York from its extreme southern point, to the part opposite the northern boundary of Long Island, a small distance below the Heights of Harlem; comprehending a space of about nine miles.

Immediately after the victory at Brooklyn, dispositions were made by the enemy to attack New York, and a part of the fleet sailed round Long Island, and appeared in the Sound. Two frigates passed up the East River, without receiving any injury from the batteries, and anchored behind a small island which protected them from the American artillery. At the same time, the main body of the fleet lay at anchor close in with Governor's Island, from which the American troops had been withdrawn, ready to pass up either the North or East River, or both, and act against any part of the Island.

These movements indicated a disposition not to make an attack directly on New York, as had been expected, but to land near Kingsbridge, and take a position which would cut off the communication of the American army with the country.

Aware of the danger of his situation, General Washington began to remove such stores as were not immediately necessary; and called a council of war to decide whether New York should be at once abandoned, or longer defended.

Some of the general officers who composed the council were in favor of evac-

uating the city at once, assigning as reasons the possibility of its being speedily bombarded by the fleet; the distance of the different parts of the army from each other, its extremes being not less than sixteen miles apart; and the advantage to be gained by concentrating the army, preserving the stores and heavy artillery, and depriving the enemy of the advantage of their ships. Putnam, and Washington himself, held these views. General Greene, detained from the council by sickness, in a letter to Washington, dated September 5th, went still further, and recommended the burning of the city, assigning, among other reasons for this proceeding, that two-thirds of the city and suburbs belonged to tories. Other members of the council were for holding the city till the army was absolutely driven out. General Mifflin, in a letter, assigned as a reason for this opinion, that the acquisition of New York would give great eclat to the arms of Great Britain, afford the soldiers good quarters, and furnish a safe harbor for the fleet.\*

In his letter, communicating to Congress the result of this council, which was against an immediate evacuation, Washington manifested a conviction of the necessity of that measure, though he yielded to that necessity with reluc-

tance. Speaking of the enemy, he observed :

"It is now extremely obvious from their movements, from our intelligence, and from every other circumstance, that, having their whole army upon Long Island, except about four thousand men who remain on Staten Island, they mean to inclose us in this island, by taking post in our rear, while their ships effectually secure the front; and thus, by cutting off our communication with the country, oblige us to fight them on their own terms, or surrender at discretion; or, if that shall be deemed more advisable, by a brilliant stroke endeavor to cut this army to pieces, and secure the possession of arms and stores, which they well know our inability to replace.

"Having their system unfolded to us, it becomes an important consideration how it could be most successfully opposed. On every side there is a choice of difficulties, and experience teaches us, that every measure on our part (however painful the reflection) must be taken with some apprehension, that all our troops will not do their duty.

"In deliberating upon this great question," he added, "it was impossible to forget that history, our own experience, the advice of our ablest friends in Europe, the fears of the enemy, and even the declarations of Congress, demonstrate that, on our side, the war should be defensive—(it has ever been called a war of posts);—that we should, on all occasions, avoid a general

\* It was at this time, that Washington called on Colonel Knowlton to find a suitable person to cross to Long Island to learn something of the enemy's intentions, and through him obtained the services of Nathan Hale. See Document [B] at the end of this chapter.

action, nor put any thing to the risk, unless compelled by necessity, into which we ought never to be drawn."

After communicating the decision which had been made by the council of officers, he stated the opinion of those who were in favor of an immediate evacuation with such force, as to confirm the belief that it remained his own.

The majority, who overruled this opinion, did not expect to be able to defend the city, permanently, but to defer the time of losing it, in the hope of wasting so much of the campaign, before General Howe could obtain possession of it, as to prevent his undertaking any thing further until the following year. They therefore advised a middle course between abandoning the town absolutely, and concentrating their whole strength for its defence. This was, to form the army into three divisions; one of which should remain in New York; the second be stationed at Kingsbridge; and the third occupy the intermediate space, so as to support either extreme. The sick were to be immediately removed to Orange in New Jersey. A belief that Congress was inclined to maintain New York at every hazard, and a dread of the unfavorable impression which its evacuation might make on the people, seem to have had great influence in producing the determination to defend the place a short time longer.

This opinion was soon changed. The movements of the British general indicated clearly an intention either to

break their line of communication, or to inclose the whole army in New York. His dispositions were alike calculated to favor the one or the other of those objects. Washington, who had continued to employ himself assiduously in the removal of the military stores to a place of safety, called a second council to deliberate on the further defence of the city, which determined, by a large majority, that it had become not only prudent, but absolutely necessary to withdraw the army from New York.

In consequence of this determination, Brigadier-general Mercer, who commanded the flying-camp on the Jersey shore, was directed to move up the North River to Fort Lee, the post opposite Fort Washington; and every effort was used to expedite the removal of the stores.

On the morning of the fifteenth, three ships of war proceeded up the North River as high as Bloomingdale; a movement which entirely stopped the further removal of stores by water. About eleven o'clock on the same day, Sir Henry Clinton, with a division of four thousand men who had embarked at the head of Newtown Bay, where they had lain concealed from the view of the troops posted on York Island, proceeded through that bay into the East River, which he crossed; and, under cover of the fire of five men-of-war, landed at a place called Kipp's Bay, about three miles above New York.

The works thrown up to oppose a



landing at this place, were of considerable strength, and capable of being defended for some time; but the troops stationed in them abandoned them without waiting to be attacked, and fled with precipitation. On the commencement of the cannonade, General Washington ordered the brigades of Parsons and Fellowes to the support of the troops posted in the lines, and rode towards the scene of action. The panic of those who had fled from the works, was communicated to the troops ordered to sustain them; and the commander-in-chief had the extreme mortification to meet the whole party retreating in the utmost disorder, totally regardless of the efforts made by their generals to stop their disgraceful flight. Whilst Washington was exerting himself to rally them, a small corps of the enemy appeared; and they again broke and fled in confusion. Though the British in sight did not exceed sixty, he could not, either by example, entreaty, or authority, prevail on a superior force to stand their ground and face that inconsiderable number. Such dastardly conduct raised a tempest in the usually tranquil mind of Washington. Having embarked in the cause from the purest principles, he viewed with infinite concern this shameful behavior as threatening ruin to his country; and impressed with these ideas he hazarded his person for some considerable time in the rear of his own men, and in front of the enemy, with his horse's head towards the latter, as if in expect-

tation that by an honorable death he might escape the infamy he dreaded from the dastardly conduct of troops on whom he could place no dependence. His aids and the confidential friends around his person, by indirect violence, compelled him to retire. In consequence of their address and importunity, a life was saved for public service, which otherwise, from a sense of honor, seemed to be devoted to almost certain destruction.

The troops who fled on this occasion amounted, in all, to eight regiments. They took refuge in the encampment of the main body at Harlem Plains.

In consequence of their misconduct in not resisting the landing of the British, General Putnam, who held the command in New York, was compelled to make a hasty retreat from the city, losing fifteen men killed, and three hundred taken prisoners. Most of the heavy cannon, and a large amount of baggage, stores, and provisions, fell into the hands of the enemy.

Washington now drew all his forces together, within the lines on Harlem Heights, and fixed his head-quarters at Colonel Roger Morris's house, near Mount Washington, ten miles from New York.

While he was occupying this position, Washington paid much attention to the fortifying of his line by redoubts and intrenchments. In his rounds for the personal inspection of the works, he observed some which were constructed with an unusual degree of science and

skill; and on inquiring for the engineer who had planned them, he was introduced to Alexander Hamilton, then a captain of artillery. Washington at once entered into conversation with this talented young officer, invited him to his marquee, and then and there commenced a life-long friendship, the results of which were not less important to the country than to themselves.

"When the Americans were withdrawn from the city," says Gordon, "and no prospect of action remained, the British generals repaired to the house of Mr. Robert Murray, a gentleman of the Quaker persuasion. The lady of the house being at home, entertained them most civilly with what served for, or was, *cakes* and *wine*. They were well pleased with the entertainment, and tarried there near two hours or more, Governor Tryon seasoning the repast, at times, by joking Mrs. Murray about her American friends; for she was known to be a steady advocate for the liberties of the country. Meanwhile the Hessians and British, except a strong corps which marched down the road to take possession of the city, remained upon their arms inactive; which gave General Putnam the opportunity of escaping. Nothing could have been easier, however, than to have prevented it. A good body of troops, with two field-pieces, in about twenty minutes more or less, could have taken such a position as would necessarily have cut off Putnam's retreat. Colonel Grayson repeatedly said, speaking humor-

ously, 'Mrs. Murray saved the American army.'"

The royal troops on entering the city were warmly received by the tories. The state of feeling existing between the two hostile parties, was fearfully exemplified by means of an accident that occurred a few nights after the occupation. This was a fire, which broke out in the dead of the night of September 21st, and owing to the drought of the season and a strong south wind, increased with alarming rapidity. Upwards of a thousand buildings, Trinity church among the number, were consumed, and but for the exertions of the soldiers and sailors, the whole city would probably have been destroyed. In the excited state of party feeling, it was said that the "Sons of Liberty" were the incendiaries, with a view to drive out the army, and several suspected persons were hurled into the blazing buildings by the British soldiers.

Having taken possession of New York, General Howe stationed a few troops in the town; and, with the main body of his army, encamped near the American lines. His right was at Horen's Hook on the East River, and his left reached the North River near Bloomingdale; so that his encampment extended quite across the island, which is, in this place, scarcely two miles wide; and both his flanks were covered by his ships.

The strongest point of the American lines was at Kingsbridge, both sides







of which had been carefully fortified. M'Gowan's Pass and Morris's Heights were also occupied in considerable force, and rendered capable of being defended against superior numbers. A strong detachment was posted in an intrenched camp on the Heights of Harlem, within about a mile and a half of the British lines. This position of the armies favored the views of Washington. He wished to habituate his soldiers, by a series of successful skirmishes, to meet the enemy in the field.

Opportunities to make the experiments he wished were soon afforded. The day after the retreat from New York, the British appeared in considerable force in the plains between the two camps; and Washington immediately rode to his advanced posts, in order to make in person such arrangements as this movement might require. Soon after his arrival, Lieutenant-colonel Knowlton, who, at the head of a corps of rangers, had been skirmishing with this party, came in, and stated their numbers on conjecture at about three hundred men; the main body being concealed in a wood.

Washington ordered Colonel Knowlton with his rangers, and Major Leitch with three companies of the third Virginia regiment, which had joined the army only the preceding day, to gain their rear, while he amused them with the appearance of making dispositions to attack their front.

This plan succeeded. The British ran eagerly down a hill, in order to pos-

sess themselves of some fences and bushes, which presented an advantageous position against the party expected in front; and a firing commenced—but at too great a distance to do any execution. In the mean time, Colonel Knowlton, not being precisely acquainted with their new position, made his attack rather on their flank than rear; and a warm action ensued.

In a short time, Major Leitch, who had led the detachment with great intrepidity, was brought off the ground mortally wounded, having received three balls through his body; and soon afterwards the gallant Colonel Knowlton\* also fell. Not discouraged by the loss of their field-officers, the captains maintained their ground, and continued the action with great animation. The British were reinforced; and Washington ordered some detachments from the adjacent regiments of New England and Maryland, to the support of the Americans. Thus reinforced, they made a gallant charge, drove the enemy out of the wood into the plain, and were pressing him still further, when Washington, content with the present advantage, called back his troops to their intrenchments.

In this sharp conflict, the loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, did not exceed fifty men. The British lost more than double that number. But the real importance of the affair was derived from its opera-

1776.

---

\* See Document [C] at the end of this chapter.



tion on the spirits of the whole army. It was the first success they had obtained during this campaign; and its influence was very discernible. To give it the more effect, Washington, in his orders, publicly thanked the troops who had first advanced on the enemy, and the others who had so resolutely supported them. He contrasted their conduct with that which had been exhibited the day before; and the result, he said, evidenced what might be done where officers and soldiers would exert themselves. Once more, therefore, he called upon them so to act, as not to disgrace the noble cause in which they were engaged. He appointed a successor to "the gallant and brave Colonel Knowlton, who would," he said, "have been an honor to any country, and who had fallen gloriously, fighting at his post."

In this active part of the campaign, when the utmost stretch of every faculty was required, to watch and counteract the plans of a skilful and powerful enemy, the effects of the original errors committed by Congress, in its military establishment, were beginning to be so seriously felt, as to compel the commander-in-chief to devote a portion of his time and attention to the complete removal of the causes which produced them.

The situation was becoming extremely critical. The almost entire dissolution of the existing army, by the expiration of the time for which the greater number of the troops had been engaged, was fast approaching. No steps had

been taken to recruit the new regiments which Congress had resolved to raise for the ensuing campaign; and there was much reason to apprehend, that in the actual state of things, the terms offered would not hold forth sufficient inducements to fill them.

With so unpromising a prospect before him, Washington found himself pressed by an army permanent in its establishment, supplied with every requisite of war, formidable for its discipline and the experience of its leaders, and superior to him in numbers. These circumstances, and the impressions they created, will be best exhibited by an extract from a letter written at 1776. the time to Congress. It is in these words: "From the hours allotted to sleep, I will borrow a few moments to convey my thoughts, on sundry important matters, to Congress. I shall offer them with that sincerity which ought to characterize a man of candor; and with the freedom which may be used in giving useful information, without incurring the imputation of presumption.

"We are now, as it were, upon the eve of another dissolution of our army. The remembrance of the difficulties which happened upon that occasion last year; the consequences which might have followed the change, if proper advantages had been taken by the enemy; added to a knowledge of the present temper and disposition of the troops; reflect but a very gloomy prospect upon the appearance of things now, and satisfy me, beyond the possibility of



doubt, that unless some speedy and effectual measures are adopted by Congress, our cause will be lost.

"It is in vain to expect that any, or more than a trifling part of this army, will engage again in the service, on the encouragement offered by Congress. When men find that their townsmen and companions are receiving twenty, thirty, and more dollars, for a few months' service (which is truly the case), this cannot be expected, without using compulsion; and to force them into the service would answer no valuable purpose. When men are irritated, and their passions inflamed, they fly hastily and cheerfully to arms; but after the first emotions are over, to expect among such people as compose the bulk of an army, that they are influenced by any other motives than those of interest, is to look for what never did, and I fear never will, happen; the Congress will deceive themselves, therefore, if they expect it.

"A soldier, reasoned with upon the goodness of the cause he is engaged in, and the inestimable rights he is contending for, hears you with patience, and acknowledges the truth of your observations; but adds, that it is of no more consequence to him than to others. The officer makes you the same reply, with this further remark, that his pay will not support him, and he cannot ruin himself and family to serve his country, when every member of the community is equally benefited and interested by his labors. The

few, therefore, who act upon principles of disinterestedness, are, comparatively speaking, no more than a drop in the ocean. It becomes evidently clear, then, that as this contest is not likely to become the work of a day; as the war must be carried on systematically; and to do it, you must have good officers; there is, in my judgment, no other possible means to obtain them, but by establishing your army upon a permanent footing, and giving your officers good pay. This will induce gentlemen, and men of character, to engage; and, until the bulk of your officers are composed of such persons as are actuated by principles of honor and a spirit of enterprise, you have little to expect from them. They ought to have such allowances as will enable them to live like, and support the character of, gentlemen; and not be driven by a scanty pittance to the low and dirty arts which many of them practise, to filch the public of more than the difference of pay would amount to, upon an ample allowance. Besides, something is due to the man who puts his life in your hands, hazards his health, and forsakes the sweets of domestic enjoyments. Why a captain in the continental service should receive no more than five shillings currency per day, for performing the same duties that an officer of the same rank in the British service receives ten shillings sterling for, I never could conceive; especially, when the latter is provided with every necessary he requires, upon

the best terms, and the former can scarcely procure them at any rate. There is nothing that gives a man consequence, and renders him fit for command, like a support that renders him independent of everybody but the State he serves.

“With respect to the men, nothing but a good bounty can obtain them upon a permanent establishment, and for no shorter time than the continuance of the war ought they to be engaged; as facts incontestably prove that the difficulty and cost of enlistments increase with time. When the army was first raised at Cambridge, I am persuaded the men might have been got, without a bounty, for the war:\* after that, they began to see that the contest was not likely to end so speedily as was imagined, and to feel their consequence, by remarking, that to get their militia, in the course of the last year, many towns were induced to give them a bounty. Foreseeing the evils resulting from this, and the destructive consequences which would unavoidably follow short enlistments, I took the liberty, in a long letter (date not now recollected, as my letter-book is not here),

\* We have already had occasion to remark, that Congress and the people were extremely jealous of military power; and this was the reason for refusing to make long enlistments. They were afraid of a standing army. The example of Cromwell, displacing the Long Parliament, was comparatively recent; and the members of Congress were well-read in British history. Washington asked Congress for a permanent army during the siege of Boston; but could not obtain it. They were at last forced, by dire necessity, into enlistments, to last during the war.

to recommend the enlistments for and during the war, assigning such reasons for it as experience has since convinced me were well founded. At that time, twenty dollars would, I am persuaded, have engaged the men for this term: but it will not do to look back,—and if the present opportunity is slipped, I am persuaded that twelve months more will increase our difficulties fourfold. I shall therefore take the liberty of giving it as my opinion, that a good bounty be immediately offered, aided by the proffer of at least a hundred, or a hundred and fifty acres of land, and a suit of clothes, and a blanket, to each non-commissioned officer and soldier, as I have good authority for saying, that however high the men's pay may appear, it is barely sufficient, in the present scarcity and dearness of all kinds of goods, to keep them in clothes, much less to afford support to their families. If this encouragement, then, is given to the men, and such pay allowed to the officers, as will induce gentlemen of liberal character and liberal sentiments to engage; and proper care and caution be used in the nomination (having more regard to the characters of persons than the number of men they can enlist), we should, in a little time, have an army able to cope with any that can be opposed to it, as there are excellent materials to form one out of: but whilst the only merit an officer possesses is his ability to raise men; whilst those men consider and treat him as an equal, and, in the character



of an officer, regard him no more than a broomstick, being mixed together as one common herd; no order nor discipline can prevail, nor will the officer ever meet with that respect which is essentially necessary to due subordination.\*

"To place any dependence upon militia, is assuredly resting upon a broken staff. Men just dragged from the tender scenes of domestic life; unaccustomed to the din of arms; totally unacquainted with every kind of military skill, which, being followed by a want of confidence in themselves, when opposed to troops regularly trained, disciplined, and appointed—superior in knowledge, and superior in arms—makes them timid, and ready to fly from their own shadows. Besides, the sudden change in their manner of living, particularly in their lodging, brings on sickness in many, impatience in all; and such an unconquerable desire of returning to their respective homes, that it not only produces shameful and scandalous desertions among themselves, but infuses the like spirit into others. Again, men accustomed to unbounded freedom and no control, cannot brook the restraint which is indispensably necessary to the good order and government of an army; without which, licentiousness, and every kind of disorder, triumphantly reign. To bring

men to a proper degree of subordination, is not the work of a day, a month, or a year; and unhappily for us, and the cause we are engaged in, the little discipline I have been laboring to establish in the army under my immediate command, is in a manner done away by having such a mixture of troops as have been called together within these few months."†

The frequent remonstrances of Washington; the opinions of all military men; and the severe, but correcting  
1776.  
hand of experience, had at length produced some effect on the government of the Union;—and soon after the defeat on Long Island, Congress had directed the committee composing the board of war, to prepare a plan of operations for the next campaign. Their report proposed a permanent army, to be enlisted for the war, and to be raised by the several States, in proportion to their ability. A bounty of twenty dollars was offered to each recruit; and small portions of land to every officer and soldier.

The resolutions adopting this report were received by Washington soon after the transmission of the foregoing letter. Believing the inducements they held forth for the completion of the army to be still insufficient, he, in his letter

\* In the recent disgraceful affair, on the landing of the British at Kipp's Bay, the officers had set the example of running away. Washington's vivid recollection of this scene, must have influenced him in the above remarks.

† Remarks similar to these, and almost in the same language, with respect to the feelings of the militia, occur in a letter of General Greene's, written about the same time. Both letters suggest to the reader's mind, a host of appalling difficulties surrounding Washington, and embarrassing the operations of all the leading officers of the army.



acknowledging the receipt of them, urged, in the most serious terms, the necessity of raising the pay of the officers, and the bounty offered to recruits :

"Give me leave to say, sir," he observed, "I say it with due deference and respect (and my knowledge of the facts, added to the importance of the cause, and the stake I hold it in, must justify the freedom), that your affairs are in a more unpromising way than you seem to apprehend.

"Your army, as mentioned in my last, is upon the eve of political dissolution. True it is, you have voted a larger one in lieu of it; but the season is late, and there is a material difference between voting battalions, and raising men. In the latter, there are more difficulties than Congress seem aware of; which makes it my duty (as I have been informed of the prevailing sentiments of this army) to inform them, that unless the pay of the officers (especially that of the field-officers) is raised, the chief part of those that are worth retaining will leave the service at the expiration of the present term; as the soldiers will also, if some greater encouragement is not offered them, than twenty dollars and one hundred acres of land."

After urging in strong terms the necessity of a more liberal compensation to the army, and stating that the British were actually raising a regiment with a bounty of ten pounds sterling for each recruit, he added :

"When the pay and establishment

of an officer once become objects of interested attention, the sloth, negligence, and even disobedience of orders, which at this time but too generally prevail, will be purged off;—but while the service is viewed with indifference; while the officer conceives that he is rather conferring than receiving an obligation: there will be a total relaxation of all order and discipline; and every thing will move heavily on, to the great detriment of the service, and inexpressible trouble and vexation of the general.

"The critical situation of our affairs at this time will justify my saying, that no time is to be lost in making fruitless experiments. An unavailing trial of a month, to get an army upon the terms proposed, may render it impracticable to do it at all, and prove fatal to our cause; as I am not sure whether any rubs in the way of our enlistments, or unfavorable turn in our affairs, may not prove the means of the enemy's recruiting men faster than we do."

After stating at large the confusion and delay, inseparable from the circumstance that the appointments for the new army were to be made by the States, the letter proceeds :

"Upon the present plan, I plainly foresee an intervention of time between the old and new army, which must be filled with militia, if to be had, with whom no man, who has any regard for his own reputation, can undertake to be answerable for consequences. I shall also be mistaken in my conjectures, if we do not lose the most valuable offi-

cers in this army, under the present mode of appointing them; consequently, if we have an army at all, it will be composed of materials not only entirely raw, but, if uncommon pains are not taken, entirely unfit: and I see such a distrust and jealousy of military power, that the commander-in-chief has not an opportunity, even by recommendation, to give the least assurances of reward for the most essential services.

"In a word, such a cloud of perplexing circumstances appears before me, without one flattering hope, that I am thoroughly convinced, unless the most vigorous and decisive exertions are immediately adopted to remedy these evils, the certain and absolute loss of our liberties will be the inevitable consequence: as one unhappy stroke will throw a powerful weight into the scale against us, and enable General Howe to recruit his army, as fast as we shall ours; numbers being disposed, and many actually doing so already. Some of the most probable remedies, and such as experience has brought to my more intimate knowledge, I have taken the liberty to point out; the rest I beg leave to submit to the consideration of Congress.

"I ask pardon for taking up so much of their time with my opinions, but I should betray that trust which they and my country have reposed in me, were I to be silent upon matters so extremely interesting."

On receiving this very serious letter, Congress passed resolutions conforming

to many of its suggestions. The pay of the officers was raised, and a suit of clothes allowed annually to each soldier. The legislatures of the States having troops in the continental service, either at New York, Ticonderoga, or New Jersey, were requested to depute committees to those places, in order to officer the regiments on the new establishment; and it was recommended to the committees to consult Washington on the subject of appointments. 1776.

These measures afforded much gratification to Washington. He was also greatly relieved by effecting an exchange of prisoners with General Howe, in which those captured in Canada were included. Among the officers restored to the army by this exchange were Lord Stirling and Captain Daniel Morgan,\* who had served at the siege of Quebec with Arnold and Montgomery. Washington recommended Morgan to Congress for the command of a regiment of riflemen about to be raised; an appointment which was made with signal advantage to the service.

Washington now learned that the Tories were forming military organizations to aid the enemy. Oliver De Lancey, a conspicuous man in New York, was actually appointed brigadier-general by Lord Howe, with authority to raise a brigade; and he was offering liberal pay for soldiers, and commissions to those who would bring in a given

---

\* See Document [A] at the end of this chapter.



number of recruits. Robert Rogers, of New Hampshire, who had served with credit in the French war, and who had since served the enemy as a spy in Canada, been arrested, and afterwards liberated on promise of good behavior, was also enlisting a regiment of tories. He had obtained a colonel's commission, and his regiment was to be called the Queen's Rangers. This man was one of the most infamous traitors in the British service; and the Americans, both officers and men, were especially desirous to capture and punish him.

The armies did not long retain their position on York Island. General Howe was sensible of the strength of the American camp, and was not disposed to force it. His plan was to compel Washington to abandon it, or to give battle in a situation in which a defeat must be attended with the total destruction of his army. With this view, after throwing up intrenchments on McGowan's Hill for the protection of New York, he determined to gain the rear of the American camp by the New England road, and also to possess himself of the North River above Kingsbridge. To assure himself of the practicability of acquiring the command of the river, three frigates, the *Phoenix*, *Roebuck*, and *Tartar*, passed up it under the fire from Fort Washington, and from the opposite post on the Jersey shore, afterwards called Fort Lee, without sustaining any injury from the batteries, or being impeded by the *chevaux-de-frise* which had been sunk in the channel be-

tween those forts, under the direction of General Putnam.

This point being ascertained, he embarked a great part of his army on board flat-bottomed boats, and, passing through Hell Gate into the Sound, landed at Frog's Neck, about nine miles from the camp on the Heights of Harlem.

In consequence of this movement, Washington strengthened the post at Kingsbridge, and detached some regiments to West Chester for the purpose of skirmishing with the enemy, so soon as he should march from the ground he occupied. The road from Frog's Point to Kingsbridge leads through a strong country, intersected by numerous stone fences, so as to render it difficult to move artillery, or even infantry, in compact columns, except along the main road, which had been broken up in several places. Washington, therefore, entertained sanguine hopes of the event, should a direct attack be made on his camp.

General Howe, if we may believe his own account, continued some days waiting for his artillery, military stores, and reinforcements from Staten Island, which were detained by unfavorable winds. The Americans, however, attributed his delay to the destruction of the causeway leading from his position to the main land; and the menacing attitude of the American batteries, and the detachments from Washington's army, by whom he was inclosed.

In the mean time, the propriety of



removing the American army from its present situation, was submitted to a council of general officers. After much investigation, it was declared to be impracticable, without a change of position, to keep up their communication with the country, and avoid being compelled to fight under great disadvantages, or to surrender themselves prisoners of war. General Lee, who had just arrived from the south, and whose experience as well as late success gave great weight to his opinions, urged the necessity of this movement with much earnestness.\* It was, at the same time, determined to hold Fort Washington, and to defend it as long as possible. A resolution of Congress of the 11th of October, desiring General Washington, by every art and expense, to obstruct, if possible, the navigation of the river, contributed, not inconsiderably, to this determination.

In pursuance of this opinion of the military council, Washington began moving the army up the North River, so as to extend its front, or left, towards the White Plains, beyond the British right, and thus keep open its communication with the country. The right, or rear division, remained a few days longer about Kingsbridge, under the command of General Lee, for the security of the

heavy baggage and military stores, which, in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining wagons, could be but slowly removed.

General Howe, checked at Frog's Neck, abandoned that post, and after uniting his forces at Pell's Point, moved forward his whole army, except four brigades destined for the defence of New York, through Pelham's Manor, towards New Rochelle. Some skirmishes took place on the march with a part of Glover's brigade, in which the conduct of the Americans was mentioned with satisfaction by the commander-in-chief; and, as Howe took post at New Rochelle, Washington occupied the heights between that place and the North River.

At New Rochelle, the British army was joined by the second division of Germans, under the command of General Knyphausen, and by an in-  
1776.  
complete regiment of cavalry from Ireland, some of whom had been captured on their passage. Both armies now marched towards the White Plains, a piece of ground already occupied by a detachment of militia. The main body of the American troops formed a long line of intrenched camps, extending from twelve to thirteen miles, on the different heights from Valentine's Hill, near Kingsbridge, to the White Plains, fronting the British line of march, and the Bronx, which divided the two armies. The motions of General Howe were anxiously watched, not only for the purposes of security, and of

\* Lee was always overrated, till he fell into the enemy's hands. The success of the Americans in repelling the enemy's attack on Charleston, was due to Moultrie and the brave fellows who defended the Palmetto Fort, and not at all to Lee, who was in favor of abandoning the fort as a means of defence; but was fortunately overruled by the opinions of the other officers.

avoiding a general action, but in order to seize any occasion which might present itself of engaging his outposts with advantage.

While the British army lay at New Rochelle, the position of a corps of American loyalists commanded by that infamous traitor, Colonel Rogers, was supposed to furnish such an occasion. He was advanced further eastward, to Mamaroneck, on the Sound, where he was believed to be covered by the other troops. An attempt was made to surprise him in the night, by a detachment which should pass between him and the main body of the British army, and, by a *coup de main*, bear off his whole corps. Rogers was surprised, and about sixty of his regiment killed and taken, the traitor himself escaping capture.\* The loss of the Americans was only two killed, and eight or ten wounded; among the latter was Major Green of Virginia, a brave officer, who led the detachment, and who received a ball through his body.

Not long afterwards, a regiment of Pennsylvania riflemen, under Colonel Hand, engaged an equal number of Hessian chasseurs, with some advantage.

The caution of the English general was increased by these evidences of enterprise in his adversary. His object seems to have been to avoid skirmishes,

and to bring on a general action, if that could be effected under favorable circumstances; if not, he calculated on nearly all the advantages of a victory from the approaching dissolution of the American army. He proceeded therefore slowly. His march was in close order, his encampments compact, and well guarded with artillery; and the utmost circumspection was used to leave no vulnerable point.

As the sick and baggage reached a place of safety, Washington gradually drew in his outposts, and took possession of the heights on the east side of the Bronx, fronting the head of the British columns, at the distance of seven or eight miles from them. Here he was soon joined by Lee, who, after securing the sick and the baggage, had, with considerable address, brought up the rear division of the army; an operation the more difficult, as the deficiency of teams was such that a large portion of the labor usually performed by horses or oxen devolved on men.

Washington was encamped on high broken ground, with his right flank on the Bronx. This stream meandered so as also to cover the front of his right wing, which extended along the road leading towards New Rochelle, as far as the brow of the hill where his centre was posted. His left, which formed almost a right angle with his centre, and was nearly parallel to his right, extended along the hills northward, so as to keep possession of the commanding ground, and secure a retreat, should it

\* Rogers, says Irving, skulked off in the dark at the first fire. He was too old a partisan to be easily entrapped.



be necessary, to a still stronger position in his rear.\*

On the right of the army, and on the west side of the Bronx, about one mile from camp, on a road leading from the North River, was a hill, of which General M'Dougal was ordered to take possession, for the purpose of covering the right flank. His detachment consisted

\* Gordon gives the following anecdotes of this period of the war :

General Lee, while at White Plains, lodged in a small house close in with the road, by which General Washington had to pass when out reconnoitering. Returning with his officers they called in and took dinner. They were no sooner gone than Lee told his aids, "You must look me out another place, for I shall have Washington and all his puppies continually calling on me, and they will eat me up." The next day, Lee seeing Washington out upon the like business, and supposing that he should have another visit, ordered his servant to write with chalk upon the door, *no victuals dressed here to-day*. When the company approached and saw the writing, they pushed off with much good-humor for their own table, without resenting the habitual oddity of the man.

It happened that a garden of a widow woman, which lay between the two camps, was robbed at night. Her son, a mere boy, and little of his age, asked leave for finding out and securing the pilferer, in case he should return; which being granted, he concealed himself with a gun among the weeds. A British grenadier, a strapping Highlander, came and filled his large bag; when he had it on his shoulder, the boy left his covert, came softly behind him, cocked his gun, and called out to the fellow, "You are my prisoner; if you attempt to throw your bag down I will shoot you dead: go forward in that road." The boy kept close to him, threatened, and was always prepared to execute his threatening. Thus the boy drove him into the American camp, where he was secured. When the grenadier was at liberty to throw down his bag, and saw who had made him prisoner, he was most horribly mortified, and exclaimed, "A British grenadier made prisoner by such a d—d brat, by such a d—d brat!" The American officers were highly entertained with the adventure; made a collection for the boy, and gave him some pounds. He returned fully satisfied with the losses his mother had sustained. The soldier had side-arms, but they were of no use, as he could not get rid of his bag.

of about sixteen hundred men, principally militia; and his communication with the main army was open, that part of the Bronx being passable without difficulty.

Intrenchments were thrown up to strengthen the lines.

General Howe, having made arrangements to attack Washington in his camp, advanced early in the morning (October 25th) in two columns, the right commanded by Sir Henry

1776.

Clinton, and the left by General Knyphausen; and, about ten, his van appeared in full view, on which a cannonade commenced without much execution on either side.

The British right formed behind a rising ground, about a mile in front of the American camp, and extending from the road leading from Mamaroneck towards the Bronx, stood opposed to the American centre.

On viewing Washington's situation, Howe, who accompanied Knyphausen, determined to carry the hill occupied by M'Dougal, as preliminary to an attack on the centre and right of the American camp. He therefore directed Colonel Rahl, with a brigade of Hessians, to cross the Bronx and make a circuit so as to turn M'Dougal's right flank, while Brigadier-general Leslie, with a strong corps of British and Hessian troops, should attack him in front.

When Rahl had gained his position, the detachment commanded by Leslie also crossed the Bronx, and commenced a vigorous attack. The militia in the



front line immediately fled; but the regulars maintained their ground with great gallantry. Colonel Smallwood's regiment of Maryland, and Colonel Reitzimer's of New York, advanced boldly towards the foot of the hill to meet Leslie, but, after a sharp encounter, were overpowered by numbers, and compelled to retreat.

General Leslie then attacked the remaining part of M'Dougal's forces, who were soon driven from the hill, but kept up for some time an irregular fire from the stone walls about the scene of action. General Putnam, with Beal's brigade, was ordered to support them; but not having arrived till the hill was lost, the attempt to regain it was deemed inadvisable, and the troops retreated to the main army.

In this animated engagement, commonly called the battle of White Plains, the loss was supposed to be nearly equal. That of the Americans was between three and four hundred in killed, wounded, and taken. Colonel Smallwood was among the wounded.

Washington continued in his lines expecting an assault. But a considerable part of the day having been exhausted in gaining the hill which had been occupied by M'Dougal, the meditated attempt on his intrenchments was postponed until the next morning; and the British army lay on their arms the following night, in order of battle, on the ground taken during the day.

This interval was employed by Washington in strengthening his works, re-

moving his sick and baggage, and preparing for the expected attack by adapting the arrangement of his troops to the existing state of things. His left maintained its position; but his right was drawn back to stronger ground. Perceiving this, and being unwilling to leave any thing to hazard, Howe resolved to postpone further offensive operations, until Lord Percy should arrive with four battalions from New York, and two from Mamaroneck. This reinforcement was received on the evening of the 30th, and preparations were then made to force the American intrenchments the next morning. In the night, and during the early part of the succeeding day, a violent rain still further postponed the assault.

Having now removed his provisions and heavy baggage to much stronger ground, and apprehending that the British general, whose left wing extended along the height taken from M'Dougal, to his rear, might turn his camp, and occupy the strong ground to which he designed to retreat, should an attempt on his lines prove successful, Washington changed his position in the night, and withdrew to the Heights of North Castle, about five miles from the White Plains.

Deeming this position too strong to be attempted with prudence, General Howe determined to change his plan of operations, and to give a new direction to his efforts.

While forts Washington and Lee were held by the Americans, his move-

ments were checked, and New York insecure. With a view to the acquisition of these posts, he directed General Knyphausen to take possession of Kingsbridge, which was defended by a small party of Americans placed in Fort Independence. On his approach, this party retreated to Fort Washington; and Knyphausen encamped between that place and Kingsbridge.

In the mean time, General Howe retired slowly down the North River. His designs were immediately pene-

1776. trated by Washington, who perceived the necessity of passing a part of his army into Jersey, but was restrained from immediately leaving the strong ground he occupied by the apprehension that his adversary might, in that event, return suddenly and gain his rear. A council of war was called, which determined unanimously, that, should General Howe continue his march towards New York, all the troops raised on the west side of the Hudson should cross that river, to be afterwards followed by those raised in the eastern part of the continent, leaving three thousand men for the defence of the Highlands about the North River.

In a letter to Congress, communicating this movement of the British army, and this determination of the council, the general said, "I cannot indulge the idea that General Howe, supposing him to be going to New York, means to close the campaign, and to sit down without attempting something more.

I think it highly probable, and almost certain, that he will make a descent with part of his troops into the Jerseys; and, as soon as I am satisfied that the present manœuvre is real, and not a feint, I shall use all the means in my power to forward a part of our force to counteract his designs. I expect the enemy will bend their force against Fort Washington, and invest it immediately. From some advices, it is an object that will attract their earliest attention."

He also addressed a letter to the governor of New Jersey, expressing a decided opinion that General Howe would not content himself with investing Fort Washington, but would invade the Jerseys; and urging him to put the militia in the best possible condition to reinforce the army, and to take the place of the new levies, who could not, he suggested, be depended on to continue in service one day longer than the 1st of December, the time for which they engaged.

Immediate intelligence of this movement was likewise given to General Greene, who commanded in the Jerseys; and his attention was particularly pointed to Fort Washington.

As the British army approached Kingsbridge, three ships of war passed up the North River, notwithstanding the fire from forts Washington and Lee, and notwithstanding the additional obstructions which had been placed in the channel.

On being informed of this, another



letter was addressed to General Greene, stating that this fact was so plain a proof of the inefficacy of all the obstructions thrown in the river, as to justify a change in the dispositions which had been made. "If," continued the letter, "we cannot prevent vessels from passing up, and the enemy are possessed of the surrounding country, what valuable purpose can it answer to attempt to hold a post from which the expected benefit cannot be derived? I am therefore inclined to think it will not be prudent to hazard the men and stores at Mount Washington; but as you are on the spot, I leave it to you to give such orders respecting the evacuation of the place, as you may think most advisable; and so far revoke the orders given to Colonel Magaw to defend it to the last."

Measures were now taken to cross the North River with the troops which had been raised on its western side, and Washington determined to accompany that division of the army. The eastern regiments remained on the eastern side of the river, under the command of Lee, with orders to join the commander-in-chief, should the British army cross the Hudson.

After visiting the posts about Peekskill, and making all the arrangements in his power for their defence, Washington passed the North River in the rear of the troops designed to act in the Jerseys, and proceeded to the quarters of General Greene, near Fort Lee.

From too great a confidence in the

strength of Fort Washington, and a conviction of its importance, General Greene had not withdrawn its garrison under the discretionary orders he had received, but still indulged a hope that the post might be maintained, or, should its situation become desperate, that means might be found to transport the troops across the river to the Jersey shore, which was defended by Fort Lee.

Mount Washington is a high piece of rocky ground, near the North River, very difficult of ascent, especially towards the north, or Kingsbridge. The fort was capable of containing about one thousand men; but the lines and outworks, which were chiefly on the southern side, towards New York, were drawn quite across the island. The ground was naturally strong, the approaches difficult, and the fortifications, though not sufficient to resist heavy artillery, were believed to be in a condition to resist any attempt to carry them by storm. The garrison consisted of troops, some of whom were among the best in the American army; and the command had been given to Colonel Magaw, a brave and intelligent officer, in whom great confidence was placed.

General Howe, after retiring from the White Plains, encamped at a small distance from Kingsbridge, on the Heights of Fordham; and, having made the necessary preparations for an assault, summoned the garrison to surrender, on pain of being put to the sword. Colonel Magaw replied that he should defend



the place to the last extremity, and communicated the summons to General Greene at Fort Lee, who transmitted it to the commander-in-chief, then at Hackensack. He immediately rode to Fort Lee, and, though it was late in the night, was proceeding to Fort Washington, where he expected to find Generals Putnam and Greene, when, in crossing the river, he met those officers returning from a visit to that fort. They reported that the garrison was in high spirits, and would make a good defence; on which he returned with them to Fort Lee.

Early next morning, Colonel Magaw posted his troops, partly on a commanding hill north of the fort, partly in the outermost of the lines drawn across the island on the south of the fort, and partly between those lines, on the woody and rocky heights fronting Harlem River, where the ground being extremely difficult of ascent, the works were not closed. Colonel Rawlings, of Maryland, commanded on the hill towards Kingsbridge; Colonel Cadwallader, of Pennsylvania, in the lines, and Colonel Magaw himself continued in the fort.

The strength of the place had not deterred the British general from resolving to carry it by storm; and, on receiving the answer of Colonel Magaw, arrangements were made for a vigorous attack next day. About ten, the assailants appeared before the works, and moved to the assault in four different quarters. Their first division consisting

of Hessians and Waldeckers, amounting to about five thousand men, under the command of General Knyphausen, advanced on the north side of the fort, against the hill occupied by Colonel Rawlings, who received them with great gallantry. The second, on the east, consisting of the British light-infantry and guards, was led by Brigadier-general Matthews, supported by Lord Cornwallis, at the head of the grenadiers and the thirty-third regiment. These troops crossed Harlem River in boats, under cover of the artillery planted in the works which had been erected on the opposite side of the river, and landed within the third line of defence which crossed the island. The third division was conducted by Lieutenant-colonel Stirling, who passed the river higher up; and the fourth by Lord Percy, accompanied by General Howe in person. This division was to attack the lines in front, on the south side.

The attacks on the north and south by General Knyphausen and Lord Percy, were made about the same instant, on Colonels Rawlings and Cadwallader, who maintained their ground for a considerable time; but, while Colonel Cadwallader was engaged in the first line against Lord Percy, the second and third divisions which had crossed Harlem River made good their landing, and dispersed the troops fronting that river, as well as a detachment sent by Colonel Cadwallader to support them. These being overpowered, and the British advancing between the fort

and the lines, it became necessary to abandon them. In retreating to the fort, some of the men were intercepted by the division under Colonel Stirling, and made prisoners.

The resistance on the north was of longer duration. Rawlings maintained his ground with firmness, and his riflemen did vast execution. A three-gun battery also played on Knyphausen with great effect. At length, the Hessian columns gained the summit of the hill; after which, Colonel Rawlings, who perceived the danger which threatened his rear, retreated under the guns of the fort.

Having carried the lines, and all the strong ground adjoining them, the British general again summoned Colonel Magaw to surrender. While the capitulation was in a course of arrangement, a Captain Gooch boldly ventured to cross over from Fort Lee, with a letter from General Washington to Colonel Magaw, acquainting him that if he could hold out till night, the garrison should be taken off. He delivered the letter, pushed through the fire of the enemy, preferring that danger to being made a prisoner, and escaped unhurt. Washington could view several parts of the attack; and when he saw his men bayoneted, and in that way killed while begging quarter, he cried with the tenderness of a child, and exclaimed at the barbarity that was practised. His heart had not been steeled by plunging into acts of cruelty. When General Lee read the letter sent by express, giving

an account of Fort Washington's being taken, resentment and vexation led him, unfeeling as he was in common, to weep plentifully. He wrote on the 19th to the commander-in-chief, "Oh! general, why would you be over-persuaded by men of inferior judgment to your own? It was a cursed affair." He had exclaimed before, upon hearing that the defence of it was to be risked, "Then we are undone."\*

When Colonel Magaw received Washington's communication, requesting him to hold out till evening, he had proceeded too far to retreat; and it is probable the place could not have resisted an assault from so formidable a force as threatened it. The greatest difficulties had been overcome; the fort was too small to contain all the men; and their ammunition was nearly exhausted. Under these circumstances the garrison became prisoners of war.

The loss on this occasion was the greatest the Americans had ever sustained. The garrison was 1776. stated by Washington at about two thousand men. Yet, in a report published as from Howe, the number of prisoners is said to be two thousand and six hundred, exclusive of officers. Either Howe must have included in his report persons who were not soldiers, or Washington must have comprehended the regulars only in his letter. The last conjecture is most probably correct. The loss of the assailants, according to

---

\* Gordon, *History of the American Revolution*.



Mr. Stedman,\* amounted to eight hundred men. This loss fell heaviest on the Germans.

On the surrender of Fort Washington, it was determined to evacuate Fort Lee; and a removal of the stores was immediately commenced. Before this operation could be completed, a detachment commanded by Lord Cornwallis, amounting to about six thousand men, crossed the North River below Dobb's Ferry, and endeavored, by a rapid march, to inclose the garrison between the North and Hackensack rivers. An immediate retreat from that narrow neck of land had become indispensable, and was with difficulty effected. All the heavy cannon at Fort Lee, except two twelve-pounders, with a considerable quantity of provisions and military stores, including three hundred tents, were lost.

Before following Washington in his retreat through "the Jerseys," we will notice some events which had transpired in the north during his recent operations on the eastern shore of the Hudson.

In our account of the invasion of Canada by Montgomery and Arnold, we brought the narrative up to the point where that country was evacuated by the Americans, in June. They still occupied Crown Point and Ticonderoga. They also had command of Lake Champlain, and Sir Guy Carleton, the British commander-in-

chief in Canada, deemed it prudent to wrest it from them before he advanced further. To effect this he must build a fleet, which required time and labor. Mean time, General Gates was ordered to take command of the northern army, which was to be reinforced with six thousand militia.

In characterizing the recent attempt to conquer Canada, Marshall makes the following very judicious remarks: It was a bold, and at one period, promised to be a successful effort to annex that extensive province to the united colonies. The dispositions of the Canadians favored the measure; and had Quebec fallen, there is reason to believe the colony would have entered cordially into the union. Had a few incidents turned out fortunately; had Arnold been able to reach Quebec a few days sooner, or to cross the St. Lawrence on his first arrival—or had the gallant Montgomery not fallen in the assault of the 31st December, it is probable the expedition would have been crowned with complete success. But the radical causes of failure, putting fortune out of the question, were to be found in the lateness of the season when the troops were assembled, in a defect of the preparations necessary for such a service, and still more in the shortness of the time for which the men were enlisted. Had the expedition been successful, the practicability of maintaining the country is much to be doubted. Whilst General Montgomery lay before Quebec, and expected to obtain possession of the

\* A British writer, author of the *History of the American War*.



place, he extended his views to its preservation. His plan required a permanent army of ten thousand men; strong fortifications at Jacques Cartier, and the rapids of Richelieu; and armed vessels in the river, above the last place. With this army and these precautions, he thought the country might be defended; but not with an inferior force.

It seems, therefore, to have been an enterprise requiring means beyond the ability of Congress; and the strength exhausted on it would have been more judiciously employed in securing the command of the lakes George and Champlain, and the fortified towns upon them.

While General Carleton was making preparations to enter the lakes, General Schuyler was using his utmost exertions to retain the command of them. But, so great was the difficulty of procuring workmen and materials, that he found it impossible to equip a fleet which would be equal to the exigency. It consisted of only fifteen small vessels; the largest of which was a schooner mounting twelve guns, carrying six and four pound balls. The command of this squadron, at the instance of Washington, was given to General Arnold.

General Carleton evinced great activity and enterprise in preparing a fleet to encounter that of Arnold on Lake Champlain. Thirty vessels were required to give a decided superiority on those waters, the access to which by

the Sorel was impracticable to ships, and most difficult and laborious to boats on account of numerous shallows, falls, and rapids.

The frame-work of some vessels was sent for to England, but this required time. Carleton therefore sent detachments from the king's ships stationed at Quebec, with volunteers from the transports and a corps of artillery—in all about seven hundred men—to fell timber and to occupy a favorable post on the shore of Lake Champlain. The keel and floor-timbers of the *Inflexible*, a ship of three hundred tons, which had been laid at Quebec, were taken to pieces, carried over to St. John's, and laid down again at a corner of the lake where a little dock-yard was improvised; thirty long-boats, many large batteaux or flat-bottomed boats, and a gondola of thirty tons were carried up to the spot, partly by land and partly by being dragged up the shoals and rapids of the river Sorel at an extraordinary expense of human labor.

Lieutenant Schanck, an officer who possessed great mechanical ingenuity, superintended the works at the dock-yard, where timber which had been growing in the forest in the morning, was turned into part of a ship before night.

In twenty-eight days from the relaying her keel, the *Inflexible* was launched, rigged, armed with eighteen twelve-pounders, and equipped for service; two schooners, the *Maria* and

Carleton, were put together with equal rapidity; and the flotilla was completed by the *Loyal Convert* gondola, the *Thunder*, a kind of flat-bottomed raft carrying twelve heavy guns and two howitzers, and twenty-four boats armed each with a field-piece or carriage-gun. The whole thing seemed like magic! In a few weeks the British, from not having a single boat, had a force sufficient to sweep the lakes Champlain and George from end to end.

This formidable fleet, having on board General Carleton himself, and navigated by seven hundred prime seamen under the command of Captain Pringle, proceeded immediately in quest of Arnold, who was advantageously posted between the island of Valicour and the western main.\*

Notwithstanding the disparity of force, a warm action ensued. A wind, unfavorable to the British, kept the *Inflexible* and some other large vessels at too great a distance to render any service. This circumstance enabled Arnold to keep up the engagement until night, when Captain Pringle discontinued it, and anchored his whole fleet in a line, as near the vessels of his adversary as was practicable. In this en-

gagement, the best schooner belonging to the American flotilla was burnt, and a gondola was sunk.

In the night, Arnold attempted to escape to Ticonderoga; and, the next morning, was out of sight; but, being immediately pursued, was overtaken about noon, and brought to action a few leagues short of Crown Point. He kept up a warm engagement for about two hours, during which the vessels that were most ahead escaped to Ticonderoga. Two galleys and five gondolas, which remained, made a desperate resistance. At length one of them struck; after which Arnold ran the remaining vessels on shore, and blew them up; having first saved his men, though great efforts were made to take them.

On the approach of the British army, a small detachment, which had occupied Crown Point as an outpost, evacuated the place, and retired to Ticonderoga, which Schuyler determined to defend to the last extremity.

General Carleton took possession of Crown Point,† and advanced a part of his fleet into Lake George, within view of Ticonderoga. His army also approached that place, as if designing to invest it; but, after reconnoitering the

\* An English writer says: "Sir Guy Carleton himself embarked with the squadron—the strangest squadron that ever English seamen had seen. Captain Pringle was commodore, with his pennant on the *Inflexible*; and among those young officers who were appointed to the Carleton schooner, was one who was destined to become one of the most distinguished of British naval commanders,—this was Edward Pellew, then a midshipman, afterwards Admiral Viscount Exmouth.

† During Carleton's stay at Crown Point, young Pellew nearly succeeded in capturing Arnold. That general, having ventured upon the lake in a boat, was observed, and chased so closely by the midshipman, that, when he reached the shore and escaped, he left his stock and buckle in the boat behind him. "This," says the biographer of Exmouth, "is still preserved by Mr. Pellew's elder brother, to whom Arnold's son, not many years ago, confirmed the particulars of his father's escape."—*Ostler, Life of Admiral Viscount Exmouth.*

works, and observing the steady countenance of the garrison, he thought it too late to lay siege to the fortress. Re-embarking his army, he returned to Canada, where he placed it in winter-

quarters ; making the Isle aux Noix his most advanced post.

In the next chapter, we return to Washington with the remnant of his army at Hackensack.





## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER VII.

---

[A.]

### GENERAL MORGAN.

THIS officer, who, with his rifle company, arrived in the camp at Cambridge in the summer of 1775, was one of the most remarkable men of his age. His history is like a romance. From the situation of a wagoner, he rose to be a brigadier-general of the Virginia line in the Revolutionary War, deservedly ranked among the best and most efficient officers of the United States. He was born in Durham township, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, from whence he emigrated to New Jersey, and from thence to Virginia, in 1755. Like many of the greatest men of every country, his native condition was indigent, so much so as to render it necessary for young Morgan to enter into service as a laborer for daily wages.

Soon after his arrival in Virginia he obtained employment from farmer Roberts, near Charleston, in the county of Jefferson (then Berkely).

Afterwards he was engaged to drive a wagon for John Ashley, overseer for Nathaniel Burrell, Esq., at his estate on the Shenandoah River, in Frederick county, near Berry's ferry. When he left Ashley, Morgan had, by his care and industry, amassed enough cash to purchase a wagon and team, which he did, and soon afterwards entered with it into the employment of Mr. John Ballantine, at his establishment on Occoquan Creek. At the expiration of his year, Braddock's expedition was spoken of as an event certainly to take place in the course of the ensuing summer. Morgan reserved himself, wagon, &c., for this expedition; when he joined the army, but in what character is not known.

He received, during his military service, a severe wound in the face, the scar of which was

through life very visible. We do not understand in what affair this happened; but it was from a rifle or musket, aimed, as he said himself, by an Indian. The bullet entered the back of his neck, and passed through his left cheek, knocking out all his hind teeth on that side.

In the course of the campaign he was unjustly punished, by being brought to the halbert, under a charge of contumely to a British officer, where he received five hundred lashes. The officer being afterwards convinced of his cruel error, made every amend in his power to the maltreated Morgan; who, satisfied with the contrition evinced by the officer, magnanimously forgave him. Nor did the recollection of this personal outrage operate in the least to the prejudice of the British officers in the Revolutionary War. Many of them, as is well known, fell into the hands of Morgan, and invariably received from him compassionate and kind treatment.

The general would often, among his intimate friends, recur to this circumstance, the narrative whereof he generally concluded by saying, in a jocular way, that "King George was indebted to him one lash yet; for the drummer miscounted one, and he knew well when he did it; so that he only received four hundred and ninety-nine, when he promised him five hundred."

When he returned from Braddock's expedition he reassumed his former employment, and drove his own wagon. In a few years his previous savings, added to the little he earned in the campaign, enabled him to purchase a small tract of land from a Mr. Blackburn, in the county of Frederick, on which he erected a handsome mansion-house, with suitable accompanying improvements, and called it Saratoga, in commemoration of the signal victory obtained

by General Gates, to which he had himself principally contributed. On this farm Morgan, having married shortly after his return from his military tour, resided when the Revolutionary War broke out.

The smattering of experience gained during Braddock's expedition, pointed him out to the leading men of Frederick, as qualified to command the first company of riflemen raised in that county in defence of our country. He speedily completed his company, as all the finest youth of Frederick flocked to him; among whom was lieutenant, afterwards colonel, Heth, and many others, who in the course of the war became approved officers. With this company Morgan hastened to the American army encamped before Boston, in 1774, and soon afterwards was detached by the commander-in-chief under Arnold, in his memorable expedition against Quebec.

The bold and disastrous assault, planned and executed by the celebrated Montgomery against that city, gave opportunity for the display of heroism to individuals, and furnished cause of deep regret to the nation by the loss of the much beloved Montgomery. No officer more distinguished himself than did Captain Morgan. Arnold commanded the column to which Morgan was attached; but being disabled by a ball through his leg early in the action, he was carried off to a place of safety.

Our troops having lost their leader, each corps pressed forward as the example of its officer invited. Morgan took the lead, and preceded by sergeant, afterwards lieutenant-colonel, Porterfield (who unfortunately fell at the battle of Camden, when his life might have saved an army), mounted the first barrier; and, rushing forward, passed the second barrier, Lieutenant Heth and Sergeant Porterfield only before him. In this point of the assault, a group of noble spirits united in surmounting the obstacles opposed to their progress; among them was Greene and Thayer of Rhode Island, Hendricks of Pennsylvania, and Humphreys of Virginia; the two last of whom were killed.

Vain was this blaze of glory. Montgomery's fall stopped the further advance of the principal column of attack; and the severity of the raging

storm, the obstacles of nature and of art in our way, and the combined attack of the enemy's force, no longer divided by attention to the column of Montgomery, overpowered all resistance. Morgan (with most of the corps of Arnold) was taken, and experienced a different treatment from Sir Guy Carleton than was at that period customary for British officers to dispense to American prisoners. The kindness of Carleton, from motives of policy, applied more forcibly to the privates than to our officers, and produced a durable impression.

While Morgan was in confinement at Quebec, the following anecdote, told by himself, manifests the high opinion entertained by the enemy of his military talents from his conduct in this assault. He was visited occasionally by a British officer, to him unknown; but, from his uniform, he appeared to belong to the navy, and to be an officer of distinction. During one of his visits, after conversing upon many topics, "he asked Morgan if he did not begin to be convinced that the resistance of America was visionary? and he endeavored to impress him with the disastrous consequences which must infallibly ensue, if the idle attempt was persevered in, and very kindly exhorted him to renounce the ill-advised undertaking. He declared, with seeming sincerity and candor, his admiration of Morgan's spirit and enterprise, which he said was worthy of a better cause; and told him, if he would agree to withdraw from the American, and join the British standard, he was authorized to promise him the commission, rank, and emoluments of a colonel in the royal army." Morgan rejected the proposal with disdain; and concluded his reply, by observing, "that he hoped he would never again insult him in his distressed and unfortunate situation, by making him offers which plainly implied that he thought him a rascal." The officer withdrew, and the offer was never repeated.

As soon as our prisoners were exchanged, Morgan hastened to the army; and by the recommendations of General Washington, was appointed to the command of a regiment. In this station he acted under the commander-in-chief, in 1777, when a select rifle corps was formed out of the others in the army, and com-



mitted to his direction, seconded by Lieutenant-colonel Richard Butler, of Pennsylvania, and Major Morris, of New Jersey, two officers of high talents, and specially qualified for the enterprising service to which they were assigned. Morgan and his riflemen were singularly useful to Washington; but our loss of Ticonderoga, and the impetuous advance of Burgoyne, proclaimed so loudly the gloomy condition of our affairs in the North, that the general, who thought only of the public good, deprived himself of Morgan, and sent him to Gates, where he was persuaded his services were most required.

The splendid part he acted on that occasion, and how much his exertions contributed to the glorious triumph achieved afterwards, are circumstances generally known.

After the return of Morgan to the main army, he continued actively employed by the commander-in-chief, and never failed to promote the good of the service by his sagacity, his vigilance, and his perseverance. In 1780, his health became much impaired, and he obtained leave of absence, when he returned to his family in Frederick, where he continued until after the fall of Charleston.

When General Gates was called to the chief command in the South, he visited Morgan, and urged the colonel to accompany him. Morgan did not conceal his dissatisfaction at the treatment he had heretofore received, and proudly spoke of the important aid he had rendered him, and the ungrateful return he had experienced. Being some few weeks afterwards promoted by Congress to the rank of brigadier-general by brevet, with a view of detaching him to the South, he repaired to the army of Gates, but did not reach Carolina in time to take a part in the battle of Camden. He joined Gates at Hillsborough, and was sent under Smallwood to Salisbury, with all the force fitted for service. Gates, as soon as he had prepared the residue of his army, followed, and gave to Morgan, in his arrangements for the field, the command of the light troops.

Greene now arrived as the successor of Gates, which was followed by that distribution of his force which led to the battle of the Cowpens;

the influence of which was felt in every subsequent step of the war in the Carolinas.

Morgan's good conduct in the battle of Cowpens was appreciated by Congress, who honored him with a gold medal for his services on that memorable day.

Greene was now appointed to the command of the South. After the battle of the Cowpens, a controversy ensued between that general and Morgan, as to the route which the latter should observe in his retreat. He insisted on passing the mountains; a salutary precaution, if applied to himself, but which was at the same time fatal to the operations of Greene. He informed the general that if that route was denied him, he would not be responsible for the consequences. "Neither shall you," replied the restorer of the South; "I will assume them all on myself." Morgan continued in his command until the two divisions of the army united at Guilford court-house, when neither persuasion, entreaty, nor excitement could induce him to remain in the service any longer. He retired and devoted himself exclusively to the improvement of his farm and of his fortune.

He remained here, in the bosom of retirement, at Frederick, until he was summoned by President Washington to repress, by the force of the bayonet, the insurrection in the western counties of Pennsylvania. The executive of Virginia then detached Morgan to take the field, at the head of the militia of that State.

Upon the retreat of the main body, Morgan remained in the country of the insurgents until the ensuing spring, when he received orders from the President to withdraw. For the first time in his life, he now appears to have entertained ideas of political distinction. Baffled in his first attempt, he succeeded in his second, and was elected a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, for the district of Frederick. Having served out the constitutional term, he declined another election. His health being much impaired, and his constitution gradually sinking, he removed from Saratoga to the scene of his juvenile years, Berrysville (Battletown), and from thence to Winchester, where, in the year 1791, he closed his long, laborious, and useful life.



Brigadier Morgan was stout and active, six feet in height, strong, not too much encumbered with flesh, and was exactly fitted for the toils and pomp of war. His mind was discriminating and solid, but not comprehensive and combining. His manners plain and decorous, neither insinuating nor repulsive. His conversation grave, sententious, and considerate; unadorned and uncaptivating. He reflected deeply, spoke little, and executed with keen perseverance whatever he undertook. He was indulgent in his military command, preferring always the affection of his troops, to that dread and awe which surround the rigid disciplinarian.

---

[B.]

NATHAN HALE.

This celebrated youthful hero and martyr of the Revolutionary War, was a native of Coventry, in the State of Connecticut. He received his education at Yale College, where he graduated in 1773. The ardent glow of patriotic feeling, and the deep interest which he took in the cause of his injured country, induced him, at an early period in the Revolutionary War, to offer to it his services; and having obtained a commission, he entered the army in the capacity of captain in Colonel Knowlton's regiment of light-infantry.

The following narrative exhibits a case analogous to that of Major Andre, and surely while the Americans regret the fate of an enemy, the heroic sufferings of their own countrymen should not be forgotten or unlamented.

After the defeat the American arms sustained from the British on Long Island, August 27, 1776, General Washington called a council of war, who determined on an immediate retreat to New York, which was executed in a masterly style, as recorded in the text.

This retreat left the British in complete possession of Long Island. What would be their future operations remained uncertain. To obtain information of their strength, situation, and future movements, was of high importance. For this purpose, General Washington applied to Colonel Knowlton, who commanded a regi-

ment of light-infantry, which formed the van of the American army, and desired him to adopt some mode of gaining the necessary information. Colonel Knowlton communicated this request to Captain Nathan Hale, of Connecticut, who was then a captain in his regiment.

This young officer, animated by a sense of duty, and considering that an opportunity presented itself by which he might be useful to his country, at once offered himself a volunteer for this hazardous service. He passed in disguise to Long Island, examined every part of the British army, and obtained the best possible information respecting their situation and future operations.

In his attempt to return he was apprehended, carried before Sir William Howe, and the proof of his object was so clear, that he frankly acknowledged who he was, and what were his views.

Sir William Howe at once gave an order to the provost-marshal to execute him the next morning.

This order was accordingly executed in a most unfeeling manner, and by as great a savage as ever disgraced humanity. A clergyman, whose attendance he desired, was refused him; a Bible, for a few moments devotion, was not procured, although he requested it. Letters, which, on the morning of his execution, he wrote to his mother and other friends, were destroyed; and this very extraordinary reason given by the provost-marshal: "That the rebels should not know they had a man in their army who could die with so much firmness."

Unknown to all around him, without a single friend to offer him the least consolation, thus fell as amiable and as worthy a young man as America could boast, with this, as his dying observation: that "he only lamented that he had but one life to lose for his country."

Although the manner of this execution will ever be abhorred by every friend to humanity and religion, yet there cannot be a question but that the sentence was conformable to the rules of war and the practice of nations in similar cases.

It is, however, a justice due to the character of Captain Hale to observe, that his motives for engaging in this service were entirely different

from those which generally influence others in similar circumstances.

Neither expectation of promotion, nor pecuniary reward, induced him to this attempt. A sense of duty, a hope that he might in this way be useful to his country, and an opinion which he had adopted, that every kind of service necessary to the public good became honorable by being necessary; were the great motives which induced him to engage in an enterprise by which his connections lost a most amiable friend, and his country one of its most promising supporters.

The fate of this unfortunate young man excites the most interesting reflections.

To see such a character, in the flower of youth, cheerfully treading in the most hazardous paths, influenced by the purest intentions, and only emulous to do good to his country, without the imputation of a crime, fall a victim to policy, must have been wounding to the feelings even of his enemies.

Captain Hale possessed a fine genius, had received an excellent education, and disclosed high promise of future talents and usefulness. He was open, generous, and brave, and enthusiastic in the cause of liberty and his country, in which he had engaged, and for which he was destined to die an early martyr. The fate of Hale, it will be observed, was in almost every respect strikingly similar to that of Major Andre. As it respects character, qualifications, and personal interest, Hale would not suffer from a comparison with Andre. Yet, strange as it may seem, the fate of Andre, even in America, has been universally lamented, and his memory universally respected; whilst it is scarcely known that there was ever such a man as Nathan Hale. Andre has had a monument erected to his memory by his country, and the most distinguished honors and rewards conferred upon his family; but what has our country done for the memory of Hale? No stone, however humble, has been erected to it; no memorial has rescued it from oblivion; and no inscription has preserved his ashes from insult:

Thus, while fond Virtue wished in vain to save,  
HALE, bright and generous, found a hapless grave.

With genius' living flame his bosom glowed,  
And Science charmed him to her sweet abode.  
In worth's fair path his feet had ventured far,  
The pride of peace, the rising grace of war.  
In duty firm, in danger calm as even,  
To friends unchanging, and sincere to Heaven.  
How short his course, the prize, how early won,  
While weeping Friendship mourns her favorite gone.

---

[C.]

COLONEL KNOWLTON.

Thomas Knowlton, a brave and distinguished officer in the Revolutionary army, was a native of Ashford, Connecticut. He was among the first who rallied around the standard of independence, giving the country that warlike attitude so necessary to sustain it. At the battle of Long Island, and in the memorable retreat of the American army to New York, in August, 1776, he commanded a regiment of light-infantry, which formed the van of the American army. It was Colonel Knowlton, to whom General Washington applied to devise some mode of obtaining information of the strength and future movements of the British army. Colonel Knowlton communicated the views and wishes of the commander-in-chief to Captain Nathan Hale, an officer in his regiment, and whose ardent patriotism, and bold adventurous spirit, were well known. Captain Hale, as has already been mentioned in the preceding document, immediately offered himself a volunteer in this difficult and hazardous enterprise. He fell a martyr to the liberties of his country, and no officer in the American army lamented his early fall more than Colonel Knowlton. He, however, did not long survive his young friend Hale. In September, 1776, a skirmish took place between two battalions of light-infantry and Highlanders, commanded by Brigadier-general Leslie, and some detachments from the American army, under the command of Colonel Knowlton, and Major Leitch, of Virginia. The colonel was killed, and the major badly wounded. The officers and men fought with great bravery, and fairly beat their adversaries from the field. Thus fell the brave Colonel Knowlton, who had early embarked in the Revolutionary contest, and sacrificed his life for his country.



## CHAPTER VIII.

1776.

### WASHINGTON'S MASTERLY RETREAT THROUGH THE JERSEYS.

State of affairs after the fall of Forts Washington and Lee.—Washington's letter on the subject.—Position of the army.—Prospects.—Washington's firmness.—Reinforcements ordered from Schuylcr, Lee, and Mercer.—Capture of Rhode Island.—Washington takes post at Newark.—Mifflin sent to Pennsylvania, and Reed to the government of New Jersey, to seek aid.—Lee ordered to join him.—Insurrection in Monmouth county.—Conversation between Washington and Reed.—Washington's constancy and indomitable perseverance.—Maryland and Jersey troops leave the army.—Vain attempts to supply their places.—Cornwallis advances.—Washington retires to Trenton.—Sends his stores and baggage over the Delaware.—Want of cavalry, artillery, and supplies.—Disaffection of the Jerseymen.—Proclamation of the Howes.—Washington's firmness.—Sends a detachment to Princeton.—Remonstrances of Washington to Congress on short enlistments.—Mifflin obtains soldiers in Philadelphia.—Washington's march towards Princeton.—Cornwallis advances and attempts to surround him.—Washington crosses the Delaware.—Cornwallis threatens to follow.—He is deterred by the menacing front of Washington on the river.—Exertions to raise troops.—Capture of Lee.—Its effect.—Gates and Sullivan join Washington.—The British army go into cantonments for the winter.—Washington places a force at Morristown.—Howe's measures examined.—Washington's superior generalship.

WE left Washington at Hackensack, having just witnessed the capture of Forts Washington and Lee. In a letter to his brother, John Augustine Washington, dated Hackensack, November 19, 1776, we find his commentary on the recent disaster, and a vivid account of his difficult position in one of the darkest periods of the Revolutionary War. "This is a most unfortunate affair," he writes, "and has given me great mortification, as we have lost not only two thousand men that were there, but a good deal of artillery, and some of the best arms we had. And what adds to my mortification is, that this post, after the last ships went past it, was held contrary to my wishes and opinions, as I conceived it to be a hazardous one; but, it having been determined on by a full council of general officers, and a resolution of Congress having been received strongly expressive of their desire, that the channel of the river, which we had been laboring to stop for a long time at that place, might be obstructed if possible; and knowing that this could not be done, unless there were batteries to protect the obstruction, I did not care to give an absolute order for withdrawing the garrison, till I could get round and see the situation of things, and then it became too late, as the fort was invested. Upon the passing of the last ships, I had given it as my opinion to General



Greene, under whose care it was, that it would be best to evacuate the place; but, as the order was discretionary, and his opinion differed from mine, it unhappily was delayed too long, to my great grief; as I think General Howe, considering his army and ours, would have but a poor tale to tell without it, and would have found it difficult, unless some southern expedition may prove successful, to reconcile the people of England to the conquest of a few pitiful islands, none of which were defensible, considering the great number of their ships, and the power they have by sea to surround and render them unapproachable.

"It is a matter of great grief and surprise to me, to find the different States so slow and inattentive to that essential business of levying their quotas of men. In ten days from this date, there will not be above two thousand men, if that number, of the fixed established regiments on this side of Hudson River to oppose Howe's whole army, and very little more on the other to secure the eastern colonies, and the important passes through the Highlands to Albany, and the country about the lakes. In short, it is impossible for me, in the compass of a letter, to give you any idea of our situation, of my difficulties, and of the constant perplexities and mortifications I meet with, derived from the unhappy policy of short enlistments, and delaying them too long. Last fall, or winter, before the army which was then to be raised, was set about, I rep-

resented in clear and explicit terms, the evils which would arise from short enlistments, the expenses which must attend the raising an army every year, the futility of such an army when raised; and, if I had spoken with a prophetic spirit, I could not have foretold the evils with more accuracy than I did. All the year since, I have been pressing Congress to delay no time in engaging men upon such terms as would insure success, telling them that the longer it was delayed the more difficult it would prove. But the measure was not commenced till it was too late to be effected, and then in such a manner as to bid adieu to every hope of getting an army, from which any services are to be expected; the different States, without regard to the qualifications of an officer, quarrelling about the appointments, and nominating such as are not fit to be shoeblacks, from the local attachments of this or that member of assembly.

"I am wearied almost to death with the retrograde motion of things, and I solemnly protest, that a pecuniary reward of twenty thousand pounds a year would not induce me to undergo what I do; and, after all, perhaps to lose my character, as it is impossible, under such a variety of distressing circumstances, to conduct matters agreeably to public expectation, or even to the expectation of those who employ me, as they will not make proper allowances for the difficulties their own errors have occasioned."

After crossing the Hackensack, Washington posted his troops along the west-

ern bank of that river, but was unable to dispute its passage. At the head of about three thousand effectives, exposed, without tents, in an inclement season, he was in a level country, without a single intrenching tool, among people far from being zealous in the American cause. In other respects this situation was dangerous. The Passaic, in his rear, after running several miles nearly parallel to the Hackensack, unites with that river below the ground occupied by the Americans, who were consequently still exposed to the hazard of being inclosed between two rivers.

This gloomy state of things was not brightened by the prospect before him. In casting his eyes around, no cheering object presented itself. No confidence could be placed on receiving reinforcements from any quarter. But, in no situation could Washington despond. His exertions to collect an army, and to impede the progress of his enemy, were perseveringly continued. Understanding that Sir Guy Carleton no longer threatened Ticonderoga, he directed

1776. General Schuyler to hasten the troops of Pennsylvania and Jersey to his assistance, and ordered Lee to cross the North River, and be in readiness to join him, should the enemy continue the campaign. But, under the influence of the same fatal cause which had acted elsewhere, these armies too were melting away, and would soon be almost totally dissolved. General Mercer, who commanded a part of the flying camp stationed about Bergen, was also

called in; but these troops had engaged to serve only till the 1st of December, and, like the other six months' men, had already abandoned the army in great numbers. No hope existed of retaining the remnant after they should possess a legal right to be discharged; and there was not much probability of supplying their places with other militia. To New England he looked with anxious hope; and his requisitions on those States received prompt attention. Six thousand militia from Massachusetts, and a considerable body from Connecticut, were ordered to his assistance; but some delay in assembling them was unavoidable, and their march was arrested by the appearance of the enemy in their immediate neighborhood.

Three thousand men, conducted by Sir Henry Clinton, who were embarked on board a fleet commanded by Sir Peter Parker, sailed late in November from New York, and, without much opposition, took possession of Newport. This invasion excited serious alarm in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and these States retained for their own defence, the militia who had been embodied at the instance of the commander-in-chief.\*

---

\* This loss was a very serious one, as well from the situation of the province, as because the American squadron, under Commodore Hopkins, was compelled to withdraw as far up the Providence River as it was practicable, and to continue there blocked up and useless for a long time. Two pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the enemy; but they made few prisoners. The conquest of Rhode Island was of great utility for their ulterior operations: from this province they could harass Massachusetts; and the reinforcements that General Lincoln had assembled with the intention of conducting them to the



Not intending to maintain his present position, Washington had placed some regiments along the Hackensack to afford the semblance of defending its passage until his stores could be removed; and, with the residue of the troops, crossed the Passaic, and took post at Newark. Soon after he had marched, Major-general Vaughan appeared before the new bridge over the Hackensack. The American detachment which had been left in the rear, being unable to defend it, broke it down, and retired before him over the Passaic.

Having entered the open country, Washington determined to halt a few days on the south side of this river, make some show of resistance, and endeavor to collect such a force as would keep up the semblance of an army. His letters, not having produced such exertions as the public exigencies required, he deputed General Mifflin\* to the government of Pennsylvania, and Colonel Reed,† his adjutant-general, to the government of New Jersey, with orders to represent the real situation of the army, and the certainty that, without great reinforcements, Philadelphia must fall into the hands of the enemy, and the State of Jersey be overrun.

While thus endeavoring to strengthen

himself with militia, he pressed Lee to hasten his march, and cautioned him to keep high enough up the country to avoid the enemy, who, having got possession of the mail containing one of his late letters, would certainly endeavor to prevent the junction of the two armies.

This perilous state of things was rendered still more critical by indications of an insurrection in the county of Monmouth, in Jersey, where great numbers favored the royal cause. In other places, too, a hostile temper was displayed, and an indisposition to further resistance began to be manifested throughout that State. These appearances obliged him to make detachments from the militia of his army, to overawe the disaffected of Monmouth, who were on the point of assembling in force.

When Washington retreated to Newark, says Gordon, his whole force consisted of not more than three thousand five hundred men. He considered the cause in the greatest danger; and said to Colonel Reed: "Should we retreat to the back parts of Pennsylvania, will the Pennsylvanians support us?" The colonel answered, "If the lower counties are subdued, and give up, the back counties will do the same." The general passed his hand over his throat, and said: "My neck does not feel as though it was made for a halter. We must retire to Augusta county, in Virginia. Numbers will be obliged to repair to us for safety; and we must try what we can do in carrying on a preda-

army of Washington, were detained in that province, to observe General Clinton, and prevent him from disturbing its tranquillity. Even Connecticut shared the alarm, and retained the reinforcements it was upon the point of sending.

\* See Document [A] at the end of this chapter.

† See Document [B] at the end of this chapter.



tory war: and if overpowered, we must cross the Alleghany Mountains." This indomitable spirit,—this immovable constancy of Washington,—this determination to hold out till not an inch of ground should be left to stand upon in the whole continent, strongly reminds us of the determination of the celebrated Prince of Orange, in the same circumstances, "to die in the last ditch."

As the British army crossed the Passaic, Washington abandoned his position behind that river; and the day Lord Cornwallis entered Newark, he retreated to Brunswick, a small village on the Raritan.

At this place, the levies drawn from Maryland and Jersey to compose the flying-camp, became entitled to their discharge. No remonstrances could detain them; and he sustained the mortification of seeing his feeble army still more enfeebled by being entirely abandoned by these troops, in the face of an advancing enemy. The Pennsylvania militia belonging to the flying-camp were engaged to serve till the 1st of January. So many of them deserted, that it was deemed necessary to place guards on the roads, and ferries over the Delaware, to apprehend and send them back to camp. The governor of New Jersey was again pressed for assistance, but it was not in his power to furnish the aid required. The well-affected part of the lower country was overawed by the British army; and the militia of Morris and Sussex came out slowly and reluctantly.

While at Brunswick, attempts were made to retard the advance of the British army by movements indicating an intention to act on the 1776. offensive; but this feint was unavailing. Lord Cornwallis continued to press forward; and, as his advanced guards showed themselves on the opposite side of the bridge, General Washington evacuated the town, and marched through Princeton to Trenton. Directions had already been given to collect all the boats on the Delaware, from Philadelphia upwards for seventy miles, in the hope that the progress of the enemy might be stopped at this river; and that, in the mean time, reinforcements might arrive which would enable him to dispute its passage.

Having, with great labor, transported the few remaining military stores and baggage over the Delaware, Washington determined to remain as long as possible on the northern banks of that river.

The army which was thus pressed slowly through the Jerseys, was aided by no other cavalry than a small corps of badly-mounted Connecticut militia, commanded by Major Sheldon; and was almost equally destitute of artillery. Its numbers, at no time during the retreat, exceeded four thousand men, and on reaching the Delaware, was reduced to less than three thousand; of whom, not quite one thousand were militia of New Jersey. Even among the continental troops there were many whose term of service was about to expire.

Its defectiveness of numbers did not constitute its only weakness. The regulars were badly armed, worse clad, and almost destitute of tents, blankets, or utensils for dressing their food. They were composed chiefly of the garrison of Fort Lee, and had been obliged to evacuate that place with too much precipitation to bring with them even those few articles of comfort and accommodation with which they had been furnished. Washington found himself at the head of this small band of soldiers, dispirited by their losses and fatigues, retreating almost naked and barefooted, in the cold of November and December, before a numerous, well-appointed, and victorious army, through a desponding country, much more disposed to obtain safety by submission, than to seek it by a manly resistance.

In this crisis of American affairs, a proclamation was issued by Lord and General Howe, as commissioners appointed on the part of the crown for restoring peace to America, commanding all persons assembled in arms against his majesty's government, to disband and return to their homes; and all civil officers to desist from their treasonable practices, and relinquish their usurped authority. A full pardon was offered to every person who would, within sixty days, appear before certain civil or military officers of the crown, claim the benefit of that proclamation, and testify his obedience to the laws by subscribing a declaration of his submission to the royal authority.

Copies of it were dispersed through the country, after which numbers flocked in daily, to make their peace and obtain protection. The contrast between the splendid appearance of the pursuing army, and that of the ragged Americans who were flying before them, could not fail to nourish the general opinion that the contest was approaching its termination.

Among the many valuable traits in the character of Washington, was that unyielding firmness of mind which resisted these accumulated circumstances of depression, and supported him under them. Undismayed by the dangers which surrounded him, he did not for an instant relax his exertions, nor omit any thing which could obstruct the progress of the enemy, or improve his own condition. He did not appear to despair of the public safety, but struggled against adverse fortune with the hope of yet vanquishing the difficulties which surrounded him; and constantly showed himself to his harassed and enfeebled army, with a serene, unembarrassed countenance, betraying no fears in himself, and invigorating and inspiring with confidence the bosoms of others. To this unconquerable firmness, to this perfect self-possession under the most desperate circumstances, is America, in a great degree, indebted for her independence.\*

After removing his baggage and stores over the Delaware, and sending

---

\* Marshall, *Life of Washington*.



his sick to Philadelphia (December 6), Washington, finding that Lord Cornwallis still continued in Brunswick, detached twelve hundred <sup>1776.</sup> men to Princeton, in the hope that this appearance of advancing on the British might not only retard their progress, but cover a part of the country, and reanimate the people of Jersey.

Some portion of this short respite from laborious service was devoted to the predominant wish of his heart—preparations for the next campaign—by impressing on Congress a conviction of the real causes of the present calamitous state of things. The abandonment of the army by whole regiments of the flying-camp, in the face of an advancing and superior enemy; and the impracticability of calling out the militia of Jersey and Pennsylvania, in sufficient force to prevent Lord Cornwallis from overrunning the first State, or restrain him from entering the last, had it not been saved by other causes, were practical lessons on the subjects of enlistments for a short time, and a reliance on militia, which no prejudice could disregard, and which could not fail to add great weight to the remonstrances formerly made to Congress by Washington, which were now repeated.

The exertions of General Mifflin to raise the militia of Pennsylvania, though unavailing in the country, were successful in Philadelphia. A large proportion of the inhabitants of that city capable of bearing arms, had associated for the general defence; and, on this occa-

sion, fifteen hundred of them marched to Trenton; to which place a German battalion was also ordered by Congress. On the arrival of these troops, Washington commenced his march to Princeton, but was stopped by the intelligence that Lord Cornwallis, having received large reinforcements, was advancing rapidly from Brunswick by different routes, and endeavoring to gain his rear.

On receiving this intelligence, he crossed the Delaware, and posted his army in such a manner as to <sup>1776.</sup> guard the fords. As his rear passed the river, the van of the British army appeared in sight. The main body took post at Trenton, and detachments were placed both above and below, while small parties, without interruption from the people of the country, reconnoitered the Delaware for a considerable distance. From Bordentown below Trenton the course of the river turns westward, and forms an acute angle with its course from Philadelphia to that place; so that Lord Cornwallis might cross a considerable distance above, and be not much, if any, further from that city than the American army.

The British general made some unsuccessful attempts to seize a number of boats guarded by Lord Stirling, about Coryell's Ferry;\* and, in order to facili-

\* Cornwallis was generally rapid enough in his movements when acting on his own responsibility; but on this occasion the slow and cautious habits of his superior, General Howe, seem to have infected him. He should have overtaken Washington before he reached the Delaware. At this time, if we may believe Gordon, a very



tate his movements down the river, on the Jersey shore, repaired the bridges below Trenton, which had been broken down by order of Washington. He then advanced a strong detachment to Bordentown, giving indications of an intention to cross the Delaware at the same time above and below; and either to march in two columns to Philadel-

slight circumstance saved the American army. He says that Lord Cornwallis, who halted with the rear division within six miles of Trenton, intended sending over a body of men very early the next morning, near two miles below Coryell's Ferry, and got the troops in readiness, and the artillery prepared to cover the landing; for in that place it was only four-and-twenty rods to a spit of sand on the Pennsylvania side, on which a sufficient number were to have landed, and then to have marched up to Coryell's Ferry, and to have taken the boats that had been collected there by the Americans, and left under a guard of only ten men; with them it was meant to carry over the main body. In the vicinity of this place, a large sunken Durham boat (which came down three days before, laden with flour, and which could carry one hundred men) lay concealed under a bank. This had been discovered and taken away by Mr. Mersereau, so that the British were disappointed in their expectation of finding it. They hailed one Thomson, a Quaker, who lived on the other side of the Delaware, and inquired what was become of the boat, and were answered it was carried off. They continued reconnoitering up and down the river till ten o'clock; but finding no boats, returned to Penntown (Pennington). Men had been employed in time for taking off all the boats from the Jersey side of the Delaware; but Mr. Mersereau's attention would not admit of his confiding wholly in their care and prudence. He therefore went up the river to examine whether all the boats were really carried off or destroyed; upon discovering the above-mentioned sunken one, which had escaped the observation of the men, and inquiring of a person in the neighborhood concerning her, he was told that she was an old one and good for nothing; but not relying upon the information, he found her to be new, had the water bailed out, and sent her off. The importance of this affair to the Americans prevents the relation of it from being trifling. Had Lord Cornwallis crossed into Pennsylvania as he proposed, the consequence would probably have been fatal to the Americans.

phia, or completely to envelop the American army in the angle of the river. To counteract this plan, Washington stationed a few galleys to watch the movements of his enemy below, and aid in repelling any effort to pass over to the Pennsylvania shore; and made such a disposition of his little army as to guard against any attempt to force a passage above, which he believed to be the real design.

Having made his arrangements, he waited anxiously for reinforcements; and, in the mean time, sent daily parties over the river to harass the enemy, and to observe his situation.

The utmost exertions were made by government to raise the militia. In the hope that a respectable body of continental troops would aid these exertions, Washington had directed Gates, with the regulars of the northern army, and Heath, with those at Peekskill, to march to his assistance.

Although General Lee had been repeatedly urged to join the commander-in-chief, he proceeded slowly in the execution of these orders, manifesting a strong disposition to retain his separate command, and rather to hang on, and threaten the rear of the British army, than to strengthen that in its front.\* With this view he proposed establishing himself at Morristown. On receiving a letter from Washington disapproving

\* Lee's real object was to have the credit of driving the British out of "the Jerseys;" and to contrast this success with Washington's retreat, for "alterior purposes."

this proposition, and urging him to hasten his march, Lee still avowed a preference for his own plan, and proceeded reluctantly towards the Delaware. While passing through Morris county, at the distance of twenty miles from the British encampment, he, very incautiously, quartered under a slight guard, in a house about three miles from his army. Information of this circumstance was given by a countryman to Colonel Harcourt, at that time detached with a body of cavalry to watch his movements, who immediately formed and executed the design of seizing him. Early in the morning of the 12th of December, this officer reached Lee's quarters, who received no intimation of his danger until the house was surrounded, and he found himself a prisoner. He was carried off in triumph to the British army, where he was, for some time, treated as a deserter from the British service.

This misfortune made a serious impression on all America. The confidence originally placed in General Lee had been increased by his success in the southern department, and by a belief that his opinions, during the military operations in New York, had contributed to the adoption of those judicious movements which had, in some measure, defeated the plans of General Howe in that quarter. It was also believed that he had dissented from the resolution of the council of war for maintaining Forts Washington and Lee. No officer, except the commander-in-chief, possessed,

at that time, in so eminent a degree, the confidence of the army, or of the country; and his loss was, almost universally, bewailed as one of the greatest calamities which had befallen the American arms. It was regretted by no person more than by Washington himself. He respected the merit of that eccentric veteran, and sincerely lamented his captivity. The British were greatly elated at Lee's capture, esteeming it equal to a victory, and declaring that they had taken the palladium of America.

General Sullivan,\* who, on the 4th of September, had been exchanged for General Prescott, and on whom the command of that division devolved after the capture of Lee, promptly obeyed the orders which had been directed to that officer; and, crossing the Delaware at Philipsburg, joined the commander-in-chief. On the same day General Gates arrived with a few northern troops. By these and other reinforcements, the army was augmented to about seven thousand effective men.

Congress, on the 12th of December, the same day that Lee was captured, removed its sittings to Baltimore, where they waited anxiously but firmly the progress of affairs.

The attempts of the British general to get possession of boats for the transportation of his army over the Delaware having failed, he gave indications of an intention to close the campaign, and to retire into winter quarters.

---

\* See Document [C] at the end of this chapter.



About four thousand men were cantoned on the Delaware—at Trenton, Bordentown, the White Horse, and Mount Holly; and the remaining part of the army of Jersey was distributed from that river to the Hackensack. Strong corps were posted at Princeton, Brunswick, and Elizabethtown.

To intimidate the people, and thereby impede the recruiting service, was believed to be no inconsiderable inducement with General Howe, for covering so large a portion of Jersey. To counteract these views, Washington ordered three of the regiments from Peekskill to halt at Morristown, and to unite with about eight hundred militia assembled at that place under Colonel Ford. General Maxwell was sent to take command of these troops, with orders to watch the motions of the enemy, to harass him in his marches, to give intelligence of all his movements, to keep up the spirits of the militia, and to prevent the inhabitants from going within the British lines, and taking protection.

The short interval between this cantonment of the British troops, and the recommencement of active operations, was employed by Washington in repeating the representations he had so often made to Congress, respecting preparations for the ensuing campaign.

General Howe, as an English writer remarks, has been severely censured for not pressing the pursuit of the Americans with more activity, and over-

whelming Washington before he found refuge behind the Delaware. Probably, however, the censure is not quite just, although it may be regarded as certain that the delay of the British force proved the salvation of the American army. Howe's conduct was marked by cool prudence rather than by daring enterprise or unwary impetuosity. He was on the whole as successful as any other British general during the war, and he exposed himself to none of those disasters which fell upon others of his compeers.

But however this may be, it is undoubtedly true that Washington gave evidence of superior generalship in this retreat through the Jerseys; and not only superior qualities as a commander-in-chief, but also of possessing the higher and nobler endowments of the most exalted patriotism. Painful, indeed, is it to see what trials, and perplexities, and humiliations waited upon his every step, and how his soul was racked with the cares and burdens laid upon him. But trials are not sent without design. Washington was formed of that material which is purified and strengthened by trial. Bravely did he endure; profoundly learned and wise did he become by endurance; and no man of his day ever attained such vast influence as he did by the irrefragable proofs which he exhibited of the purity, integrity, and decision of his character and conduct.\*

\* Spencer, *History of the United States*.



## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER VIII.

---

[A.]

GENERAL MIFFLIN.

THIS officer, who began his service as aid to Washington, rose subsequently to very high promotion, both military and civil. He was a Pennsylvanian, and was born in the year 1744, of parents who were Quakers. His education was intrusted to the care of the Reverend Dr. Smith, with whom he was connected in habits of cordial intimacy and friendship for more than forty years. Active and zealous, he engaged early in opposition to the measures of the British parliament. He was a member of the first Congress in 1774. He took arms, and was among the first officers commissioned on the organization of the continental army, being appointed quartermaster-general in August, 1775. For this offence he was read out of the Society of Quakers. In 1777, he was very useful in animating the militia, and rekindling the spirit which seemed to have been damped. His sanguine disposition and his activity rendered him insensible to the value of that coolness and caution, which were essential to the preservation of such an army as was then under the command of Washington. In 1777, Mifflin, unfortunately for his future fame, took a prominent part in the "Conway Cabal," of which an account will be found in another part of this work. In 1787, he was a member of the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, and his signature is affixed to that instrument. In October, 1788, he succeeded Franklin as president of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, in which station he continued till October, 1790. In September a constitution for this State was formed by a convention in which he presided, and he was chosen the first

governor. In 1794, during the insurrection in Pennsylvania, he employed, to the advantage of his country, the extraordinary powers of elocution, with which he was endowed. The imperfection of the militia laws was compensated by his eloquence. He made a circuit through the lower counties, and, at different places, publicly addressed the militia on the crisis in the affairs of their country, and through his animating exhortations, the State furnished the quota required. He was succeeded in the office of governor by Mr. McKean, at the close of the year 1799. He died at Lancaster, January 20, 1800, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. He was an active and zealous patriot, who devoted much of his life to the public service.

---

[B.]

GENERAL REED.

As this officer's character and conduct have been the subject of much controversy, we give a rather extended biographical notice of him; and for the same reason, we avoid mentioning his misunderstanding with Washington in the text.

Joseph Reed was born at Trenton, in New Jersey, in August, 1741; but while yet an infant, was removed with his father's family to Philadelphia; at the Academy in which city he received his boyish education. He was subsequently graduated at Princeton College; read law under Richard Stockton, and after his admission to the bar, in 1763, passed two years in London, in the completion of his professional studies. The relations between the mother country and her offspring were already becoming involved; the West India Bill and the

stamp-act had been added to the series of oppressions which gradually undermined the loyalty of America; and the discontent was steadily growing up, which, ten years later, became rebellion. Reed's residence in England was eventful to him in more ways than one. He there formed an attachment to the lady whom he afterwards married, the daughter of Dennis de Berdt, at a later period agent of Massachusetts; and he there also made, in the person of her brother, an acquaintance whose agency led to some of the most important transactions of his life. In 1770, he revisited England to bring home his bride, and then settled and resumed the practice of the law in Philadelphia.

In 1772, upon the resignation of Lord Hillsborough, the Earl of Dartmouth succeeded to the colonial office. Between him and the elder De Berdt, there had existed a friendship which, after his death, was continued to his son; and, at the instance of the latter, an intimation was conveyed to Reed that a correspondence upon the condition and wants of the colonies, with one free from interested views, would be agreeable to the minister. Entertaining the good opinion, at that time prevalent, with regard to Lord Dartmouth, Reed undertook the delicate and responsible task, with a full sense of its difficulties, but with the conviction that an opportunity of conveying correct information to such a quarter was not to be lost. The curse of the country had been the falsehoods of its governors; it remained to be seen if truth could yet be made to penetrate the ears of their masters. Of the correspondence which followed, we hazard nothing in saying that it is among the most valuable contributions to American history yet presented. Reed's position in life, and his intimacy with the leading characters, not only of Pennsylvania, but of other States, gave him access to sound intelligence. He belonged to the class who, resolutely determined to resist even unto rebellion every invasion of the constitutional rights of the provinces, entertained, as yet, no disposition to loosen their connection with Great Britain; and had endeavored rather to procure retraction from the latter than to stimulate excitement in the former.

From such a man Lord Dartmouth might expect to hear the truth. It was not Reed's fault if it was disregarded. The letters commence with the 22d of December, 1773, and close with the 10th of February, 1775. Their tone, from the relations of the writer to the person addressed, as may be supposed, is guarded, yet it is impossible not to be struck with their force as well as their elegance. They paint, in language which should have been convincing, the spirit of the people, and the dangers of the course so blindly entered upon and so obstinately followed by the ministry. The last letter narrated the proceedings of the Provincial Convention of January, 1775. It closed with the ominous declaration that "this country will be deluged in blood before it will submit to any other taxation than by their own legislature." A few weeks after and Lexington and Concord had sealed that assertion. From Lord Dartmouth himself there is but one letter. It is dated July 11th, 1774. Of the justice of the two causes, we can point to no better illustrations than that and Reed's of September 25th, in reply. This correspondence, added to Reed's connection with an English family, were the cause of many suspicions on the part of those who could not know its character. Its publication must dissipate all such ideas of the views he entertained at this time, and upon his sincerity of patriotism subsequently, we apprehend there can be no shadow of doubt.

The insight of the politics of Pennsylvania during this period, furnished by the connecting narrative of the author, is particularly valuable. The causes which prevented her, at the outset of the contest with Great Britain, from taking the bold and decided stand in vindication of colonial rights, and from putting forth those strong assertions of the doctrines of liberty, upon which some of her sisters ventured, and the laborious efforts by which those influences were counteracted and destroyed, are pointed out with clearness and vigor. Towards the result, as it seems to us, no man contributed more than Reed. We pass to the commencement of his military life.

On Washington's departure in June, 1775, to take charge of the army, Reed accompanied



him to Boston, and while there was offered and accepted the post of aid to the commander-in-chief. To one of his friends, who remonstrated with him on the danger of the step, he made the characteristic reply: "I have no inclination to be hanged for half-treason. When a subject draws his sword against his prince, he must cut his way through if he means afterwards to sit down in safety. I have taken too active a part in what may be called the civil part of opposition, to renounce without disgrace the public cause, when it seems to lead to danger, and have a most sovereign contempt for the man who can plan measures he has not spirit to execute." It was upon the urgent solicitation of Washington himself that he was induced to remain. The sacrifice, it may be imagined, was a great one to a young man with narrow means, just entering upon a lucrative practice, and leaving behind him a wife and two infant children, but it was made without a murmur, and the author proudly adds, as the due of a woman of the Revolution, that "the young mother did her absent patriot full justice, by her fortitude and cheerful acquiescence in his thus following the path of honor and public duty." The relations between the commander-in-chief and Reed, were henceforth of the most intimate nature. The expressions of Washington's esteem for his merits, and dependence on his assistance, are constant and warm. Reed was, in fact, the confidential secretary as well as the aid, and his pen was employed in the preparation of many of the most important dispatches of this campaign.

The siege of Boston is truly characterized as one of the most remarkable incidents of the war. Between the renown of Bunker Hill, and the disasters of Long Island, few persons sufficiently consider the generalship which there, in the face of a powerful and disciplined foe, organized, disciplined, and disbanded one army, and raised and equipped another; few know the difficulties undergone from want of arms and necessaries, and the fatal systems of short terms, or appreciate how entirely it was by compulsion that Washington deserved the attributes of Fabius.

In October, Reed was forced to return to

Philadelphia, where he remained during the ensuing winter, actively engaged, however, in political affairs.

Reed, who was chairman of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, in January, 1776, was elected to the Assembly, where he took a conspicuous part in the debates, and was especially instrumental in procuring one great step towards the redress of grievances complained of by the people in enlarging the number of representatives. The winter, however, had passed over without any definite result, and Reed was contemplating a return to the army, when the news of the evacuation of Boston reached Philadelphia.

The event gave a new impulse to the Revolutionary party in Pennsylvania, as elsewhere. On the first of May, the election for the additional members of Assembly took place, which, except in the city, resulted in the triumph of the whigs. The fate of the old charter was sealed.

On the 10th, John Adams brought forward in Congress his resolution recommending the remodelling by the States of their governments, and speedily followed it up by the report of the committee to whom the subject was referred. A meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia immediately decided upon calling a convention, to take the sense of the people upon the continuance of the charter. The friends of the existing order of things struggled against the movement in vain. The Assembly, which met again on the 20th, was left constantly without a quorum until the 5th of June, when the Virginia Resolutions, instructing their delegates in Congress to vote for independence, were presented to it. On the 8th, a compromise committee, to whom they were referred, of which Reed was a member, reported, the result being, as was expected, only to recommend the rescinding the instructions to the Pennsylvania delegates of the year before. The effect was, however, produced. "Of the seven Pennsylvania delegates in Congress, on the vote of the 1st of July, in committee of the whole, three voted for independence and four against it; and on the 4th, two of those who voted adversely to independence being absent, the vote of Pennsylvania was accidentally, and by a majority of one, given in



its favor." Thus hardly was that declaration secured, which she afterwards so nobly sustained.

The Assembly was now a nullity. On the 23d of September it met again; on the 26th, twenty-three members only being present, it passed its last vote, denouncing the convention, and adjourned forever. Thus ended the charter government of Pennsylvania. The new constitution was proclaimed on the 28th of September, and on the 28th of November, the government was organized by the meeting of the Assembly.

In June, Reed joined the army, then at New York. Early in that month, Congress, at the instance of the commander-in-chief, had appointed him to the post of adjutant-general, vacant by the promotion of General Gates, and from thenceforward he was constantly in active service.

On the 10th of July, independence was proclaimed at camp, and a few days afterwards Lord Howe arrived, bringing his plan of reconciliation. Like every other retraction or overture of Great Britain, it came too late. The Declaration had thrown an insurmountable obstacle in its way. That the terms themselves would have been declined, even if the point of form had not been raised, is certain enough,—but that it would have led to results important to the relations of the colonies, is not less so. Many of the most distinguished patriots had, up to the time of the declaration, considered the step premature; many even preferred a continuance of the connection, could it be maintained with honor. New England was, in fact, the only section originally bent upon independence, and it had been her pertinacity, aided by that of a few Southern spirits, who went before their constituents, which forced it on.

Lord Howe, who had neglected no means of securing success to his mission, had furnished himself with an urgent recommendation from Mr. de Berdt, Reed's brother-in-law, which he transmitted to camp, and which Reed forthwith sent to Robert Morris, in Congress. Between him and Morris there seems to have been, as regarded national affairs, not only an entire harmony of friendship, but a perfect unanimity of

opinion. His letter to that statesman, and the answer, now for the first time published, strikingly illustrate the characters of the two, and the opinions of a great and influential division of the patriots. Our space will ill allow us to make extracts, but this one sentiment in Morris's letter, in unison as it was with his friend's views, cannot be too often repeated or imitated: "I cannot," he says, "depart from one point which first induced me to enter the public line. I mean an opinion that it is the duty of every individual to act his part in whatever station his country may call him to, in times of difficulty, danger, and distress. Whilst I think this a duty, I must submit, although the councils of America have taken a different course from my judgment and wishes. I think that the individual who declines the service of his country because its councils are not conformable to his ideas, makes but a bad subject; a good one will follow, if he cannot lead."

The letter from Mr. de Berdt of course led to nothing; but Reed was present at all the interviews with the officers sent by Lord Howe to the commander-in-chief. The mission, it need not be said, proved utterly abortive. Its preliminaries were embarrassed by the absurd refusal of Lord Howe to recognize Washington by his military title, and its powers extended no further than the granting of pardons. It served, to a certain extent, perhaps, to satisfy individuals that their rights could only be secured by the sword; on the other hand, it created in the camp a feeling of uncertainty, little favorable to discipline. All doubts, however, as to negotiation, were soon dispelled.

On the 22d of August, General Howe landed at Gravesend, and the war recommenced, and in earnest. The second attempt at negotiation, made after the battle of Long Island, in which rank was waived on both sides, was as futile. Mr. W. B. Reed's narrative of that battle, and the operations which preceded and followed it, contains much that is new and important.\* We heartily join in his testimony to the conduct on that occasion of the Pennsylvania troops, who, in defence of their sister colony, conducted

---

\* *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed.*

themselves with a gallantry worthy of veterans. Reed himself was present at the action of the 27th, and assisted in the withdrawal of the army on the night of the 29th. Upon this and the subsequent operations of the campaign, the evacuation of New York, the battle of White Plains, and the siege of Fort Washington, Reed's correspondence is full and interesting. Reed's admirable qualifications for his office were exhibited most strongly throughout. His energy and activity, his capacity for continuous labor, were remarkable, and in the restoration of the army, disorganized as it was by continued disasters, were all needed.

The siege and fall of Fort Washington, gave rise to an occurrence which has been often misrepresented or misunderstood. Mr. W. B. Reed, in his *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed*, not only fully, but most honorably explains it, so far as Reed was concerned. The propriety of defending that position, isolated as it was, it is well known, has always been a subject of military controversy; and Washington, in this instance, had suffered his own judgment to be overruled by the weight of contrary opinions. Reed was, at the time, with the main army, which, after the battle of Chatterton's Hill, had crossed the river to Fort Lee, and was deeply interested in the fate of that place, defended as it was almost entirely by Pennsylvania troops. A few days after its fall he wrote to Lee, who had been left with a force to guard the Highlands, expressing, but in respectful terms, his opinion of this indecision, and his wish for Lee's presence. In reply to this letter, Lee, apparently echoing Reed's language, gave to it an expression which it by no means justified.

The letter reached camp after Reed's departure to Burlington, and was, as usual, opened by the commander-in-chief, under the idea that it related to the business of the department. Deeply wounded, not only at the expression of such opinions by one holding the high military reputation which Lee then did, but at the apparent want of candor in his intimate and confidential officer, Washington yet never lost his habitual dignity. He inclosed the letter to Reed, explaining the circumstances of his hav-

ing opened it, as an "excuse for seeing the contents of a letter which neither inclination nor intuition would have prompted him to."

Reed, after an attempt to recover the original of his own, which, in consequence of Lee's capture by the British, proved futile, wrote to Washington, simply explaining the sentiments really contained in it, and expressing, in language as beautiful as appropriate, his regret at having, even unjustly, forfeited his regard. Washington's reply was such as became him: "He was hurt, not because he thought his judgment wronged by the expressions contained in it, but because the same sentiments were not communicated immediately to himself." It need not be said that their old friendship was restored. Not so Lee. At a later period, to gratify his resentment towards Washington, he had the baseness, in a newspaper article, to allude to Reed's private opinion of the commander-in-chief, as contrary to what he publicly professed towards him, hinting at that letter as his authority. The attempt did him no good, nor harm to those to whom he intended it.

The commencement of the ensuing winter was marked with gloom and despondency. Washington's army, reduced to a handful, were driven beyond the Raritan. Lee was a prisoner; New Jersey was in the uncontrolled possession of the enemy, its legislature scattered to the winds; Cornwallis, with a strong and well-appointed force, rapidly pursuing the wreck of the continentals. It was in this dark hour that Pennsylvania almost of herself retrieved the fortunes of the war. Mifflin and Reed were successively dispatched to Philadelphia for aid, and it was forthcoming. "At no period of the war," says our author, "did any portion of the colonies exhibit a finer spirit than the majority of the citizens of Pennsylvania at this juncture. The militia was immediately and efficiently organized, and a large body, well equipped, marched to join Washington at the upper passes of the Delaware." Offensive operations were at once determined upon, and the battles of Trenton and of Princeton reversed the position of the armies. During the whole of the movements, Reed was exceedingly active; at Princeton he bore a most conspicuous part.



Immediately after these events, Washington urged upon Congress the appointment of an additional number of generals, recommending Reed to the command of the horse "as a person in his opinion in every way qualified." At the end of February, and again in April, elections were accordingly made, but no order was taken with reference to the separate command of the horse, and it was not until the 12th of May that Reed was elected a brigadier. On the 27th of that month they empowered the general-in-chief to confer that command upon one of the generals already appointed, and he immediately offered it to Reed. He, justly offended at the coldness with which he had been treated, declined it, resolving however to join the army as a volunteer as soon as active operations commenced.

The cause of the neglect is ascribed by his biographer, and no doubt correctly, to the hostility to Washington and his friends which already had infected a portion of Congress, and which the next year so virulently displayed itself,—added to which, that Reed had been charged with injustice to the New England troops. Washington made no further offer to fill the situation, which remained vacant until the election of Pulaski. A letter from Reed to a member of Congress refers to the subject in a manner highly honorable to him: expressing the wish that no difficulties might arise in consequence of a difference of opinion between that body and Washington, as any "claims or pretensions which he might have, were they much greater, ought not to disturb the harmony which should exist between the civil and military powers;" he ends by authorizing such use of his letter as would obviate difficulties. About the same time he was appointed chief-justice of Pennsylvania, a post which had always been filled with the highest talent in the State. The offer was the more honorable, as Reed had been a known opponent of many features of the constitution. He however declined it.

The spring and summer of 1777 he passed with his family, his plans of life undetermined; but on Sir William Howe's landing at the head of the Elk in August, he again joined the army as a volunteer, attaching himself to the Penn-

sylvania troops under Armstrong. At the battle of Brandywine, and during the other operations following, he rendered important services, and at Germantown distinguished himself particularly.

The fall succeeding the capture of Philadelphia was spent in an obstinate defence of the Delaware, and in efforts to retake the city. Severely as its loss had fallen upon the country, the army had rallied under the blow, and offensive operations were constantly attempted. Reed, who seems to have been ever in favor of fighting, upon the final abandonment of the capital, turned his mind to other sources of annoyance. A letter to Washington of December 1st, urges an attempt on New York. About this time he was recalled to camp to assist in deciding upon winter-quarters, and there took part in the last affair of the campaign, the skirmish at Chestnut Hill, where he had his horse shot under him.

On the 17th of December the army took up its quarters at Valley Forge. The history of that winter is familiar to every one. The shameful abandonment of the army by Congress to famine and cold, reduced it to the verge of destruction. It was not until the middle of January that they were made to act, when a committee, of which Reed, who had been elected to that body, was one, were appointed with full powers to repair to camp and confer with the commander-in-chief. The result of their mission, tardily enough, however, was the reorganization of the quartermaster's department, to which General Greene was appointed. Reed's services were considered so valuable that he was detained in camp, and did not retake his seat until the 6th of April. In the beginning of June he again proceeded to camp under a resolution of Congress, referring to Washington, Dana, and himself, the remodeling of the army, and to this duty he devoted himself. Intelligence from Europe now infused new life and hope into the nation. On the 18th of June, the British evacuated Philadelphia, and on the 28th was fought at Monmouth a battle memorable as one of the turning-points of the war. In that action Reed participated, having his horse again shot under him.



In the summer of 1778, the second attempt at negotiation was made by Great Britain in the mission of Lord Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and Governor Johnstone. Of this business Mr. W. B. Reed remarks: "During the Revolution the diplomacy of the British ministry was, if possible, less dexterous and successful than their military policy. They were always a little too late. Lord Howe arrived a few days after the irrevocable measure of independence was adopted; and Lord Carlisle and his colleagues did not sail from Great Britain till some weeks after the news of the French alliance was on its way to America, and Congress, by its resolution of the 22d of April, 1778, had pledged themselves to the world against the very propositions offered. Lord North introduced his conciliatory propositions into parliament on the 17th of February, and the commissioners sailed on the 22d of April. On the 2d of May, Washington and his soldiers were rejoicing at the intelligence of the alliance with France.

The propositions now brought went much further than those of Lord Howe in the summer of 1776; they went, in fact, further than the colonies, before the outset of hostilities, had ever asked, but they stopped short of the only terms now practicable, independence. The commissioners seem, however, this time to have concluded upon the use of new appliances in support of their terms. Instead of the armies of Howe, Johnstone furnished himself with gold. It proved even less available than the old argument.

Mr. de Berdt had again furnished them with a recommendation to Reed; and a few days after their arrival in Philadelphia, Johnstone transmitted it to him, accompanied by one from himself. This document possessed every requisite for a successful opening except one. It was addressed to the wrong person. In conclusion, the writer said: "The man who can be instrumental in bringing us all to act in harmony, and to unite together the various powers which this contest has drawn forth, will deserve more from the king and the people, from patriotism, humanity, friendship, and all the tender ties that are affected by the quarrel and the reconciliation, than ever was yet bestowed on human kind."

The letter Reed at once showed to Washington, and in a courteous but decided answer declined all personal interposition. That answer Johnstone never received; had it reached him, it might have deterred him from his subsequent attempt.

Not receiving a reply from Reed, the third commissioner endeavored to approach Mr. Morris—with what success may readily be imagined. The open and direct business of the mission had been closed by the refusal of Congress to hold intercourse with them; and Lord Carlisle, it seems, was speedily satisfied of its failure. Johnstone, however, thought it worth while to make one further and more direct overture, and that upon Reed. The agent selected for this purpose was Mrs. Ferguson, who, in her public narrative, verified by oath, subsequently detailed the whole transaction. The circumstances are almost too well known to need repetition. Suffice it to say that the offer was "ten thousand guineas and the best post in the government." It was by her communicated to Reed, whose instant and memorable answer was: "My influence is but small, but were it as great as Governor Johnstone would insinuate, the king of Great Britain has nothing within his gift that would tempt me."

The letters and this offer were, by Messrs. Morris and Reed, communicated to Congress; and when made known produced much excitement. A preamble and resolutions, reciting the overtures and denouncing their author, were adopted, and the commissioners returned from their bootless errand—Johnstone to abuse Congress, and Lord Carlisle to find in his family circle and the conversation of George Selwyn a relief from his vexation.

In the middle of July, Reed resumed his seat in Congress, and remained, with occasional intervals of employment, at camp until the autumn. "During this period," says his biographer, "his services seem to have been unceasing. He was a member of every important committee; and being the only speaking member from his State, seems to have taken a lead in every discussion." In October, he was called to another and even more arduous service. The Pennsylvania elections resulted in the choice of a majority of the

friends of the State constitution in both branches of its government; and Reed, who though originally opposed to and never approving its provisions, had considered it his duty to support it when adopted, was elected to the council. On the 1st of December he was unanimously chosen president of that body, an office equivalent to that of governor of the State.

In connection with this event in the life of his subject, Mr. W. B. Reed has given a most valuable sketch of the then condition of affairs in Philadelphia. Upon the recapture of the city, Arnold had unfortunately been appointed to the command. The consequences of his profligacy in its general misgovernment are already partially known; less so that his treasonable practices had commenced even at this time. Upon this subject, as well as of his general history, much that is new to us is afforded. It has been fashionable among some sentimentalists to represent that man as one, whose high spirit, wounded by injustice, drove him, almost in madness, to his last fatal step. If the investigations of Mr. Sparks have not already done so, we apprehend that the proofs contained in Mr. W. B. Reed's work will put an end to this twaddle. "The constitutional obliquity of Arnold's mind," observes the author, "with its gradual development of the worst of social crimes, treason to his country, is as much a part of the Revolutionary picture as the complete virtue of Washington." Arnold's official corruption had begun at Quebec; it was continued down through every step of his subsequent career; till, at Philadelphia, its unblushing openness provoked the council beyond endurance, and he was finally brought to court-martial. During the period of his government, or rather misgovernment, his attentions to the tories and his insolence to the whigs, his balls given to the wives of refugees, and his influence used to procure the pardon of traitors, should have forewarned Congress of what was to be expected from him. To Reed was in a great measure due his exposure; and upon him Arnold, one of whose first characteristics was his malignity, visited it without remorse.

It was amidst these disorders, and the greatest exasperation of party, on the subject of the State

constitution, that Reed, contrary alike to his wishes and his interest, relinquished his military career, and his post in Congress, and accepted the presidency of the executive council. "The history of the next three years of his life," says his biographer, "dating from the time at which he relinquished his seat in Congress, is the history of Pennsylvania. Placed, as will presently be seen, by the suffrages of all parties, at a time when political opinion was at fever heat, at the head of the executive department of the State government, he threw into the discharge of this trust all his energies, and labored in the public cause with an intensity of devotion which it is difficult to describe, and which led to the utter prostration of his health and premature termination of his life. He became the centre of the party which supported the existing frame of government, and the accredited leader of the constitutional whigs."

To the army generally his appointment gave great satisfaction. Washington's letter of congratulation was sincere and hearty. Greene and Wayne both joined in the expression of this feeling; and we may add, that Reed's watchfulness and zeal for the welfare of the troops, at all times, deserved their regard. During the dark period which preceded the arrival of substantial assistance from France, when the utter explosion of the paper system, and the exhaustion of credit, reduced the army for months to the verge of dissolution, Reed gave no peace or rest to the legislature till he forced from them what assistance he might. On more than one occasion, too, when movements of importance were at hand, as in the contemplated attempt upon New York, in this autumn, and again in August, 1780, he himself headed the levies of his State, and exchanged the toils of government only for the fatigues of camp.

In the narrative of this part of his administration, we find a succinct view of one great cause of the embarrassments which existed during the Revolution—the gross errors prevalent on the subject of finance. In these respects the country was far behind its knowledge on matters of general legislation, and the middle States even far behind the eastern. Embargo and tender laws, commercial restrictions, and limitations of prices,



were almost everywhere the means by which the legislatures essayed to financier through the war. Reed appears, upon these points, to have been far wiser than his generation. Speaking of the last class of acts, he says: "The commerce of mankind must be free, or almost all kinds of intercourse will cease. Regulation stagnates industry, and creates a universal discontent." Unfortunately, his opinions had, at first, but little weight with the assembly, which was thoroughly imbued with the popular fallacies, and infinite trouble arose from their legislation. Forestalling was the bugbear of the day. Its effects were bad enough, it is true, but the remedy was one which never cured that disease. The excitement in Philadelphia upon these subjects at one time broke out into a riot, which, but for Reed's firmness, threatened the most dangerous results. It was not until 1781 that he finally, as it were, forced the assembly into a repeal of the tender laws, and thus gave the death-blow to a currency which had been upheld contrary to all right, as it was contrary to all sense. Among the important topics presented, in the beginning of Mr. Reed's administration, were the measure known as the Proprietary Bill, or "Divesting Act," which stripped the proprietaries of the public domain, as the Declaration of Independence had the monarch of his paramount sovereignty; the transfer of the College Charter, like the former one of a revolutionary character and necessity; and the gradual abolition of slavery. All these he strenuously advocated and carried.

Our space will allow us no opportunity of entering at large upon so intricate a field as his administration opens upon us. Reed held the station of supreme executive of the State until December, 1781, the constitutional limit of his office. To all who are familiar with the history of the Revolution, its last years are known as those of its greatest trials. The first enthusiasm of conflict had passed away; the slight resources of the new-born States had been exhausted. To them had succeeded poverty and ruin; in some States lethargy; in others dogged, stubborn resistance, the despair which yields not, but dies fighting. The situation of Pennsylvania was especially deplorable. Cursed with an incom-

petent frame of government, and with factions which rendered even that more incapable; bankrupt in her finances; drained of her blood; yet withal, the State upon which, from magnitude, central situation, and as the seat of the general Congress, her sisters looked for the greatest exertions, she staggered through the close of the war like a worn-out racer beneath the spur of its rider. A sterner one never forced panting steed or wearied nation through its course.

The president possessed moral in as eminent a degree as physical courage. Neither love of power nor popularity, the fear of losing influence or friends, stayed him in his path. His ambition—and few men, we believe, were more ambitious—was not that of the demagogue or the office-hunter. He sought public station, not for itself or for its profits, but as a field of public service. His energy was intense, his activity unceasing, his capacity for labor as extraordinary as his love of it. His was an unyielding, impetuous and daring nature. He wielded the dangerous power which at times was intrusted to him without hesitation or fear, but he wielded it never for private gain or for personal emolument.

Few persons have reaped for public service a larger reward of slander and of misunderstanding than did Reed. That he stirred up the enmity of Mifflin, that he earned the hatred of Arnold, of Conway, and of Lee, was hardly to be regretted. It was his misfortune that the falsehood sometimes outlived the credit of its fabricator, and found its way into the minds of purer men. It appears to us to have been, however, his fault, that a spirit of acerbity became engrafted upon his disposition, which often alienated friends, and which led him in turn to do injustice to the motives or the characters of others. In the latter part of his life in particular, this harshness, perhaps the effect of corroding care and disappointment, exhibits itself. His prejudices were strong even to bitterness, and he was most unguarded in his expression of them. But with these faults, Reed was still a great man, and did great service to his State and to his country. We should do injustice to many noble spirits of the Revolution, did we judge them by their personal friendships or



enmities. Times of great danger often bind together men of dissimilar characters. Times of long-continued suffering often too estrange men who respect each other. It was at least a consolation that Reed carried to his grave the confidence and affection of Washington, of Greene, and of Anthony Wayne.

The descendant, whose filial duty has given us the records of his ancestor's life, has discharged his part faithfully. The facts upon which Reed's enemies based their substantial accusations, he has stated, as it seems to us, without flinching; he has also met them manfully, and, as we think, with entire success. That, down to the breaking out of hostilities, Reed was desirous of a reconciliation with England, is admitted—few people, at least in the middle and southern States, were not. That he would have sacrificed one principle to effect that reconciliation, we have every evidence in contradiction. That he was not prepared for a declaration of independence when it took place, seems probable. He was not alone in the sentiment. So late as April 1st, 1776, Washington wrote him: "My countrymen, I know from their form of government and steady attachment heretofore to royalty, will come reluctantly into the idea of independency." But that he would have retreated after that step, there is no such probability. The often recurred to charge of a disposition or willingness to intrigue with the enemy, we hold to be utterly and entirely false. The man who, in the outset of the struggle, refused the bribe which Johnstone offered to Reed, should not afterwards have been suspected. At the first blow struck, he went into the fight; and he went through it without faltering or hesitation. He was not "to be hung for half-treason." Calumny has been too often the lot of great men, and those of Pennsylvania do not seem to us to have furnished exceptions. General Reed died on the 5th of March, 1785, in the forty-third year of his age.

---

[C.]

GENERAL SULLIVAN.

General Sullivan was a native of New Hampshire, where he resided before the Revolution,

VOL. I.—66

and attained to a high degree of eminence in the profession of law. He was a member of the first Congress in 1774, but on the commencement of hostilities, preferring a military commission, he relinquished the fairest prospect of fortune and fame, and appeared among the most ardent patriots, and intrepid warriors.

In 1775, he was appointed a brigadier-general, and immediately joined the army at Cambridge, and soon after obtained the command on Winter Hill. The next year he was ordered to Canada, and on the death of General Thomas the command of the army devolved on him. The situation of the army in that quarter was inexpressibly distressing; destitute of clothing, dispirited by defeat and constant fatigue, and a large proportion of the troops sick with the small-pox. By his great exertions and judicious management he meliorated the condition of the army, and obtained general applause. On his retiring from that command, July 12th, 1776, the field-officers thus addressed him: "It is to you, sir, the public are indebted for the preservation of their property in Canada. It is to you we owe our safety thus far. Your humanity will call forth the silent tear, and the grateful ejaculation of the sick. Your universal impartiality will force the applause of the wearied soldier."

In August, 1776, he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and soon after was, with Major-general Lord Stirling, captured by the British in the battle on Long Island. General Sullivan being paroled, was sent by General Howe with a message to Congress, after which he returned to New York. In September he was exchanged for Major-general Prescott. We next find him in command of the right division of our troops, in the famous battle at Trenton, and he acquitted himself honorably on that ever memorable day.

In August, 1777, without the authority of Congress or the commander-in-chief, he planned and executed an expedition against the enemy on Staten Island. Though the enterprise was conducted with prudence and success in part, it was said by some to have been less brilliant than might have been expected under such favorable circumstances; and as that act was deemed a bold assumption of responsibility, and reports to

his prejudice being in circulation, a court of inquiry was ordered to investigate his conduct. The result was an honorable acquittal, and Congress resolved that the result so honorable to General Sullivan is highly pleasing to Congress, and that the opinion of the court be published, in justification of that injured officer.

In the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, in the autumn of 1777, General Sullivan commanded a division, and in the latter conflict his two aids were killed, and his own conduct was so conspicuously brave, that General Washington, in his letter to Congress, concludes with encomiums on the gallantry of General Sullivan, and the whole right wing of the army, which acted immediately under the eye of his excellency.

In August, 1778, General Sullivan was sole commander of an expedition to Newport, in co-operation with the French fleet under the Count D'Estaing. The Marquis de Lafayette and General Greene volunteered their services on the occasion. The object of the expedition was defeated, in consequence of the French fleet being driven off by a violent storm. By this unfortunate event the enemy were encouraged to engage our army in battle, in which they suffered a repulse, and General Sullivan finally effected a safe retreat to the main. This retreat, so ably executed, without confusion, or the loss of baggage, or stores, increased the military reputation of General Sullivan, and redounds to his honor as a skilful commander.

The bloody tragedy acted at Wyoming in 1778, had determined the commander-in-chief, in 1779, to employ a large detachment from the continental army to penetrate into the heart of the Indian country, to chastise the hostile tribes and their white associates and adherents, for their cruel aggressions on the defenceless inhabitants. The command of this expedition was committed to General Sullivan, with express orders to destroy their settlements, to ruin their crops, and make such thorough devastations as to render the country entirely uninhabitable for the present, and thus to compel the savages to remove to a greater distance from our frontiers.

General Sullivan had under his command

several brigadiers, and a well-chosen army, to which were attached a number of friendly Indian warriors. With this force he penetrated about ninety miles through a horrid swampy wilderness and barren mountainous deserts, to Wyoming, on the Susquehanna River, thence by water to Tioga, and possessed himself of numerous towns and villages of the savages.

During this hazardous expedition, General Sullivan and his army encountered the most complicated obstacles, requiring the greatest fortitude and perseverance to surmount. He explored an extensive tract of country, and strictly executed the severe but necessary orders he had received. A considerable number of Indians were slain, some were captured, their habitations were burnt, and their plantations of corn and vegetables laid waste in the most effectual manner. Eighteen villages, a number of detached buildings, one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn, and those fruits and vegetables which conduce to the comfort and subsistence of man, were utterly destroyed. Five weeks were unremittingly employed in this work of devastation.

On his return from the expedition, he and his army received the approbation of Congress. It is remarked on this expedition, by the translator of M. Chastelleux's Travels, an Englishman, then resident in the United States, that the instructions given by General Sullivan to his officers, the order of march he prescribed to his troops, and the discipline he had the ability to maintain, would have done honor to the most experienced ancient or modern generals.

At the close of the campaign of 1779, General Sullivan, in consequence of impaired health, resigned his commission in the army. Congress, in accepting his resignation, passed a resolve, thanking him for his past services. His military talents and bold spirit of enterprise were universally acknowledged. He was fond of display, and his personal appearance and dignified deportment commanded respect. After his resignation he resumed his professional pursuits at the bar, and was much distinguished as a statesman, politician, and patriot. He acquired very considerable proficiency in general literature, and an extensive knowledge of men and

the world. He received from Harvard University a degree of Master of Arts, and from the University of Dartmouth a degree of Doctor of Laws. He was one of the convention who formed the State Constitution for New Hampshire, was chosen into the first council, and was

afterwards elected chief magistrate in that State, and held the office for three years. In September, 1789, he was appointed judge of the district court for the district of New Hampshire, and continued in the office till his death, in 1795.



## CHAPTER IX.

1776, 1777.

### TRENTON AND PRINCETON.

Difficulties of Washington's position.—Acquisitions of the British.—State of the army and the country.—Effect of the Howes' proclamation.—Firmness of Washington.—His letter to Congress.—Its effect.—Washington receives from Congress dictatorial power.—Washington gains intelligence of the exact position of the enemy throughout the Jerseys.—He resolves "to clip their wings."—His meagre force.—Letter from Colonel Reed.—Washington's letter to Reed.—Plan of attack on the enemy's posts on the Delaware.—Battle of Trenton.—Failure of Irvine and Cadwalader to cross the river.—Washington returns with the Hessian prisoners and military stores to Philadelphia.—Astonishment of Howe.—He determines to renew active operations.—Cornwallis sent into the Jerseys.—Donop retreats to Princeton.—Cadwalader, Mifflin, and Irvine enter the Jerseys.—Washington resolves on a winter campaign.—He takes post at Trenton.—Cornwallis at Princeton.—Mifflin and Cadwalader reinforce Washington.—Cornwallis advances to Trenton, and prepares to attack and overwhelm the small army of Washington.—Washington out-generals him, gets in his rear and wins a brilliant victory at Princeton.—Death of General Mercer.—Effects of the battles of Trenton and Princeton.—Firmness of Congress.—Horrible excesses of the British in the Jerseys.—Successful attacks of the Americans on the British.—They are driven from Woodbridge, Elizabethtown, and Newark.—General Dickinson attacks a British foraging party, and seizes cattle, horses, and provisions.—General Putnam.—His stratagem at Princeton.—His great success in harassing the enemy and taking prisoners.—State of the country.—Revengeful spirit of the Jerseymen towards the British.—Washington's proclamation.—He expels the British from all their posts, except Brunswick and Amboy.—Botta's remarks on Washington's increasing reputation.

WHEN Washington, by his late masterly retreat through the Jerseys, had completely baffled his powerful enemy and saved his army from destruction, he had still a most discouraging prospect before him. It was indeed one of the gloomiest periods of his whole life. The campaign, notwithstanding its brilliant displays of courageous daring and unflinching fortitude in the commander-in-chief, as well as many of the officers and men, had been an almost uninterrupted series of disasters and retreats. The enemy, since the evacuation of Boston, had already not only gained possession of Staten Island, Long Island, the

city of New York, a portion of the State of Rhode Island, and nearly the whole of the Jerseys; but they were menacing Philadelphia, with a force perfectly adequate for seizing it, if they had been sensible of their own power and the weakness of the American army.

That army, in fact, was on the verge of dissolution, and was only saved by the boldness, decision, and unceasing activity of Washington. The pernicious system of short enlistments, sickness, bad pay, and continual discouragements, had reduced it to the mere shadow of an army. The country, too, was discouraged and desponding. The

proclamation of the Howes, offering pardon and protection to all who would accept them, had already drawn many men of influence and wealth in the Jerseys to the standard of the king, while others took the oath of allegiance and remained at their homes. The sixty days allowed for accepting the offer of the Howes had nearly expired, and a still greater defection was imminent. It was a dark and trying hour for the true patriot.

But "Washington stood firm." He must have known that all depended on him. His calmness and full reliance on the justice of the cause and the goodness of his Maker, never deserted him. He felt that his duty required him to put forth all his resources of intellect and strength of will, to direct the ship through this perilous storm. For the present emergency, Congress, at a distance from the centre of action, was powerless to save. The time was come when he must save the country by his own wonderful decision of character. This is apparent from the following letter to Congress, dated December 20th, 1776 :

"I have waited with much impatience to know the determination of Congress on the propositions, made some time in October last, for augmenting our corps of artillery, and establishing a corps of engineers. The time is now come, when the first cannot be delayed without the greatest injury to the safety of these States ; and, therefore, under the resolution of Congress

bearing date the 12th instant, at the repeated instances of Colonel Knox, and by the pressing advice of all the general officers now here, I have ventured to order three battalions of artillery to be immediately recruited. These are two less than Colonel Knox recommends, as you will see by his plan inclosed ; but then this scheme comprehends all the United States, whereas some of the States have corps already established, and these three battalions are indispensably necessary for the operations in this quarter, including the northern department.

"The pay of our artillerists bearing no proportion to that in the English or French service, the murmuring and dissatisfaction thereby occasioned, the absolute impossibility, as I am told, of getting them upon the old terms, and the unavoidable necessity of obtaining them at all events, have induced me, also by advice, to promise officers and men, that their pay shall be augmented twenty-five per cent, or their engagements shall become null and void. This may appear to Congress premature and unwarrantable. But, sir, if they view our situation in the light it strikes their officers, they will be convinced of the utility of the measure, and that the execution could not be delayed till after their meeting at Baltimore. In short, the present exigency of our affairs will not admit of delay, either in council or the field ; for well convinced I am, that, if the enemy go into quarters at all it will be for a

short season. But I rather think the design of General Howe is to possess himself of Philadelphia this winter, if possible; and in truth I do not see what is to prevent him, as ten days more will put an end to the existence of our army. That one great point is to keep us as much harassed as possible, with a view to injure the recruiting service, and hinder a collection of stores and other necessities for the next campaign, I am as clear in, as I am of my own existence. If, therefore, in the short interval in which we have to provide for and make these great and arduous preparations, every matter, that in its nature is self-evident, is to be referred to Congress, at the distance of a hundred and thirty or forty miles, so much time must necessarily elapse, as to defeat the end in view.

"It may be said, that this is an application for powers that are too dangerous to be intrusted. I can only add, that desperate diseases require desperate remedies; and I with truth declare, that I have no lust after power, but I wish with as much fervency as any man upon this wide-extended continent for an opportunity of turning the sword into the ploughshare. But my feelings, as an officer and a man, have been such as to force me to say, that no person ever had a greater choice of difficulties to contend with than I have. It is needless to add, that short enlistments, and a mistaken dependence upon militia, have been the origin of all our misfortunes, and the great accumulation

of our debt. We find, sir, that the enemy are daily gathering strength from the disaffected. This strength, like a snow-ball by rolling, will increase, unless some means can be devised to check effectually the progress of the enemy's arms. Militia may possibly do it for a little while; but in a little while, also, and the militia of those States which have been frequently called upon, will not turn out at all; or, if they do, it will be with so much reluctance and sloth, as to amount to the same thing. Instance New Jersey! Witness Pennsylvania! Could any thing but the river Delaware have saved Philadelphia! Can any thing (the exigency of the case indeed may justify it) be more destructive to the recruiting service, than giving ten dollars bounty for six weeks service of the militia, who come in, you cannot tell how; go, you cannot tell when; and act, you cannot tell where; consume your provisions, exhaust your stores, and leave you at last at a critical moment?

"These, sir, are the men I am to depend upon ten days hence; this is the basis on which your cause will and must forever depend, till you get a large standing army sufficient of itself to oppose the enemy. I therefore beg leave to give it as my humble opinion, that eighty-eight battalions are by no means equal to the opposition you are to make, and that a moment's time is not to be lost in raising a greater number, not less, in my opinion and the opinion of



my officers, than a hundred and ten. It may be urged, that it will be found difficult enough to complete the first number. This may be true, and yet the officers of a hundred and ten battalions will recruit many more men, than those of eighty-eight. In my judgment, this is not a time to stand upon expense; our funds are not the only object of consideration. The State of New York have added one battalion (I wish they had made it two) to their quota. If any good officers will offer to raise men upon continental pay and establishment in this quarter, I shall encourage them to do so, and regiment them when they have done it. If Congress disapprove of this proceeding, they will please to signify it, as I mean it for the best. It may be thought that I am going a good deal out of the line of my duty, to adopt these measures, or to advise thus freely. A character to lose, an estate to forfeit, the inestimable blessings of liberty at stake, and a life devoted, must be my excuse."

This letter demonstrated to Congress, the extreme peril of the country, and the sole means of deliverance. Jealous as they had hitherto been of military power, they no longer hesitated to place it in the hands of Washington; and, on the 27th of December, they passed the following act:

"The Congress, having maturely considered the present crisis, and having perfect reliance on the wisdom, vigor, and uprightness of General Washing-

ton, do hereby *Resolve*, That General Washington shall be, and he is hereby, vested with full, ample, and complete powers to raise and collect together in the most speedy and effectual manner, from any or all of these United States, sixteen battalions of infantry in addition to those already voted by Congress; to appoint officers for the said battalions of infantry; to raise, officer, and equip three thousand light-horse, three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers, and to establish their pay; to apply to any of the States for such aid of the militia as he shall judge necessary; to form such magazines of provisions, and in such places as he shall think proper; to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of brigadier-general, and to fill up all vacancies in every other department in the American armies; to take, wherever he may be, whatever he may want for the use of the army, if the inhabitants will not sell it, allowing a reasonable price for the same; to arrest and confine persons who refuse to take the continental currency, or are otherwise disaffected to the American cause; and return to the States, of which they are citizens, their names, and the nature of their offences, together with the witnesses to prove them; and, That the foregoing powers be vested in General Washington, for and during the term of six months from the date hereof, unless sooner determined by Congress."

In acknowledging the resolves of Congress, Washington assured that

body, that all his faculties should be employed, to direct properly the powers they had been pleased to vest him with, to advance those objects, and those only, which had given rise to so honorable a mark of distinction. "If my exertions," he said, "should not be attended with the desired success, I trust the failure will be imputed to the true cause,—the peculiarly distressed situation of our affairs, and the difficulties I have to combat,—rather than to a want of zeal for my country, and the closest attention to her interests, to promote which has ever been my study."

The powers conferred by the resolve of Congress were truly *dictatorial*. But never before, nor since, did dictator use such powers with such wisdom, moderation, and forbearance. Before this act had received the sanction of Congress, however, events had taken place which gave new life and energy to the friends of liberty.

When Washington (says Gordon), retreated with a handful of men across the Delaware, he trembled for the fate of America, which *nothing but the infatuation of the enemy could have saved*.<sup>\*</sup> Though they missed the boats with which they expected to follow him immediately into Pennsylvania, yet Trenton and the neighborhood could have supplied them with materials, which industry might have soon constructed into sufficient conveniences for

the transportation of the troops over a smooth river, and of no great extent in some places. But they were put into cantonments for the present, forming an extensive chain from Brunswick to the Delaware, and down the banks of the Delaware for several miles, so as to compose a front at the end of the line which looked over to Philadelphia.† Mr. Mersereau was employed by the American general to gain intelligence, and provided a simple youth,‡ whose apparent defectiveness in abilities prevented all suspicion, but whose fidelity and attention, with the capacities he possessed, constituted him an excellent spy: he passed from place to place, mixed with the soldiers, and having performed his business, returned with an account where they were cantoned, and in what numbers. General Fermoy was appointed to receive and communicate the information to the commander-in-chief: upon the receipt of it, he cried out, "Now is our time to clip their wings while they are so spread." But before an attempt could be made with a desirable prospect of success, Washington was almost ready to de-

† Marshall, speaking of the importance to Washington of obtaining secret intelligence of the plans of Cornwallis, states, that at that critical moment, Mr. Robert Morris raised on his private credit, in Philadelphia, five hundred pounds in specie, which he transmitted to the commander-in-chief, who employed it in procuring information not otherwise to have been obtained.—*Life of Washington*, vol. i. p. 130.

‡ After having been employed some time in similar services, the enemy grew suspicious of him, and upon that, without proof, put him into prison, where he was starved to death.

\* The general's words in his own letter.

spair while he contemplated the probable state of his own troops within the compass of ten days. He could not count upon those whose time expired the 1st of January; and expected that, as soon as the ice was formed, the enemy would pass the Delaware. He found his numbers on inquiry less than he had any conception of; and while he communicated the fact, thus charged his confidant, Colonel Reed: "For Heaven's sake keep this to yourself, as the discovery of it may prove fatal to us."

Colonel Reed wrote the next day from Bristol, December 21st, and proposed to the general the making of a diversion, or something more, at or about Trenton, and proceeded to say: "If we could possess ourselves again of New Jersey, or any considerable part, the effect would be greater than if we had not left it. Allow me to hope, that you will consult your own good judgment and spirit, and let not the goodness of your heart subject you to the influence of the opinions of men in every respect your inferiors. Something must be attempted before the sixty days expire which the commissioners have allowed;—for, however many affect to despise it, it is evident a very serious attention is paid to it; and I am confident, that unless some more favorable appearance attends our arms and cause before that time, a very great number of the militia officers here will follow the example of Jersey, and take benefit from it. Our cause is

desperate and hopeless, if we do not strike some stroke. Our affairs are hastening apace to ruin, if we do not retrieve them by some happy event. Delay with us is near equal to a total defeat. We must not suffer ourselves to be lulled into security and inactivity, because the enemy does not cross the river. The love of my country, a wife and four children in the enemy's hands, the respect and attachment I have to you, the ruin and poverty that must attend me and thousands of others, will plead my excuse for so much freedom."

Notwithstanding the great inferiority of his force, when Washington received this letter he had already formed the daring plan of attacking all the British posts on the Delaware at the same instant. If successful in all, or any of these attacks, he hoped not only to wipe off the impression made by his losses, and by his retreat, but also to relieve Philadelphia from immediate danger, and to compel his adversary to compress himself in such a manner as no longer to cover the Jerseys.

The positions taken to guard the river were equally well adapted to offensive operations.

The regulars were posted above Trenton from Yardley's up to Coryell's Ferry. The Pennsylvania flying-camp, and Jersey militia, under the command of General Irvine, extended from Yardley's to the ferry opposite Bordentown; and General Cadwalader with the Pennsylvania militia lay still lower down the river.



Writing to Colonel Reed, on the 23d of December, Washington says: "Necessity, dire necessity will,—nay, must justify any attempt. Prepare, and in concert with Griffin, attack as many posts as you possibly can with a prospect of success. I have now ample testimony of the enemy's intentions to attack Philadelphia as soon as the ice will afford the means of conveyance. Our men are to be provided with three days' provision, ready cooked, with which and their blankets they are to march. One hour before day is the time fixed upon for our attempt on Trenton. If we are successful, which Heaven grant! and other circumstances favor, we may push on. I shall direct every ferry and ford to be well guarded, and not a soul suffered to pass without an officer's going down with the permit."

In the plan of attack which had been digested, it was proposed to cross in the night at M'Konkey's Ferry, **1776.** about nine miles above Trenton; to march down in two divisions, the one taking the river road, and the other the Pennington road, both which lead into the town; the first, towards that part of the western side which approaches the river, and last towards the north. This part of the plan was to be executed by Washington in person, at the head of about two thousand four hundred continental troops. It was thought practicable to pass them over the river by twelve, and to reach the point of destination by five in the

morning of the next day, when the attack was to be made. General Irvine was directed to cross at the Trenton Ferry, and to secure the bridge below the town, in order to prevent the escape of the enemy by that road. General Cadwalader\* was to pass over at Dunk's Ferry, and carry the post at Mount Holly. It had been in contemplation to unite the troops employed in fortifying Philadelphia to those at Bristol, and to place the whole under General Putnam; but such indications were given in that city of an insurrection in favor of the royal cause, that this part of the plan was abandoned. The cold on the night of the 25th was very severe. Snow, mingled with hail and rain, fell in great quantities, and so much ice was made in the river that, with every possible exertion, the division conducted by the general in person could not effect its passage until three, nor commence its march down the river till near four. As the distance to Trenton by either road is nearly the same, orders were given to attack at the instant of arrival, and, after driving in the outguards, to press rapidly after them into the town, and prevent the main body from forming.

Trenton was held by a detachment of fifteen hundred Hessians, and a troop of British light-horse, the whole under the command of Colonel Rahl,† a Hessian veteran, who (says Gordon), in his

\* See Document [A] at the end of this chapter.

† This name is spelt by some writers Rall, and by others Rawle.

lively description of the affair, "had received information of an intended attack, and that the 25th, at night, is thought to be the time fixed upon. His men are paraded, and his picket is looking out for it. Captain Washington,\* commanding a scouting party of about fifty foot soldiers, has been in the Jerseys about three days without effecting any exploit. He therefore concludes upon marching towards Trenton; advances, and attacks the picket. He exchanges a few shot, and then retreats. As he is making for the Delaware, on his return to Pennsylvania, he meets with General Washington's troops. Conjecturing their design, he is distressed with an apprehension that by the attack he has alarmed the enemy, and put them on their guard. The enemy, on the other hand, conclude from it after awhile, that this is all the attack which is intended; and so retire to their quarters, and become secure: many get drunk."

While the enemy was thus lulled into security, General Washington, who accompanied the upper column, arriving at the outpost on that road precisely at eight, drove it in, and, in three minutes, heard the fire from the column which had taken the river road. The picket-guard attempted to keep up a fire while retreating, but was pursued with such ardor as to be unable to make

a stand. Colonel Rahl paraded his men, and met the assailants. In the commencement of the action he was mortally wounded, upon which the troops, in apparent confusion, attempted to gain the road to Princeton. General Washington threw a detachment into their front, while he advanced rapidly on them in person. Finding themselves surrounded, and their artillery already seized, they laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. About twenty of the enemy were killed, and about one thousand made prisoners. Six field-pieces and a thousand stand of small-arms were also taken. On the part of the Americans, two privates were killed, two frozen to death, and three or four privates wounded. Captain Washington, who had returned to the scene of action with General Washington's column, and Lieutenant Monroe (afterwards president of the United States), were both wounded in capturing the enemy's artillery.

Unfortunately, the ice rendered it impracticable for General Irvine to execute that part of the plan which was allotted to him. With his utmost efforts, he was unable to cross the river; and the road towards Bordentown remained open. About five hundred men, among whom was a troop of cavalry, stationed in the lower end of Trenton, availed themselves of this circumstance, and crossing the bridge in the commencement of the action, escaped down the river. The same cause pre-

\* William A. Washington, afterwards distinguished as a colonel of cavalry. See Document [B] at the end of this chapter.



vented General Cadwalader from attacking the post at Mount Holly. With great difficulty a part of his infantry passed the river, but returned on its being found absolutely impracticable to cross with the artillery.

Although this plan failed in so many of its parts, the success attending that which was conducted by Washington in person was followed by the happiest effects.

Had it been practicable for the divisions under Generals Irvine and Cadwalader to cross the river, it was intended to proceed from Trenton to the posts at and about Bordentown, to sweep the British from the banks of the Delaware, and to maintain a position in the Jerseys. But finding that those parts of the plan had failed, and supposing the British to remain in force below, while a strong corps was posted at Princeton, Washington thought it unadvisable to hazard the loss of the very important advantage already gained, by attempting to increase it, and recrossed the river with his prisoners and military stores.\* Lieutenant-colonel Baylor, his aid-de-camp, who carried the intelligence of this success to Congress, was presented with a horse completely caparisoned for service, and recommended to the command of a regiment of cavalry.

\* Before the Hessian prisoners were actually marched through the streets of Philadelphia, the Tories in that city affected to doubt the reality of any victory having been obtained by Washington. Probably no procession in Philadelphia was ever attended with so much effect as this of the Hessian prisoners.

Nothing could surpass the astonishment of Howe at this unexpected display of vigor on the part of Washington. His condition, and that of his country, had been thought desperate. He had been deserted by all the troops having a legal right to leave him; and, to render his situation completely ruinous, nearly two-thirds of the continental soldiers still remaining with him, would be entitled to their discharge on the first day of January. There appeared to be no probability of prevailing on them to continue longer in the service, and the recruiting business was absolutely at an end. The spirits of a large proportion of the people were sunk to the lowest point of depression. New Jersey appeared to be completely subdued; and some of the best judges of the public sentiment were of opinion that immense numbers in Pennsylvania, also, were determined not to permit the sixty days allowed in the proclamation of the Howes to elapse, without availing themselves of the pardon it proffered. Instead of offensive operations, the total dispersion of the small remnant of the American army was to be expected, since it would be rendered too feeble by the discharge of those engaged only until the last day of December, to attempt, any longer, the defence of the Delaware, which would by that time, in all probability, be passable on the ice. While every appearance supported these opinions, and Howe, without being sanguine, might well consider the war as approaching its termination, this bold



and fortunate enterprise announced to him, that he was contending with an adversary who could never cease to be formidable while the possibility of resistance remained. Finding the conquest of America more distant than had been supposed, he determined, in the depth of winter, to recommence active operations; and Lord Cornwallis, who had retired to New York with the intention of embarking for Europe, suspended his departure, and returned to the Jerseys in great force, for the purpose of regaining the ground which had been lost.

Meanwhile, Count Donop, who commanded the troops below Trenton, on hearing the disaster which had befallen Colonel Rahl, retreated by the road leading to Amboy, and joined General Leslie at Princeton. The next day, General Cadwalader crossed the Delaware, with orders to harass the enemy, but to put nothing to hazard until he should be joined by the continental battalions, who were allowed a day or two of repose, after the fatigues of the enterprise against Trenton. General Mifflin joined General Irvine with about fifteen hundred Pennsylvania militia, and those troops also crossed the river.

Finding himself once more at the head of a force with which it seemed practicable to act offensively, Washington determined to employ the winter in endeavoring to recover Jersey.

With this view, he ordered General Heath to leave a small detachment at Peekskill, and with the main body of

the New England militia, to enter Jersey, and approach the British cantonments on that side. General Maxwell was ordered, with all the militia he could collect, to harass their flank and rear, and to attack their outposts on every favorable occasion, while the continental troops, led by himself, recrossed the Delaware, and took post at Trenton. On the last day of December, the regulars of New England were entitled to a discharge. With great difficulty, and a bounty of ten dollars, many of them were induced to renew their engagements for six weeks.

The British were now collected in force at Princeton under Lord Cornwallis; and appearances 1777. confirmed the intelligence, secretly obtained, that he intended to attack the American army.

Generals Mifflin and Cadwalader, who lay at Bordentown and Crosswix, with three thousand six hundred militia, were therefore ordered to join the commander-in-chief, whose whole effective force, with this addition, did not exceed five thousand men.

Lord Cornwallis advanced upon him the next morning; and about four in the afternoon, the van of the British army reached Trenton. On its approach General Washington retired across the Assumpinck, a creek which runs through the town. The British attempted to cross the creek at several places, but finding all the fords guarded, they desisted from the attempt, and kindled their fires. The Americans kindled their

fires likewise, and a cannonade was kept up on both sides till dark.

The situation of General Washington was again extremely critical. Should he maintain his position, he would certainly be attacked next morning, by a force so very superior, as to render the destruction of his little army inevitable. Should he attempt to retreat over the Delaware, the passage of that river had been rendered so difficult by a few mild and foggy days which had softened the ice, that a total defeat would be hazarded. In any event, the Jerseys would, once more, be entirely in possession of the enemy; the public mind again be depressed; recruiting discouraged; and Philadelphia, a second time, in the grasp of General Howe.

In this embarrassing state of things, he formed the bold design of abandoning the Delaware, and marching, by a circuitous route, along the left flank of the British army, into its rear, at Princeton, where its strength could not be great; and, after beating the troops at that place, to move rapidly to Brunswick, where the baggage and principal magazines of the army lay under a weak guard. He indulged the hope that this manœuvre would call the attention of the British general to his own defence. Should Lord Cornwallis, contrary to every reasonable calculation, proceed to Philadelphia, nothing worse could happen in that quarter, than must happen should the American army be driven before him; and some compensation for that calamity would be obtained by ex-

PELLING the enemy completely from Jersey, and cutting up, in detail, all his parties in that State.

Gordon's account of what followed the resolution of Washington to march to Trenton, as well as of the deliberations in both camps, is, as usual, lively and dramatic:

"Sir William Erskine, according to report, advises Lord Cornwallis to an immediate attack, saying, 'Otherwise Washington, if any general, will make a move to the left of your army: if your lordship does not attack, throw a large body of troops on the road to your left.' The attack is put off till the morning. His lordship might act upon what is said to be a military principle, that the strongest army ought not to attack towards night. Meanwhile Washington calls a council of war. It is known that they are to be attacked the next day by the whole collected force of the enemy. The matter of debate is, 'Shall we march down on the Jersey side, and cross the Delaware over against Philadelphia, or shall we fight?' Both are thought to be too hazardous. On this General Washington says, 'What think you of a circuitous march to Princeton?' It is approved, and concluded upon. Providence favors the manœuvre. The weather having been for two days warm, moist, and foggy, the ground is become quite soft, and the roads to be passed so deep, that it will be extremely difficult, if practicable, to get on with the cattle, carriages, and artillery. But while the council is sit-







ting, the wind suddenly changes to the northwest, and it freezes so hard, that by the time the troops are ready to move, they pass on as though upon a solid pavement. Such freezings frequently happen in the depth of winter, upon the wind's coming suddenly about to the northwest. This sudden change of weather gives a plausible pretext for that line of fires, which Washington causes to be kindled, soon after dark, in the front of his army; and by which he conceals himself from the notice of the enemy, and induces them to believe he is still upon the ground, waiting for them till morning. The stratagem is rendered the more complete, by an order given to the men, who are intrusted with the business, to keep up the fires in full blaze, till break of day. While the fires are burning, the baggage and three pieces of ordnance are sent off to Burlington for security; and with the design, that if the enemy follow it, the Americans may take advantage of their so doing. The troops march about one o'clock with great silence and order, and crossing Sanpink Creek,\* proceed towards and arrive near Princeton a little before daybreak.

The three British regiments are marching down to Trenton on another road about a quarter of a mile distant. The centre of the Americans, consisting of the Philadelphia militia, under General Mercer, advances to attack them. Colonel Mawhood considers it only as a

flying party attempting to interrupt his march, and approaches with his seventeenth regiment so near before he fires, that the color of their buttons is discerned. He repulses the assailants with great spirit, and they give way in confusion; officers and men seem seized with a panic, which spreads fast, and indicates an approaching defeat.

Washington perceives the disorder, and penetrates the fatal consequence of being vanquished. The present moment requires an exertion to ward off the danger, however hazardous to his own person. He advances instantly; encourages his troops to make a stand; places himself between them and the British, distant from each other about thirty yards; reins his horse's head towards the front of the enemy; and boldly faces them while they discharge their pieces: their fire is immediately returned by the Americans, without their adverting to the position of the general, who is providentially preserved from being injured either by foe or friend.

The scale is turned, and Colonel Mawhood soon finds that he is attacked on all sides by a superior force; and that he is cut off from the rest of the brigade. He discovers also by the continued distant firing, that the fifty-fifth is not in better circumstances. His regiment having used their bayonets, with too much severity, on the party put to flight by them in the beginning, now pay for it in proportion; near sixty are killed upon the spot, besides the

\* Assumpinck Creek, spelt variously by different writers. Spark spells it Assanpink.



wounded. But the colonel and a number force their way through, and pursue their march to Maidenhead. The fifty-fifth regiment being hard pressed, and finding it impossible to continue its march, makes good its retreat, and returns by the way of Hillsborough to Brunswick. The fortieth is but little engaged; those of the men who escape, retire by another road to the same place.

It was proposed to make a forced march to Brunswick, where was the baggage of the whole British army, and General Lee; but the men having been without either rest, rum, or provisions for two days and two nights, were unequal to the task. It was then debated, whether to file off to Cranberry in order to cross the Delaware and secure Philadelphia.

General Knox\* urged their marching to Morristown, and informed the commander-in-chief, that when he passed through that part of the country, he observed that it was a good position. He also remarked, that they should be upon the flank of the enemy, and might easily change their situation, if requisite. By his earnest importunity he prevailed, and the measure was adopted.

General Greene was with the main body, which was advanced; and had entered the Morristown road, without having been made acquainted with the determination. Just as that was con-

cluded upon, the enemy were firing upon the rear of the Americans.

Lord Cornwallis had been waked by the sound of the American cannon at Princeton; and finding himself outgeneralled, and apprehensive for his stores and baggage, had posted back with the utmost expedition. The army under General Washington marched on to Pluckemin, in their way to Morristown, pulling up the bridges as they proceeded, thereby to incommode the enemy and secure themselves. By the time they got there, the men were so excessively fatigued, that a fresh and resolute body of five hundred might have demolished the whole. Numbers lay down in the woods and fell asleep, without regarding the coldness of the weather. The royal army was still under such alarming impressions, that it continued its march from Trenton to Brunswick, thirty miles, without halting longer at least than was necessary to make the bridges over Stony Brook and Millstone passable."

In the battle of Princeton, rather more than one hundred of the British were killed in the field, and near three hundred were taken prisoners. The loss of the Americans was considerably less,† but in their number was included General Mercer, an officer of extraordinary merit, who had served with Washington in his early campaigns in Virginia, and was greatly esteemed and beloved by him. Mercer fell in the first

\* Knox was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general on the day after the battle of Trenton. See Document [C] at the end of this chapter.

† Washington in a letter says thirty privates were killed.



charge against Mawhood which was repelled; and in which the bayonet was so mercilessly used, as above noticed in our quotation from Gordon. Mercer, himself, after being dismounted and knocked down with the butt of a musket, was repeatedly bayoneted, and left for dead on the field. After the battle was over, he was found by his aid-de-camp, Major Armstrong, and conveyed to the house of Mr. Clark, where he

expired on the 12th of January, 1777.

in the fifty-sixth year of his age. His remains were subsequently removed to Philadelphia, and buried with military honors in the grounds of Christ Church. A monument was voted to his memory by Congress, which was never erected; but recently the citizens of Philadelphia had his remains removed to Laurel Hill Cemetery, with great funeral pomp, and placed beneath a splendid marble monument raised by subscription among themselves.

Besides General Mercer, the Americans lost at Princeton Colonels Haslet and Potter, Captain Neal of the artillery, and Captain Fleming, who commanded the first Virginia regiment, and four or five other valuable officers. "Colonel Haslet had distinguished himself by his bravery and good conduct in the battles of Rhode Island and Chatterton's Hill, and in several hazardous enterprises."\*

The bold, judicious, and unexpected attacks made at Trenton and Princeton,

had a much more extensive influence than would be supposed from a mere estimate of the killed and taken. They saved Philadelphia for the winter; recovered the State of Jersey; and, which was of still more importance, revived the drooping spirits of the people, and gave a perceptible impulse to the recruiting service throughout the United States.

The utmost efforts were now directed to the creation of an army for the ensuing campaign, as the only solid basis on which the hopes of the patriot could rest. During the retreat through the Jerseys, and while the expectation prevailed that no effectual resistance could be made to the British armies, some spirited men indeed were animated to greater and more determined exertions; but this state of things produced a very different effect on the great mass, which can alone furnish the solid force of armies. In the middle States especially, the panic of distrust was perceived. Doubts concerning the issue of the contest became extensive; and the recruiting service proceeded so heavily and slowly as to excite the most anxious solicitude for the future.

The affairs of Trenton and Princeton were however magnified into great victories; and were believed by the body of the people to evidence the superiority of their army and of their general. The opinion that they were engaged in a hopeless contest, yielded to a confidence that proper exertions would insure ultimate success.

This change of opinion was accom-

\* Sparks, *Writings of Washington. Life of Washington.*  
VOL. I 68

panied with an essential change of conduct; and, although the regiments required by Congress were not completed, they were made much stronger than was believed to be possible before this happy revolution in the aspect of public affairs.

The firmness of Congress throughout the gloomy and trying period which intervened between the loss of Fort Washington and the battle of Princeton, gives the members of that time a just claim to the admiration of the world, and to the gratitude of every American. Undismayed by impending dangers, they did not, for an instant, admit the idea of surrendering the independence they had declared, and purchasing peace by returning to their colonial position. As the British army advanced through Jersey, and the consequent insecurity of Philadelphia rendered an adjournment from that place a necessary measure of precaution, their exertions seemed to increase with their difficulties. They sought to remove the despondence which was seizing and paralyzing the public mind, by an address to the States, in which every argument was suggested which could rouse them to vigorous action. They made the most strenuous efforts to animate the militia, and impel them to the field, by the agency of those whose popular eloquence best fitted them for such a service.

The magnanimous conduct of Congress was favorably contrasted in the public mind with that of the represen-

tatives of royalty, and those who acted under their authority in the colonies. We have already repeatedly noticed the proclamation of the Howes, promising pardon and protection to those who would desert the standard of their country. These promises were any thing but faithfully observed.

When the royal army entered the Jerseys, says Gordon, the inhabitants pretty generally remained in their houses, and many thousands received printed protections, signed by order of General Howe. But neither the proclamation of the commissioners, nor protections, saved the people from plunder any more than from insult. Their property was taken or destroyed without distinction of persons. They showed their protections: Hessians could not read them, and would not understand them; and the British soldiers thought they had as good a right to a share of booty as the Hessians.

The loyalists were plundered even at New York. General De Heister may be pronounced the arch-plunderer. He offered the house he lived in at New York at public sale; though the property of a very loyal subject, who had voluntarily and hospitably accommodated him with it. The goods of others, suffering restraint or imprisonment among the Americans, were sold by auction. The carriages of gentlemen of the first rank were seized, their arms defaced, and the plunderer's arms blazoned in their place; and this, too, by British officers.



Discontents and murmurs increased every hour at the licentious ravages of the soldiery, both British and foreigners, who, at this period of the war, were shamefully permitted, with unrelenting hand, to pillage friend and foe in the Jerseys. Neither age, nor sex, was spared. Infants, children, old men and women, were left in their shirts, without a blanket to cover them, under the inclemency of winter. Every kind of furniture was destroyed and burnt; windows and doors were broken to pieces; in short, the houses were left uninhabitable, and the people without provisions; for every horse, cow, ox, and fowl, was carried off.

Depredations and abuses were committed by that part of the army, which was stationed at or near Pennington.\* Sixteen young women fled to the woods to avoid the brutality of the soldiers, where they were seized and carried off. One father was murdered for attempting to defend his daughter's honor. Other brutalities towards women, recorded by contemporary writers, are too gross for recital.

These enormities, though too frequently practised in a time of war by the military, unless restrained by the severest discipline, so exasperated the people of the Jerseys, that they flew to arms immediately upon the army's hurrying from Trenton; and forming themselves into parties, they waylaid their enemies, and cut them off as they

had opportunity. The militia collected. The Americans in a few days overran the Jerseys. The enemy was forced from Woodbridge. General Maxwell surprised Elizabethtown, and took near one hundred prisoners, with a quantity of baggage. Newark was abandoned. The royal troops were confined to the narrow compass of Brunswick and Amboy, both holding an open communication with New York by water. They could not even stir out to forage but in large parties, which seldom returned without loss. General Dickinson,† with about four hundred militia and fifty Pennsylvania riflemen, defeated, near Somerset court-house, on Millstone River, January 20th, a foraging party 1777. of the enemy of equal number; and took forty wagons, upwards of one hundred horses, besides sheep and cattle which they had collected. They retreated with such precipitation, that he could make only nine prisoners; but they were observed to carry off many dead and wounded in light wagons. The general's behavior reflected the highest honor upon him; for though his troops were all raw, he led them through the river middle deep, and gave the enemy so severe a charge, that, although supported by three field-pieces, they gave way, and left their convoy.

But among all the officers who were

\* Pennington.

† This brave and able officer, General Philemon Dickinson, was brother to the celebrated John Dickinson, author of the Farmer's Letters. General Dickinson was afterwards a senator of the United States.



engaged in watching and harassing the British with a view to their expulsion from the Jerseys, none rendered more important service than the veteran General Putnam. He had been at Washington's side during the whole of the retreat through the Jerseys, and had been appointed to the command at Philadelphia on their arrival there, where he was presently employed in superintending a line of redoubts above the city, extending from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, to resist any approach of the enemy to the city by land. When the recent offensive operations in Jersey had taken place, he had been left in the city by Washington to quell an anticipated insurrection of the tories.

General Putnam, says Peabody,\* had, therefore, no share in the victory at Trenton, nor in that of Princeton, by which it was succeeded.

So great was the effect of these enterprises on the enemy, that Washington began to entertain the hope of driving them beyond the limits of New Jersey. On the 5th of January, 1777, he ordered General Putnam to march with the troops under his command to Crosswick, a few miles southeast of Trenton, using the utmost precaution to guard against surprise, and laboring to create an impression that his force was twice as great as it actually was. The object of the commander-in-chief was partially accomplished by the concentration of the British forces at New Brunswick

and Amboy; and General Putnam was soon after ordered to take post at Princeton, where he passed the remainder of the winter. This position was scarcely fifteen miles from the enemy's camp at New Brunswick; but the troops of Putnam at no time exceeded a few hundred, and were once fewer in number than the miles of frontier he was expected to guard.

Captain Macpherson, a Scotch officer of the seventeenth British regiment, had received in the battle of Princeton, a severe wound which was thought likely to prove fatal. When General Putnam reached that place, he found that it had been deemed inexpedient to provide medical aid and other comforts for one who was likely to require them for so short a period; but by his orders the captain was attended with the utmost care, and at length recovered. He was warm in the expression of his gratitude; and one day when Putnam, in reply to his inquiries, assured him that he was a Yankee, averred that he had not believed it possible for any human being but a Scotchman to be so kind and generous.

Indeed the benevolence of the general was one day put to somewhat of a delicate test. The patient, when his recovery was considered doubtful, solicited that a friend in the British army at New Brunswick might be permitted to come and aid him in the preparation of his will. Full sorely perplexed was General Putnam by his desire, on the one hand, to gratify the wishes of his

\* Life of General Putnam in Sparks' American Biography.

prisoner, and a natural reluctance, on the other, to permit the enemy to spy out the nakedness of his camp. His good-nature at length prevailed; but not at the expense of his discretion; and a flag of truce was dispatched with orders not to return with the captain's friend until after dark.

By the time of his arrival, the lights were displayed in all the apartments of College Hall, and in all the vacant houses in the town; the army, which then consisted of fifty effective men, was marched about with remarkable celerity, sometimes in close column, and sometimes in detachments, with unusual pomp and circumstance, around the quarters of the captain. It was subsequently ascertained, as we are assured by Colonel Humphreys, that the force of Putnam was computed by the framer of the will, on his return to the British camp, to consist, at the lowest estimate, of five thousand men.

During his command at Princeton, General Putnam was employed, with activity and much success, in affording protection to the persons in his neighborhood who remained faithful to the American cause. They were exposed to great danger from the violent incursions of the loyalists; and constant vigilance was required, in order to guard against the depredations of the latter. Through the whole winter there raged a war of skirmishes. On the 17th of February, Colonel Nielson, with a party of one hundred and fifty militia, was sent by General Putnam to surprise a

small corps of loyalists, who were fortifying themselves at Lawrence's Neck. They were of the corps of Cortlandt Skinner, of New Jersey, a brigadier-general of provincials in the British service. We know not how to relate the result of this affair more briefly, than it is given in the following extract from a letter addressed by Putnam to the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania, on the day after it occurred:

"Yesterday evening, Colonel Nielson, with a hundred and fifty men, at Lawrence's Neck, attacked sixty men of Cortlandt Skinner's brigade, commanded by the enemy's renowned land pilot, Richard Stockton, and took the whole prisoners; among them the major, a captain, and three subalterns, with seventy stand of arms. Fifty of the Bedford, Pennsylvania, riflemen behaved like veterans."

On another occasion, he detached Major Smith with a few riflemen, against a foraging party of the enemy, and followed him with the rest of his forces; but before he came up, the party had been captured by the riflemen. These and other similar incidents may appear individually as of little moment; but before the close of the winter, General Putnam had thus taken nearly a thousand prisoners, and had accomplished the more important object of keeping the disaffected in continual awe.

In their operations for completely reclaiming the inhabitants of the Jerseys from their recent disaffection to the



cause of liberty, Washington, Putnam, and the other American commanders were greatly aided by the atrocities of the British and Hessian troops against the unoffending people.

The whole country was now become hostile to the British army. Sufferers of all parties rose as one man to revenge their personal injuries and particular oppressions, and were the most bitter and determined enemies. They who were incapable of bearing arms, acted as spies; and kept a continual watch, so that not the slightest motion could be made by the royalists, without its being discovered before it could produce the intended effect.

This hostile spirit was encouraged by a proclamation of Washington (January 25th), which commanded every person having subscribed the declaration of fidelity to Great Britain, taken the oaths of allegiance, and accepted protections and certificates from the commissioners, to deliver up the same, and take the oath of allegiance to the United States of America. It granted, however, full liberty to such as should prefer the interest and protection of Great Britain to the freedom and happiness of their country, forthwith to withdraw themselves and their families within the enemy's lines. But it declared, that all who neglected or refused to comply with the order within thirty days from the date, would be deemed adherents to the king of Great Britain, and treated as common enemies to the American States.

Washington sent forth this proclamation (January 25th) from his headquarters at Morristown, situated among hills of difficult access, where he had a fine country in his rear, from which he could easily draw supplies, and was able to retreat across the Delaware, if needful. Giving his troops little repose, he overran both East and West Jersey, spread his army over the Raritan, and penetrated into the county of Essex, where he made himself master of the coast opposite Staten Island. With a greatly inferior army, by judicious movements, he wrested from the British almost all their conquests in the Jerseys. Brunswick and Amboy were the only posts which remained in their hands, and even in these they were not a little harassed and straitened. The American detachments were in a state of unwearied activity, frequently surprising and cutting off the British advanced guards, keeping them in constant alarm, and melting down their numbers by a desultory and destructive warfare.

Meantime the victories at Trenton and Princeton, followed by the expulsion of the enemy from nearly every part of New Jersey, had added greatly to Washington's fame. Achievements so astonishing, says Botta, acquired an immense glory for the captain-general of the United States. All nations were surprised by the glory of the Americans; all equally admired and applauded the prudence, the constancy, and the noble intrepidity of General



Washington. A unanimous voice pronounced him the savior of his country ; all extolled him as equal to the most celebrated commanders of antiquity ; all proclaimed him the Fabius of America. His name was in the mouth of all ; he was celebrated by the pens of the most distinguished writers. The most illustrious personages of Europe lav-

ished upon him their praises and their congratulations. The American general, therefore, wanted neither a cause full of grandeur to defend, nor occasion for the acquisition of glory, nor genius to avail himself of it, nor the renown due to his triumphs, nor an entire generation of men perfectly well disposed to render him homage.

## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER IX.

---

[A.]

GENERAL CADWALADER.

THIS brave officer was the father of General Cadwalader, who served in the war of 1812, and grandfather of General Cadwalader, who played so conspicuous a part in the recent war with Mexico.

The officer named in the preceding chapter, John Cadwalader, born in Philadelphia, was distinguished for his zealous and inflexible adherence to the cause of America, and for his intrepidity as a soldier, in upholding that cause during the most discouraging periods of danger and misfortune. At the dawn of the Revolution, he commanded a corps of volunteers, designated as "the silk-stocking company," of which nearly all the members were appointed to commissions in the line of the army. He afterwards was appointed colonel of one of the city battalions; and, being thence promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, was intrusted with the command of the Pennsylvania troops, in the important operations of the winter campaign of 1776 and 1777. He acted with his command, and as a volunteer, in the actions of Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, and other occasions; and received the thanks of General Washington, whose confidence and regard he uniformly enjoyed.

When General Washington determined to attack the British and Hessian troops at Trenton, he assigned him the command of a division. In the evening of Christmas-day, 1776, Washington made arrangements to pass the river Delaware, in three divisions: one, consisting of five hundred men, under General Cadwalader, from the vicinity of Bristol; a second division,

under the command of General Irvine, was to cross at Trenton Ferry, and secure the bridge leading to the town. Generals Cadwalader and Irvine made every exertion to get over, but the quantity of ice was so great, that they could not effect their purpose. The third, and main body, which was commanded by Washington, crossed at M'Konkey's Ferry; but the ice in the river retarded their passage so long, that it was three o'clock in the morning before the artillery could be got over. On their landing in Jersey, they were formed into two divisions, commanded by Generals Sullivan and Greene, who had under their command brigadiers Lord Stirling, Mercer, and St. Clair: one of these divisions was ordered to proceed on the lower, or river road, the other on the upper, or Pennington road. Colonel Stark, with some light troops, was also directed to advance near to the river, and to possess himself of that part of the town which is beyond the bridge. The divisions having nearly the same distance to march, were ordered immediately, on forcing the out-guards, to push directly into Trenton, that they might charge the enemy before they had time to form. Though they marched different roads, yet they arrived at the enemy's advanced post within three minutes of each other. The out-guards of the Hessian troops at Trenton soon fell back, but kept up a constant retreating fire. Their main body being hard pressed by the Americans, who had already got possession of half their artillery, attempted to file off by a road leading towards Princeton, but were checked by a body of troops thrown in their way. Finding they were surrounded, they laid down their arms. The number which submitted, was twenty-three officers, and about one thousand men. Between thirty and forty

of the Hessians were killed and wounded. Colonel Rahl was among the former, and seven of his officers among the latter. Captain Washington, of the Virginia troops, and five or six of the Americans were wounded. Two were killed, and two or three were frozen to death. Rahl was visited in his last moments by General Washington.

Of the detachment in Trenton, consisting of the regiments of Rahl, Losberg, and Knyphausen, amounting in the whole to about fifteen hundred men, and a troop of British light-horse, nine hundred were killed or captured, and the remainder escaped by the road leading to Bordentown.

The British had a strong battalion of light-infantry at Princeton, and a force yet remaining near the Delaware, superior to the American army. General Washington, therefore, in the evening of the same day, thought it most prudent to recross into Pennsylvania, with his prisoners.

The next day after Washington's return, supposing him still on the Jersey side, General Cadwalader crossed with about fifteen hundred men, and pursued the panic-struck enemy to Burlington.

The merits and services of General Cadwalader induced the Congress, early in 1778, to compliment him by a unanimous vote, with the appointment of general of cavalry; which appointment he declined, under an impression that he could be more useful to his country in the sphere in which he had been acting.

The victory at Trenton had a most happy effect, and General Washington, finding himself at the head of a force with which it was practicable to attempt something, resolved not to remain inactive. Inferior as he was to the enemy, he yet determined to employ the winter in endeavoring to recover the whole, or a great part of Jersey. The enemy were now collected in force at Princeton, under Lord Cornwallis, where some works were thrown up. Generals Mifflin and Cadwalader, who lay at Bordentown and Crosswicks, with three thousand six hundred militia, were ordered to march up in the night of the 1st January, 1777, to join the commander-in-chief, whose whole force, with this

addition, did not exceed five thousand men. He formed the bold and judicious design of abandoning the Delaware, and marching silently in the night by a circuitous route, along the left flank of the enemy, into their rear at Princeton, where he knew they could not be very strong. He reached Princeton early in the morning of the third, and would have completely surprised the British, had not a party, which was on their way to Trenton, descried his troops, when they were about two miles distant, and sent back couriers to alarm their fellow-soldiers in the rear. A sharp action ensued, which however was not of long duration. The militia, of which the advanced party was principally composed, soon gave way. General Mercer was mortally wounded while exerting himself to rally his broken troops. The moment was critical. General Washington pushed forward, and placed himself between his own men and the British, with his horse's head fronting the latter. The Americans, encouraged by his example, made a stand, and returned the British fire. A party of the British fled into the college, and were attacked with field-pieces. After receiving a few discharges, they came out and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. In this action upwards of one hundred of the enemy were killed on the spot, and three hundred taken prisoners. The Americans lost only a few, but colonels Haslet and Potter, two brave and valuable officers, from Delaware and Pennsylvania, were among the slain.

General Cadwalader's celebrated duel with General Conway, arose from his spirited opposition to the intrigues of that officer, to undermine the standing of the commander-in-chief. Cadwalader resented the infamous conduct of Conway so deeply, that a challenge to fight was the consequence.

In the combat which followed, General Conway was dangerously wounded, and while his recovery was doubtful, he addressed a letter to General Washington, acknowledging that he had done him injustice.

Among many obituary notices of General Cadwalader, this patriotic and exemplary man, the following outline of his character, in the form of a monumental inscription, is selected



from a Baltimore paper, of the 24th of February, 1786 :

“ In memory of  
GENERAL JOHN CADWALADER,  
who died February the 10th, 1786,  
at Shrewsbury, his seat in Kent county,  
in the 44th year of his age.  
This amiable and worthy gentleman,  
had served his country with reputation, in the  
character of a soldier and statesman :  
he took an active part, and had a principal share,  
in the late Revolution,  
and, although he was zealous in the cause  
of American freedom,  
his conduct was not mark'd with the  
least degree of malevolence, or party spirit.  
Those who honestly differed from him in opinion,  
he always treated with singular tenderness.  
In sociability, and cheerfulness of temper,  
honesty and goodness of heart,  
independence of spirit, and warmth of friendship,  
he had no superior,  
and few, very few equals :  
never did any man die more lamented by  
his friends, and neighbors ;  
to his family and near relations,  
his death was a stroke still more severe.”

[B.]

COLONEL WILLIAM AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

This was one of the most popular officers in the army. He was styled by his enthusiastic admirers the modern Marcellus, the sword of his country, and was as courageous and spirited as he was popular.

William Augustine Washington, lieutenant-colonel commandant of a continental regiment of dragoons during the Revolutionary War, was the eldest son of Baily Washington, Esq., of Stafford county, in the State of Virginia.

First among the youth of Virginia who hastened to the standard of his country, on the rupture between Great Britain and her colonies, he was appointed to the command of a company of infantry in the third regiment of the Virginia line, commanded by Colonel, afterwards Brigadier-general, Mercer. In no corps in our service was the substantial knowledge of the profession of arms more likely to be acquired.

Washington served, with his regiment, in the operations near New York in 1776, and on the

retreat through New Jersey, sharing with distinguished applause, in that disastrous period, its difficulties, its dangers, and its glory. When afterwards the commander-in-chief struck at Colonel Rahl, stationed with a body of Hessians in Trenton, Captain Washington was attached to the van of one of the assailing columns, and in that daring and well-executed enterprise, received a musket-ball through his hand, bravely leading on his company against the arraying enemy.

The commander-in-chief having experienced the extreme difficulties to which he had been exposed during the preceding campaign, by his want of cavalry, was, shortly after this period, in consequence of his suggestions to Congress, authorized to raise three regiments of light dragoons. To the command of one of these he appointed Lieutenant-colonel Baylor, one of his aid-de-camps. To this regiment Captain Washington was transferred with the rank of major, and returned to Virginia for the purpose of assisting in recruiting the regiment.

As soon as the corps was completed, Baylor joined the main army ; his regiment was, in 1778, surprised by a detachment of the British, led by Major-general Gray, and suffered severely. Washington fortunately escaped ; and in the course of the succeeding year, or early in 1780, he was detached with the remains of Bland's, Baylor's, and Moylan's regiments of horse, to the army of Major-general Lincoln, in South Carolina, where he was constantly employed with the light troops, and experienced, with some flashes of fortune, two severe blows ; first at Monk's Corner, where he commanded the horse, and last at Leneau's Ferry, when he was second to Lieutenant-colonel White, of Moylan's regiment. These repeated disasters so reduced the cavalry, that White and Washington retired from the field, and repaired to the northern confines of North Carolina, for the purpose of repairing their heavy losses. It was here that they applied to General Gates for the aid of his name and authority to expedite the restoration and equipment of their regiments, that they might be ready to take the field under his orders. This salutary and proper request was injudiciously disregarded ; from which omission

very injurious consequences seem to have resulted in the sequel.

After the defeat of General Gates on the 16th of the following August, it will be recollected that the American general retired to Hillsborough, from whence he returned to Salisbury.

Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with his cavalry, now accompanied him, and formed a part of the light corps placed by Gates under the direction of Brigadier Morgan. He resumed his accustomed active and vigorous service, and rendered important aid in carrying out the bold designs of that commander.

During this period he carried, by an extraordinary stratagem, the post at Rugeley's, which drew from Lord Cornwallis the following letter to Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton: "Rugeley will not be made a brigadier. He surrendered, without firing a shot, himself and one hundred and three rank and file to the cavalry only. A deserter of Morgan's assures us that the infantry never came within three miles of the house."

Greene now succeeded Gates, when Brigadier Morgan, with the light corps, was detached to hang upon the enemy's left flank, and to threaten Ninety-Six.

The battle of the Cowpens ensued, in which Washington, at the head of the cavalry, acquired fresh laurels. He continued with the light corps, performing with courage and precision the duties assigned him, until the junction of the two divisions of the American army at Guilford Courthouse. Soon after this event a more powerful body of horse and foot was selected by General Greene, and placed under Colonel Williams, of which Washington and his cavalry were a constituent part.

In the eventful and trying retreat which ensued, Lieutenant-colonel Washington contributed his full share to the maintenance of the measures of Williams, which terminated so propitiously to our arms, and so honorably to the light troops and their commander. After the repassage of the Dan, Washington and his horse were again placed in the van, and with Howard and Lee, led by Williams, played that arduous game of marches, countermarches, and manœuvres, which greatly contributed to baffle the skilful display of talents and enterprise, exhib-

ited by Lord Cornwallis in his persevering attempt to force Greene, at the head of an inferior army, to battle, or to cut him off from his approaching reinforcements and supplies.

Colonel Washington acted a very distinguished part in the battles of Guilford, Hobkirk's Hill, and Eutaw, and throughout the arduous campaign of 1781; always at his post, decided, firm, and brave, courting danger and contemning difficulty. His eminent services were lost to the army from the battle of Eutaw, where, to its great regret, he was made prisoner; nor did he afterwards take any part in the war, as from the period of his exchange nothing material occurred, the respective armies being confined to minor operations produced by the prospect of peace. While a prisoner in Charleston, Washington became acquainted with Miss Elliott, a young lady in whom concentrated the united attractions of respectable descent, opulence, polish, and beauty. The gallant soldier soon became enamored with his amiable acquaintance, and afterwards married her. This happened in the spring of 1782; and he established himself in South Carolina at Sandy Hill, the ancestral seat of his wife.

Washington seems to have devoted his subsequent years to domestic duties, rarely breaking in upon them by attention to public affairs, and then only as a member of the State legislature. He possessed a stout frame, being six feet in height, broad, strong, and corpulent. His occupations and his amusements applied to the body rather than to the mind, to the cultivation of which he did not bestow much time or application; nor was his education of the sort to induce such habits, being only calculated to fit a man for the common business of life. In temper he was good-humored; in disposition amiable; in heart upright, generous, and friendly; in manners lively, innocent, and agreeable.

His military exploits announce his grade and character in arms. Bold, collected, and persevering, he preferred the heat of action to the collection and shifting of intelligence, to the calculations and combinations of means and measures, and was better fitted for the field of battle than for the drudgery of camp and the watchfulness of preparation. Kind to his sol-



diers, his system of discipline was rather lax, and sometimes subjected him to injurious consequences when close to a sagacious and vigilant adversary.

Lieutenant-colonel Washington was selected by his illustrious relation, when he accepted the command of the army during the presidency of Mr. Adams, as one of his staff, with the rank of brigadier-general, a decided proof of the high value attached, by the best judge in America, to his military talents.

Leading a life of honor, of benevolence and hospitality, in the bosom of his family and friends, during which, until its last two years, he enjoyed high health, this gallant soldier died March 6, 1810, after a tedious indisposition, leaving a widow, a son, and a daughter.

---

[C.]

GENERAL KNOX.

Henry Knox, major-general in the American army during the Revolutionary War, head of the artillery department of the army,—an officer who may very properly be considered the right hand of Washington,—was born in Boston, July 25, 1750. His parents were of Scottish descent. Before our Revolutionary War, which afforded an opportunity for the development of his patriotic feelings and military talents, he was engaged in a bookstore. By means of his early education and this honorable employment, he acquired a taste for literary pursuits, which he retained through life.

Young Knox gave early proofs of his attachment to the cause of freedom and his country. It will be recollected, that, in various parts of the State, volunteer companies were formed in 1774, with a view to awaken the martial spirit of the people, and as a sort of preparation for the contest which was apprehended. Knox was an officer in a military corps of this denomination; and was distinguished by his activity and discipline. There is evidence of his giving uncommon attention to military tactics at this period, especially to the branch of enginery and artillery, in which he afterwards so greatly excelled.

It is also to be recorded, in proof of his predominant love of his country and its liberties, that he had before this time become connected with a very respectable family which adhered to the measures of the British ministry, and had received great promises both of honor and profit, if he would follow the standard of his sovereign. Even at this time his talents were too great to be overlooked; and it was wished, if possible, to prevent him from attaching himself to the cause of the provincials. He was one of those whose departure from Boston was interdicted by Governor Gage, soon after the affair of Lexington. The object of Gage was probably not so much to keep these eminent characters as hostages, as to deprive the Americans of their talents and services. In June, however, he found means to make his way through the British lines to the American army at Cambridge. He was here received with joyful enthusiasm: for his knowledge of the military art, and his zeal for the liberties of the country, were admitted by all. The Provincial Congress then convened at Watertown, immediately sent for him, and intrusted solely to him the erection of such fortresses as might be necessary to prevent a sudden attack from the enemy in Boston.

The little army of militia, collected in and about Cambridge, in the spring of 1775, soon after the battle of Lexington, was without order and discipline. All was insubordination and confusion. General Washington did not arrive to take command of the troops until after this period. In this state of things, Knox declined any particular commission, though he readily directed his attention and exertions to the objects which Congress requested.

It was in the course of this season, and before he had formally undertaken the command of the artillery, that Knox volunteered his services to go to St. John's, in the province of Canada, and to bring thence to Cambridge all the heavy ordnance and military stores. This hazardous enterprise he effected in a manner which astonished all who knew the difficulty of the service.

Soon after his return from this fortunate expedition, he took command of the whole corps







of the artillery of the army, and retained it until the close of the war. To him the country was chiefly indebted for the organization of the artillery and ordnance department. He gave it both form and efficiency; and it was distinguished alike for its expertness of discipline and promptness of execution.

At the battle of Monmouth, in New Jersey, in June, 1778, General Knox exhibited new proofs of his bravery and skill. Under his personal and immediate direction, the artillery gave great effect to the success of that memorable day. It will be remembered, that the British troops were much more numerous than ours; and that General Lee was charged with keeping back the battalion he commanded from the field of battle. The situation of our army was most critical. General Washington was personally engaged in rallying and directing the troops in the most dangerous positions. The affair terminated in favor of our gallant army; and generals Knox and Wayne received the particular commendations of the commander-in-chief the following day, in the orders issued on the occasion. After mentioning the good conduct and bravery of General Wayne, and thanking the gallant officers and men who distinguished themselves, General Washington says, "he can with pleasure inform General Knox and the officers of the artillery, that the enemy have done them the justice to acknowledge that no artillery could be better served than ours."

When General Greene was offered the arduous command of the Southern department, he replied to the commander-in-chief: "Knox is the man for this difficult undertaking: all obstacles vanish before him; his resources are infinite." "True," replied Washington, "and therefore I cannot part with him."

No officer in the army, it is believed, more largely shared in the affection and confidence of the illustrious Washington. In every action where he appeared, Knox was with him; at every council of war he bore a part. In truth, he possessed talents and qualities which could not fail to recommend him to a man of the discriminating mind of Washington. He was intelligent, brave, patriotic, humane, honorable. Washington soon became sensible of his merits,

and bestowed on him his esteem, his friendship, and confidence.

On the resignation of Major-general Benjamin Lincoln, Knox was appointed secretary of the war department by Congress, during the period of the convention. And when the federal government was organized in 1789, he was designated by President Washington for the same honorable and responsible office.

This office he held for about five years; enjoying the confidence of the President, and esteemed by all his colleagues in the administration of the federal government. Of his talents, his integrity, and his devotion to the interests and prosperity of his country, no one had ever any reason to doubt. In 1794, he retired from office to a private station, followed by the esteem and love of all who had been honored with his acquaintance.

At this time he removed with his family to Thomaston, on St. George's River, in the district of Maine, two hundred miles northeast of Boston. He was possessed of extensive landed property in that part of the country, which had formerly belonged to General Waldo, the maternal grandfather of Mrs. Knox.

At the request of his fellow-citizens, though unsolicited on his part, he filled a seat at the Council-Board of Massachusetts, during several years of his residence at Thomaston; and the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on him by the president and trustees of Dartmouth College.

The amiable virtues of the citizen and the man were as conspicuous in the character of General Knox, as the more brilliant and commanding talents of the hero and statesman. The afflicted and destitute were sure to share of his compassion and charity. "His heart was made of tenderness;" and he often disregarded his own wishes and convenience in kind endeavors to promote the interest and happiness of his friends.

The possession of extensive property and high office is too apt to engender pride and insolence. But General Knox was entirely exempt, both in disposition and manners, from this common frailty. Mildness ever beamed in his countenance; "on his tongue were the words of kind-



ness;" and equanimity and generosity always marked his intercourse with his fellow-men. The poor he never oppressed; the most obscure citizen could never complain of injustice at his hands. With all classes of people he dealt on the most fair and honorable principles, and would sooner submit to a sacrifice of property himself, than injure or defraud another.

In his person, General Knox was above the common stature; of noble and commanding form; of manners elegant, conciliating, and dignified.

To the amiable qualities and moral excellencies of General Knox which have already been

enumerated, we may justly add his prevailing disposition to piety. With much of the manners of the gay world, and opposed, as he was, to all superstition and bigotry, he might not appear to those ignorant of his better feelings, to possess religious and devout affections. But to his friends it was abundantly evident that he cherished exalted sentiments of devotion and piety to God. He was a firm believer in the natural and moral attributes of the Deity, and his overruling and all-prevailing providence.

General Knox died at Thomaston, October 25, 1806, aged 56 years. His death was occasioned by swallowing the bone of a chicken.

## CHAPTER X.

1777.

### WASHINGTON OUT-GENERALS HOWE.

Annoyances to Washington arising from the bad treatment of prisoners by the British.—His attempts to have Lee released.—His humanity to Colonel Campbell.—Gordon's account of the sufferings of the American prisoners at New York.—Washington causes the army to be inoculated for the small-pox.—Heath's demonstration at Fort Independence.—Formation of the Old Confederation of the United States.—Its terms.—Its defects.—Proceedings in the British parliament.—Howe's situation in the Jerseys.—The tories.—Governor Tryon made a major-general of tories.—Affair of Peekskill.—Lincoln attacked at Bound Brook.—Foray of Tryon, under the guardianship of Erskine and Agnew, in Danbury.—Its disastrous result to the British, as well as the Americans.—Meigs's retaliatory descent on Long Island.—Its complete success.—Washington disappointed of recruits and reinforcements for the army.—He removes to Middlebrook.—Weakness of the army.—Arnold at Philadelphia.—Howe's object.—He advances towards the Delaware.—He attempts to draw Washington from his position at Middlebrook.—Washington's letter to Arnold.—Howe is foiled by Washington.—He passes over to Staten Island.—Washington advances to Quibbletown.—Howe hastens to attack him.—Is foiled again.—Returns to Staten Island.—News from Burgoyne.—Capture of General Prescott.—Howe embarks his army and sails from New York.—His fleet is seen off the capes of the Delaware.—Washington removes the army to Germantown.—Washington goes to Philadelphia and confers with Congress.—He meets with Lafayette.—Notice of Lafayette.—He is appointed a major-general.—His interview with Washington.—Their friendship.—Howe lands at the Head of Elk.—Washington marches to meet him.—Battle of Brandywine.—Lafayette wounded.—Comments on the battle.—Washington retreats to the falls of the Schuylkill.—Howe advances.—Washington offers him battle.—A storm separates them.—Discovery at the Yellow Springs.—Wayne surprised.—Howe advances to Sweed's Ford.—Council of war decides not to attack Howe.—Hamilton saves the stores at Philadelphia.—Congress retires to Lancaster.—Howe enters Philadelphia.—Comments on the recent operations of Washington and Howe.—Stedman's sharp criticism of Howe.—Actual result of the operations.

AMONG the many perplexing subjects which claimed the attention of Washington, during the winter, while he was

holding his head-quarters among

1777. the hills at Morristown, none gave him more annoyance than that of the treatment of American prisoners, in the hands of the enemy. Among the civilized nations of modern times, prisoners of war are treated with humanity, and principles are established on which they are exchanged. The British officers, however, considered the Ameri-

cans as rebels deserving condign punishment, and not entitled to the sympathetic treatment commonly shown to the captive soldiers of independent nations. They seem to have thought that the Americans would never be able, or would never dare, to retaliate. Hence their prisoners were most infamously treated. Against this the Americans remonstrated; and, on finding their remonstrances disregarded, they adopted a system of retaliation, which occasioned much unmerited suf-

fering to individuals. Colonel Ethan Allen, who had been defeated and made prisoner in a bold but rash attempt against Montreal, was put in irons, and sent to England as a traitor. In retaliation, General Prescott, who had been taken at the mouth of the Sorel, was put in close confinement, for the avowed purpose of subjecting him to the same fate which Colonel Allen should suffer. Both officers and privates, prisoners to the Americans, were more rigorously confined than they would otherwise have been; and, that they might not impute this to wanton harshness and cruelty, they were distinctly told that their own superiors only were to blame for any severe treatment they might experience.

The capture of General Lee became the occasion of embittering the complaints on this subject, and of aggravating the sufferings of the prisoners of war. Before that event, something like a cartel for the exchange of prisoners had been established between generals Howe and Washington; but the captivity of General Lee interrupted that arrangement. The general, as we have seen, had been an officer in the British army; but having been disgusted, had resigned his commission, and, at the beginning of the troubles, had offered his services to Congress, which were readily accepted. General Howe affected to consider him as a deserter, and ordered him into close confinement.

Washington had no prisoner of equal rank, but offered six Hessian field-officers

in exchange for him; and required that, if that offer should not be accepted, General Lee should be treated according to his rank in the American army. General Howe replied that General Lee was a deserter from his majesty's service, and could not be considered as a prisoner of war, nor come within the conditions of the cartel. A fruitless discussion ensued between the commanders-in-chief. Congress took up the matter; and resolved that General Washington be directed to inform General Howe, that should the proffered exchange of six Hessian field-officers for General Lee not be accepted, and his former treatment continued, the principle of retaliation shall occasion five of the Hessian field-officers, together with Lieutenant-colonel Archibald Campbell, or any other officers that are or shall be in possession of the Americans, equivalent in number or quality, to be detained, in order that the treatment which General Lee shall receive may be exactly inflicted upon their persons. Congress also ordered a copy of their resolution to be transmitted to the Council of Massachusetts Bay, and that they be desired to detain Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, and keep him in close custody till the further orders of Congress; and that a copy be also sent to the committee of Congress in Philadelphia, and that they be desired to have the prisoners, officers and privates, lately taken, properly secured in some safe place.

Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, of the



seventy-first regiment, with about two hundred and seventy of his men, had been made prisoner in the bay of Boston, while sailing for the harbor, ignorant of the evacuation of the town by the British. Hitherto the colonel had been civilly treated; but, on receiving the order of Congress respecting him, the Council of Massachusetts Bay, instead of simply keeping him in safe custody, according to order, sent him to Concord jail, and lodged him in a filthy and loathsome dungeon, about twelve or thirteen feet square. He was locked in by double bolts, and expressly prohibited from entering the prison-yard on any consideration whatever. A disgusting hole, fitted up with a pair of fixed chains, and from which a felon had been removed to make room for his reception, was assigned him as an inner apartment. The attendance of a servant was denied him, and no friend was allowed to visit him.

Colonel Campbell naturally complained to Howe of such unworthy treatment; and Howe addressed Washington on the subject. The latter immediately wrote to the council of Massachusetts Bay, and said, "You will observe that exactly the same treatment is to be shown to Colonel Campbell and the Hessian officers, that General Howe shows to General Lee; and as he is only confined to a commodious house, with genteel accommodation, we have no right or reason to be more severe to Colonel Campbell, whom I wish to be immediately removed from his present

situation, and put into a house where he may live comfortably."

The historian (Gordon), who wrote at the time, gives a very graphic account of the sufferings of the American prisoners in New York, which, dreadful as it seems, is confirmed by many contemporary authorities. He says: "Great complaints were made of the horrid usage the Americans met with after they were captured. The garrison of Fort Washington surrendered by capitulation to General Howe, the 16th of November. The terms were, that the fort should be surrendered, the troops be considered prisoners of war, and that the American officers should keep their baggage and side-arms. These articles were signed and afterwards published in the New York papers. Major Otho Holland Williams,\* of Rawling's rifle regiment, in doing his duty that day, unfortunately fell into the hands of the enemy. The haughty deportment of the officers, and the scurrility of the soldiers of the British army, he afterwards said, soon dispelled his hopes of being treated with lenity. Many of the American officers were plundered of their baggage, and robbed of their side-arms, hats, cockades, etc., and otherwise grossly ill-treated. Williams and three companions were, on the third day, put on board the *Baltic-Merchant*, a hospital-ship, then lying in the Sound. The wretchedness of his situation was in some degree alleviated, by a small pit-

---

\* See Document [A] at the end of this chapter.

tance of pork and parsnip, which a good-natured sailor spared him from his own mess. The fourth day of their captivity, Rawlings, Hanson, M'Intire, and himself, all wounded officers, were put into one common dirt-cart, and dragged through the city of New York, as objects of derision, reviled as rebels, and treated with the utmost contempt. From the cart they were set down at the door of an old waste-house, the remains of Hampden Hall, near Bridewell, which, because of the openness and filthiness of the place, he had a few months before refused as barracks for his privates; but now was willing to accept for himself and friends, in hopes of finding an intermission of the fatigue and persecution they had perpetually suffered. Some provisions were issued to the prisoners in the afternoon of that day, what quantity he could not declare, but it was of the worst quality he ever, till then, saw made use of. He was informed the allowance consisted of six ounces of pork, one pound of biscuit, and some peas per day for each man, and two bushels and a half of sea-coal per week for the officers to each fireplace. These were admitted on parole, and lived generally in waste houses. The privates, in the coldest season of the year, were close confined in churches, sugar-houses, and other open buildings (which admitted all kinds of weather), and consequently were subjected to the severest kind of persecution that ever unfortunate captives suffered. Officers were insulted, and often struck for at-

tempting to afford some of the miserable privates a small relief. In about three weeks Colonel Williams was able to walk, and was himself a witness of the sufferings of his countrymen. He could not describe their misery. Their constitutions were not equal to the rigor of the treatment they received, and the consequence was the death of many hundreds. The officers were not allowed to take muster-rolls, nor even to visit their men, so that it was impossible to ascertain the numbers that perished; but from frequent reports and his own observations, he verily believed, as well as had heard many officers give it as their opinion, that not less than fifteen hundred prisoners perished in the course of a few weeks in the city of New York, and that this dreadful mortality was principally owing to the want of provisions, and extreme cold. If they computed too largely, it must be ascribed to the shocking brutal manner of treating the dead bodies, and not to any desire of exaggerating the account of their sufferings. When the king's commissary of prisoners intimated to some of the American officers, General Howe's intention of sending the privates home on parole, they all earnestly desired it, and a paper was signed expressing that desire: the reason for signing was, they well knew the effects of a longer confinement, and the great numbers that died when on parole justified their pretensions to that knowledge. In January almost all the officers were sent to Long Island on parole, and there billeted on



the inhabitants at two dollars per week.

The filth in the churches (in consequence of fluxes) was beyond description. Seven dead have been seen in one of them at the same time, lying among the excrements of their bodies. The British soldiers were full of their low and insulting jokes on those occasions, but less malignant than the tories. The provision dealt out to the prisoners was not sufficient for the support of life; and was deficient in quantity, and more so in quality. The bread was loathsome and not fit to be eaten, and was thought to have been condemned. The allowance of meat was trifling, and of the worst sort. The integrity of these suffering prisoners was hardly credible. Hundreds submitted to death rather than enlist in the British service, which they were most generally pressed to do. It was the opinion of the American officers that Howe perfectly understood the condition of the private soldiers; and they from thence argued, that it was exactly such as he and his council intended. After Washington's success in the Jerseys, the obduracy and malevolence of the royalists subsided in some measure. The surviving prisoners were ordered to be sent out as an exchange; but several of them fell down dead in the streets, while attempting to walk to the vessels.

Washington wrote to General Howe in the beginning of April: "It is a fact not to be questioned, that the usage of our prisoners while in your possession,

the privates at least, was such as could not be justified. This was proclaimed by the concurrent testimony of all who came out. Their appearance sanctified the assertion, and melancholy experience in the speedy death of a large part of them, stamped it with infallible certainty."

The cruel treatment of the prisoners being the subject of conversation among some officers captured by Sir Guy Carleton, General Parsons, who was of the company, said, "I am very glad of it." They expressed their astonishment, and desired him to explain himself. He thus addressed them: "You have been taken by General Carleton, and he has used you with great humanity, would you be inclined to fight against him?" The answer was, No. "So," added Parsons, "would it have been, had the troops taken by Howe been treated in like manner; but now through this cruelty we shall get another army."

The Honorable William Smith, learning how the British used the prisoners, and concluding it would operate to that end by enraging the Americans, applied to the committee of New York State, for leave to go into the city, and remonstrate with the British upon such cruel treatment, which he doubted not but that he should put a stop to. The committee, however, either from knowing what effect the cruelties would have in strengthening the opposition to Britain, or from jealousies of his being, in some other way, of disservice to the Ameri-



can cause, or from these united, would not grant his request.

Washington, at the beginning of 1777, determined to have the army inoculated for the small-pox, which had made fearful ravages in the ranks. It was carried forward as secretly and carefully as possible, and the hospital physicians in Philadelphia were ordered at the same time to inoculate all the soldiers who passed through that city on their way to join the army. The same precautions were taken in the other military stations, and thus the army was relieved from an evil, which would have materially interfered with the success of the ensuing campaign. The example of the soldiery proved a signal benefit to the entire population: the practice of inoculation became general; and, by little and little, this fatal malady disappeared almost entirely.

In the hope that something might be effected at New York, Washington ordered General Heath, who was in command in the Highlands, to move down towards the city with a considerable force. Heath did so, and in a rather grandiloquent summons called upon Fort Independence to surrender. The enemy, however, stood their ground, and Heath, after a few days, retreated, having done nothing, and exposed himself to ridicule for not having followed up his words with suitable deeds.

While Washington was actively employed in the Jerseys in asserting the independence of America, Congress could not afford him much assistance;

but that body was active in promoting the same cause by its enactments and recommendations. Hitherto the colonies had been united by no bond but that of their common danger and common love of liberty. Congress resolved to render the terms of their union more definite, to ascertain the rights and duties of the several colonies, and their mutual obligations towards each other. A committee was appointed to sketch the principles of the union or confederation.

This committee presented a report in thirteen *Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union* between the States, and proposed, that, instead of calling themselves the UNITED COLONIES, as they had hitherto done, they should assume the name of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; that each State should retain its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by the confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled; that they enter into a firm league for mutual defence; that the free inhabitants of any of the States shall be entitled to the privileges and immunities of free citizens in any other State; that any traitor or great delinquent fleeing from one State and found in another, shall be delivered up to the State having jurisdiction of his offence; that full faith and credit shall be given in each of the States to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of every other State; that delegates shall be annually

chosen, in such manner as the legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday of November, with power to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead; that no State shall be represented in Congress by less than two or more than seven members, and no person shall be a delegate for more than three out of six years, nor shall any delegate hold a place of emolument under the United States; that each State shall maintain its own delegates; that in Congress each State shall have only one vote; that freedom of speech shall be enjoyed by the members; and that they shall be free from arrest, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace; that no State, without the consent of Congress, shall receive any ambassador, or enter into any treaty with any foreign power; that no person holding any office in any of the United States shall receive any present, office, or title from any foreign State; and that neither Congress nor any of the States shall grant any titles of nobility; that no two or more of the States shall enter into any confederation whatever without the consent of Congress; that no State shall impose any duties which may interfere with treaties made by Congress; that in time of peace no vessels of war or military force shall be kept up in any of the States but by the authority of Congress, but every State shall have a well-regulated and disciplined militia; that

no State, unless invaded, shall engage in war without the consent of Congress, nor shall they grant letters of marque or reprisal till after a declaration of war by Congress; that colonels and inferior officers shall be appointed by the legislature of each State for its own troops; that the expenses of war shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, supplied by the several States according to the value of the land in each; that taxes shall be imposed and levied by authority and direction of the several States within the time prescribed by Congress; that Congress has the sole and exclusive right of deciding on peace and war, of sending and receiving ambassadors, and entering into treaties; that Congress shall be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences between two or more of the States; that Congress have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States, fixing the standard of weights and measures, regulating the trade, establishing post-offices, appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, except regimental officers, appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States, making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations; that Congress have authority to appoint a committee to sit during their recess, to be denomi-



nated a *Committee of the States*, and to consist of one delegate from each State; that Congress shall have power to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same, to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, to build and equip a navy, to fix the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State; that the consent of nine States shall be requisite to any great public measure of common interest; that Congress shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, but the adjournment not to exceed six months; and that they shall publish their proceedings monthly, excepting such parts relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy; that the *yeas* and *nays* of the delegates of each State shall, if required, be entered on the journal, and extracts granted; that the *Committee of the States*, or any nine of them, shall, during the recess of Congress, exercise such powers as Congress shall vest them with; that Canada, if willing, shall be admitted to all the advantages of the union; but no other colony shall be admitted, unless such admission shall be agreed to by nine States; that all bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, or debts contracted by Congress before this confederation, shall be charges on

the United States; that every State shall abide by the determinations of Congress on all questions submitted to them by this confederation; that the articles of it shall be inviolably observed by every State; and that no alteration in any of the articles shall be made, unless agreed to by Congress, and afterwards confirmed by the legislature of every State.

Such was the substance of this confederation or union. After much discussion, at thirty-nine sittings, the articles were approved by Congress, transmitted to the several State legislatures, and, meeting with their approbation, were ratified by all the delegates on the 15th of November, 1778.

Congress maintained an erect posture, although its affairs then wore the most gloomy aspect. It was under the provisions of this confederation that the war was afterwards carried on; and, considered as a first essay of legislative wisdom, it discovers a good understanding, and a respectable knowledge of the structure of society. Had peace been concluded before the settlement of this confederation, the States would probably have broken down 1777. into so many independent governments, and the strength of the Union been lost in a number of petty sovereignties.

It is not hazarding much to say that, considering all the circumstances, it was the best form of government which could have been framed at that time. Its radical defect arose from its being a confederation of independent States, in



which the central government had no direct recourse to the people. It required all grants of men or money to be obtained from the State governments, who were often, during the war, extremely dilatory in complying with the requisitions of Congress. This defect was strongly felt by Washington, who was often compelled to exert his personal influence, which, in all the States, was immense, to obtain the supplies which Congress had no power to exact. We shall see hereafter, that in forming the new constitution, a work in which Washington took a leading part, this defect was remedied.

While Congress was beginning to form these articles of confederation, and Washington was giving a new aspect to the war in New Jersey, the people of Great Britain, long accustomed to colonial complaints and quarrels, and attentive merely to their own immediate interests, paid no due regard to the progress of the contest, or to the importance of the principles in which it originated. Large majorities in both houses of parliament supported the ministry in all their violent proceedings; and although a small minority, including several men of distinguished talents, who trembled for the fate of British liberty if the court should succeed in establishing its claims against the colonists, vigorously opposed the measures of administration, yet the great body of the people manifested a loyal zeal in favor of the war; and the ill success of the colonists, in the cam-

paign of 1776, gave that zeal additional energy.

But, amidst all the popularity of their warlike operations, the difficulties of the ministry soon began to multiply. In consequence of hostilities with the American provinces, the British West India islands experienced a scarcity of the necessaries of life. About the time when the West India fleet was about to set sail, under convoy, on its homeward voyage, it was discovered that the negroes of Jamaica meditated an insurrection. By means of the draughts to complete the army in America, the military force in that island had been weakened; and the ships of war were detained to assist in suppressing the attempts of the negroes. By this delay, the Americans gained time for equipping their privateers. After the fleet sailed, it was dispersed by stormy weather; and many of the ships, richly laden, fell into the hands of the American cruisers, who were permitted to sell their prizes in the ports of France, both in Europe and in the West Indies.

The conduct of France was now so openly manifested, that it could no longer be winked at, and it drew forth a remonstrance from the British cabinet. The remonstrance was civilly answered, and the traffic in British prizes was carried on somewhat more covertly in the French ports in Europe; but it was evident that both France and Spain were in a state of active preparation for war. The British ministry could no longer shut their eyes against the gathering

storm, and began to prepare for it. About the middle of October, 1776, they put sixteen additional ships into commission, and made every exertion to man them.

On the 31st of October the parliament met, and was opened by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty stated, that it would have given him much satisfaction if he had been able to inform them that the disturbances in the revolted colonies were at an end, and that the people of America, recovering from their delusion, had returned to their duty; but so mutinous and determined was the spirit of their leaders, that they had openly abjured and renounced all connection and communication with the mother country, and had rejected every conciliatory proposition. Much mischief, he said, would accrue, not only to the commerce of Great Britain, but to the general system of Europe, if this rebellion were suffered to take root. The conduct of the colonists would convince every one of the necessity of the measures proposed to be adopted, and the past success of the British arms promised the happiest results; but preparations must be promptly made for another campaign. A hope was expressed of the general continuance of tranquillity in Europe, but that it was thought advisable to increase the defensive resources at home.

The addresses to the speech were in the usual form, but amendments were moved in both houses of parliament; in the Commons by Lord John Cavendish,

and in the Lords by the Marquis of Rockingham. After an animated debate the amendment was rejected, in the House of Commons by 242 against 87, and in the Lords by 91 against 26. During the session of parliament some other attempts were made for adopting conciliatory measures, but the influence of ministry was so powerful, that they were all completely defeated, and the plans of administration received the approbation and support of parliament.

During the winter, which was very severe, the British troops at Brunswick and Amboy were kept on constant duty, and suffered considerable privations. The Americans were vigilant and active, and the British army could seldom procure provisions or forage without fighting. But although in the course of the winter the affairs of the United States had begun to wear a more promising aspect, yet there were still many friends of royalty in the provinces. By their open attachment to the British interest, numbers had already exposed themselves to the hostility of the patriotic party; and others, from affection to Britain or distrust of the American cause, gave their countenance and aid to General Howe. Early in the season a considerable number of these men joined the royal army, and were embodied under the direction of the commander-in-chief, with the same pay as the regular troops, besides the promise of an allotment of land at the close of the disturbances. Governor Tryon, who had been extremely

1776.



active in engaging and disciplining them, was promoted to the rank of major-general of the loyal provincialists.\*

The campaign opened on both sides by rapid predatory incursions and bold desultory attacks. At Peekskill, on the North River, about fifty miles above New York, the Americans had formed a post, at which, during the winter, they had collected a considerable quantity of provisions and camp-equipage, to supply the stations in the vicinity as occasion might require.

The most mountainous part of the district, named the Manor of Courland, was formed into a kind of citadel, replenished with stores, and Peekskill served as a port to it. On the 23d of March, as soon as the river was clear of ice, Howe, who thought Peekskill of more importance than it really was, detached Colonel Bird, with about five hundred men, under convoy of a frigate

and some armed vessels, against that post. General M<sup>re</sup> Dougal, who commanded there, had then only about two hundred and fifty men in the place. He had timely notice of Colonel Bird's approach; and, sensible that his post was untenable, he exerted himself to remove the stores to the strong grounds about two miles and a half in his rear; but before he had made much progress in the work the British appeared, when he set fire to the stores and buildings, and retreated. Colonel Bird landed, and completed the destruction of the stores which he was unable to remove. On the same day he re-embarked, and returned to New York.

On the 8th of April, says Gordon, Congress concluded upon the erection of a monument to the memory of General Warren, in the town of Boston; and another to the memory of General Mercer, in Fredericksburg, in Virginia; and that the eldest son of General Warren, and the youngest son of General Mercer, be educated from henceforward at the expense of the United States. They conveyed in a few words the highest eulogium on the characters and merits of the deceased. Through inattention, General Warren, who fell on Breed's Hill, had not been properly noted when Congress passed their resolve respecting General Montgomery: the proposal for paying due respect to the memory of Mercer, led to the like in regard to Warren.

On the 13th of April, Lord Cornwallis and General Grant, with about

\* About this time the royalists in the counties of Somerset and Worcester, in the province of Maryland, became so formidable that an insurrection was dreaded. And it was feared that the insurgents would, in such a case, be joined by a number of disaffected persons in the county of Sussex, in the Delaware State. Congress, to prevent this evil, recommended the apprehension and removal of all persons of influence, or of desperate characters, within the counties of Sussex, Worcester, and Somerset, who manifested a disaffection to the American cause, to some remote place within their respective States, there to be secured. From appearances, Congress had also reason to believe that the loyalists in the New England governments and New York State, had likewise concerted an insurrection. See Gordon's History of the American Revolution, vol. ii. pp. 461, 462. By the same authority we are informed that General Gates wrote to General Fellowes for a strong military force, for the prevention of plots and insurrection in the provinces of New England and New York.



two thousand men, attempted to surprise and cut off General Lincoln, who, with five hundred men, was posted at Bound Brook, seven miles from Brunswick, and nearly succeeded in their enterprise. But, by a bold and rapid movement, Lincoln, when almost surrounded, forced his way between the British columns and escaped, with the loss of sixty men, his papers, three field-pieces, and some baggage.

At that early period of the campaign, Howe attempted no grand movement against the main body of the army under Washington, at Morristown, but he made several efforts to interrupt his communications, destroy his stores, and impede his operations. He had received information that the Americans had collected a large quantity of stores in the town of Danbury, and in other places on the borders of Connecticut. These he resolved to destroy; and appointed Major-general Tryon of the provincials, who panted for glory in his newly-acquired character, to command an expedition for that purpose; but prudently directed Generals Agnew and Sir William Erskine to accompany him.

On the 25th of April the fleet appeared off the coast of Connecticut, and in the evening the troops were landed without opposition between Fairfield and Norwalk. General Silliman, then casually in that part of the country, immediately dispatched expresses to assemble the militia. In the mean time Tryon proceeded to Danbury, which he reached about two the next day. On

his approach, Colonel Huntingdon, who had occupied the town with about one hundred and fifty men, retired to a neighboring height, and Danbury, with the magazines it contained, was consumed by fire.

General Arnold, who was also in the State superintending the recruiting service, joined General Silliman at Reading, where that officer had collected about five hundred militia. General Wooster, who had resigned his commission in the continental service, and been appointed major-general of the militia, fell in with them at the same place, and they proceeded in the night through a heavy rain to Bethel, about eight miles from Danbury.

Having heard next morning that Tryon, after destroying the town and magazines, was returning, they divided their troops; and General Wooster,\* with about three hundred men, fell in his rear, while Arnold, with about five hundred, crossing the country, took post in his front at Ridgefield. Wooster came up with his rear about eleven in the morning, attacked it with great gallantry, and a sharp skirmish ensued, in which he was mortally wounded,† and his troops were repulsed.

Tryon then proceeded to Ridgefield, where he found Arnold already intrenched on a strong piece of ground, and prepared to dispute his passage. A warm skirmish ensued, which continued nearly an hour. Arnold was at

\* See Document [B] at the end of this chapter.

† Congress voted a monument to his memory.

length driven from the field; after which he retreated to Paugatuck, about three miles east of Norwalk.

At break of day next morning, after setting Ridgefield on fire, the British resumed their march. About eleven in the forenoon, April 28th, they were again met by Arnold, whose numbers increased during the day to rather more than one thousand men; among whom were some continental troops. A continued skirmishing was kept up until five in the afternoon, when the British formed on a hill near their ships. The Americans attacked them with intrepidity, but were repulsed and broken. Tryon, availing himself of this respite, re-embarked his troops and returned to New York.

The loss of the British amounted to about one hundred and seventy men.\* That of the Americans was represented by Tryon as being much more considerable. By themselves, it was not admitted to exceed one hundred. In this number, however, were comprehended General Wooster, Lieutenant-colonel Gould, and another field-officer, killed; and Colonel Lamb wounded. Several other officers and volunteers were killed.

Military and hospital stores to a considerable amount, which were greatly needed by the army, were destroyed in the magazines at Danbury but the loss most severely felt was rather more than one thousand tents, which had

been provided for the campaign about to open.

Not long afterwards this enterprise was successfully retaliated. A British detachment had been for some time employed in collecting forage and provisions on the eastern end of Long Island. Howe supposed this part of the country to be so completely secured by the armed vessels which incessantly traversed the Sound, that he confided the protection of the stores deposited at a small port called Sag Harbor, to a schooner with twelve guns and a company of infantry.

General Parsons, who commanded a few recruits at New Haven, thinking it practicable to elude the cruisers in the bay, formed the design of surprising this party, and other adjacent posts, the execution of which was intrusted to Lieutenant-colonel Meigs, a gallant officer, who had accompanied Arnold in his memorable march to Quebec. He embarked with about two hundred and thirty men on board thirteen whale-boats, and proceeded along the coast to Guilford, where he was to cross the Sound. With about one hundred and seventy of his detachment, under convoy of two armed sloops, he proceeded (May 23d) across the Sound to the north division of the island near Southhold, in the neighborhood of which a small foraging party, against which the expedition was in part directed, was supposed to lie; but they had marched two days before to New York. The boats were conveyed across

\* Stedman, the British historian of the Revolution, acknowledges a loss of two hundred, including ten officers.



the land, a distance of about fifteen miles, into a bay which deeply intersects the eastern end of Long Island, where the troops re-embarked. Crossing the bay, they landed at two in the morning, about four miles from Sag Harbor, which they completely surprised and carried with charged bayonets. At the same time, a division of the detachment secured the armed schooner and the vessels laden with forage, which were set on fire and entirely consumed. Six of the enemy were killed, and ninety taken prisoners. A very few escaped under cover of the night.

The object of his expedition being effected, without the loss of a man, Colonel Meigs returned to Guilford with his prisoners. "Having," as was stated in the letter to General Parsons, "moved with such uncommon celerity, as to have transported his men, by land and water, ninety miles in twenty-five hours." Congress directed a sword to be presented to him, and passed a resolution expressing the high sense entertained of his merit, and of the prudence, activity, and valor displayed by himself and his party.

The exertions made by Washington through the winter to raise a powerful army for the ensuing campaign, had not been successful. The hopes respecting its strength, which the flattering reports made from every quarter had authorized him to form, were cruelly disappointed; and he found himself not only unable to carry into effect the offensive

operations he had meditated, but unequal even to defensive warfare. That steady and persevering courage, however, which had supported himself and the American cause through the gloomy scenes of the preceding year, did not forsake him; and that sound judgment which applies to the best advantage those means which are attainable, however inadequate they may be, still remained. His plan of operations was adapted to that which he believed his enemy had formed. He was persuaded either that General Burgoyne, who was then at Quebec, would endeavor to take Ticonderoga and to penetrate to the Hudson, in which event General Howe would co-operate with him by moving up that river, and attempting to possess himself of the forts and high grounds commanding its passage; or, that Burgoyne would join the grand army at New York by sea; after which the combined armies would proceed against Philadelphia.

To counteract the designs of the enemy, whatever they might be, to defend the three great points, Ticonderoga, the Highlands of New York, and Philadelphia, against two powerful armies so much superior to him, in arms, in numbers, and in discipline, it was necessary to make such an arrangement of his troops as would enable the parts reciprocally to aid each other, without neglecting objects of great, and almost equal magnitude, which were alike threatened, and were far asunder. To effect these purposes, the troops of New



England and New York were divided between Ticonderoga and Peekskill, while those from Jersey to North Carolina inclusive, were directed to assemble at the camp to be formed in Jersey. The more southern troops remained in that State for its protection.

These arrangements being made, and the recruits collected, the camp at Morristown was broken up, the detachments called in, and the army assembled at Middlebrook (May 28th), just behind a connected ridge of strong and commanding heights, north of the road leading to Philadelphia, and about ten miles from Brunswick.

This camp, the approaches to which were naturally difficult, Washington took care to strengthen still further by intrenchments. The heights in front commanded a prospect of the course of the Raritan, the road to Philadelphia, the hills about Brunswick, and a considerable part of the country between that place and Amboy; so as to afford him a full view of the most interesting movements of the enemy.

The force brought into the field by the United States required all the aid which could be derived from strong positions, and unremitting vigilance. On the 20th of May, the army in Jersey, excluding cavalry and artillery, amounted to only eight thousand three hundred and seventy-eight men, of whom upwards of two thousand were sick. The effective rank and file were only five thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight.

Had this army been composed of the best disciplined troops, its inferiority, in point of numbers, must have limited its operations to defensive war; and have rendered it incompetent to the protection of any place whose defence would require a battle in the open field. But more than half the troops were unacquainted with the first rudiments of military duty, and had never looked an enemy in the face. As an additional cause of apprehension, a large proportion of the soldiers, especially from the Middle States, were foreigners, in whose attachment to the American cause full confidence could not be placed.

Washington, anticipating a movement by land towards Philadelphia, had taken the precaution to give orders for assembling on the western bank of the Delaware an army of militia, strengthened by a few continental troops, the command of which was given to General Arnold, who was then in Philadelphia, employed in the settlement of his accounts.

The first and real object of the campaign, on the part of Howe, was the acquisition of Philadelphia. He intended to march through Jersey; and, after securing the submission of that State, to cross the Delaware on a portable bridge constructed in the winter for the purpose, and proceed by land to that city. If, in the execution of this plan, the Americans could be brought to a general action on equal ground, the advantages of the royal army must

insure a victory. But should Washington decline an engagement, and be again pressed over the Delaware, the object would be as certainly obtained.

Had Howe taken the field before the continental troops were assembled, this plan might probably have been executed without any serious obstruction; but the tents and camp equipage expected from Europe did not arrive until Washington had collected his forces, and taken possession of the strong post on the Heights of Middlebrook. It would be dangerous to attack him on such advantageous ground; for, although his camp might be forced, victory would probably be attended with such loss as to disable the victor from reaping its fruits.

If it was deemed too hazardous to attack the strong camp at Middlebrook, an attempt to cross the Delaware in the face of an army collected on its western bank, while that under Washington remained unbroken in his rear, was an experiment of equal danger. It suited the cautious temper of Howe to devise some other plan of operation to which he might resort, should he be unable to seduce Washington from his advantageous position.

The two great bays of Delaware and Chesapeake suggested the alternative of proceeding by water, should he be unable to manœuvre Washington out of his present encampment.

The plan of the campaign being settled, and some small reinforcements with the expected camp equipage be-

ing received from Europe, Howe, leaving a garrison in New York, and a guard in Amboy, assembled his army at Brunswick, and gave strong indications of an intention to penetrate through the country to the Delaware, and reach Philadelphia by land.

Believing this to be his real design, Washington (June 13th) placed a select corps of riflemen under the command of Colonel Morgan, who had distinguished himself in the unfortunate attempt to storm Quebec, and in whom those peculiar qualities which fit a man for the command of a partisan corps, designed to act on the lines of a formidable enemy, were eminently united.

He was ordered to take post at Van-richton's bridge on the Raritan, just above its confluence with the Millstone River, to watch the left flank of the British army, and seize every occasion to harass it.

Early in the morning of the 14th, Howe, leaving two thousand men under the command of General Matthews at Brunswick, advanced in two columns towards the Delaware. The front of the first, under Cornwallis, reached Somerset Court House, nine miles from Brunswick, by the appearance of day; and the second, commanded by General de Heister, reached Middlebush about the same time.

This movement was made with the view of inducing Washington to quit his fortified camp, and approach the Delaware; in which event, Howe expected to bring on an engagement on



ground less disadvantageous than that now occupied by the American army. But Washington understood the importance of his position too well to abandon it.

On the first intelligence that the enemy was in motion, he drew out his whole army, and formed it, to great advantage, on the heights in front of his camp. This position was constantly maintained. The troops remained in order of battle during the day ; and, in the night, slept on the ground to be defended.

In the mean time the Jersey militia, with an alacrity theretofore unexampled in that State, took the field in great numbers. They principally joined General Sullivan, who had retired from Princeton, behind the Sourland hills towards Flemington, where an army of some extent was forming, which could readily co-operate with that under the immediate inspection of Washington.

The settled purpose of Washington was to defend his camp, but not to hazard a general action on other ground. He had therefore determined not to advance from the heights he occupied, into the open country, either towards the enemy or the Delaware.

The object of Howe was, by acting on his anxiety for Philadelphia, to seduce him from the strong ground about Middlebrook, and tempt him to approach the Delaware, in the hope of defending its passage. Should he succeed in this, he had little doubt of being able to bring on an engagement, in

which he counted with certainty on victory.

The considerations which restrained Howe from attempting to march through Jersey, leaving the American army in full force in his rear, had determined Washington to allow him to proceed to the Delaware, if such should be his intention. In that event, he had determined to throw those impediments only in the way of the hostile army which might harass and retard its march ; and, maintaining the high and secure grounds north of the road to be taken by the enemy, to watch for an opportunity of striking some important blow with manifest advantage.

Washington was not long in penetrating Howe's designs. "The views of the enemy," he writes to General Arnold in a letter of the 17th, "must be to destroy this army, and get possession of Philadelphia. I am, however, clearly of opinion, that they will not move that way until they have endeavored to give a severe blow to this army. The risk would be too great to attempt to cross a river, when they must expect to meet a formidable opposition in front, and would have such a force as ours in their rear. They might possibly be successful, but the probability would be infinitely against them. Should they be imprudent enough to make the attempt, I shall keep close upon their heels, and will do every thing in my power to make the project fatal to them.

"But, besides the argument in favor



of their intending, in the first place, a stroke at this army, drawn from the policy of the measure, every appearance contributes to confirm the opinion. Had their design been for the Delaware in the first instance, they would probably have made a secret, rapid march for it, and not have halted so as to awaken our attention, and give us time to prepare for obstructing them. Instead of that they have only advanced to a position necessary to facilitate an attack on our right, the part in which we are most exposed. In addition to this circumstance, they have come out as light as possible, leaving all their baggage, provisions, boats, and bridges, at Brunswick. This plainly contradicts the idea of their intending to push for the Delaware."

Finding the American army could not be drawn from its strong position, Howe determined to waste no more time in threatening Philadelphia by land, but to withdraw from Jersey, and to embark his army as expeditiously as possible for the Chesapeake or the Delaware. On the night of the 19th  
1777. of June, he returned to Brunswick, and on the 22d to Amboy, from which place the heavy baggage and a few of his troops passed into Staten Island, on the bridge which had been designed for the Delaware.\*

\* Lieutenant-colonel Palfrey, formerly an aid-de-camp to General Washington, and now paymaster-general, wrote to his friend, "I was at Brunswick just after the enemy had left it. Never let the British troops upbraid the Americans with want of cleanliness, for such dog-kennels as their huts were my eyes never beheld. Mr.

Washington had expected this movement from Brunswick, and had made arrangements to derive some advantage from it. General Greene was detached with three brigades to annoy the British rear; and Sullivan and Maxwell were ordered to co-operate with him. In the mean time the army paraded on the Heights of Middlebrook, ready to act as circumstances might require.

About sunrise, Colonel Morgan drove in a picket-guard, soon after which that division commenced its march to Amboy. Some sharp skirmishing took place between this party and Morgan's regiment, but the hope of gaining any important advantage was entirely disappointed; and the retreat to Amboy was effected with inconsiderable loss.

In order to cover his light parties, which still hung on the British flank and rear, Washington advanced six or seven miles, to Quibbletown on the road to Amboy; and Lord Stirling's† division was pushed still further, to the neighborhood of the Metucking Meeting House, for the purpose of co-operating with the light parties, should the retreat to Staten Island afford an opportunity of striking at the rear.

Believing it now practicable to bring on an engagement, and probably hoping to turn the left of the American army, and gain the heights in its rear, Howe,

Burton's house, where Lord Cornwallis resided, stunk so I could not bear to enter it. The houses were torn to pieces, and the inhabitants as well as the soldiers have suffered greatly for want of provisions."—*Gordon, History of the American Revolution.*

† See Document [C] at the end of this chapter.

in the night of the 25th, recalled the troops from Staten Island; and, early next morning, made a rapid movement, in two columns, towards Westfield. The right, under the command of Cornwallis, took the route by Woodbridge to the Scotch Plains; and the left, led by Howe in person, marched by Metucking Meeting House, to fall into the rear of the right column. It was intended that the left should take a separate road, soon after this junction, and attack the left flank of the American army at Quibbletown; while Cornwallis should gain the heights on the left of the camp at Middlebrook. Four battalions with six pieces of cannon were detached to Bonhamtown.

About Woodbridge, the right column fell in with one of the American parties of observation, which gave notice of this movement. Washington discerned his danger, put the whole army instantly in motion, and regained the camp at Middlebrook. Cornwallis fell in with Lord Stirling, and a sharp skirmish ensued, in which the Americans were driven from their ground with the loss of three field-pieces, and a few men. They retreated to the hills about the Scotch Plains, and were pursued as far as Westfield. Perceiving the passes in the mountains on the left of the American camp to be guarded, and the object of this skilful manœuvre to be, consequently, unattainable, Cornwallis returned through Rahway to Amboy; and the whole army crossed over to Staten Island.

Washington was now again left to his conjectures respecting the plan of the campaign. The very next day after Howe had finally evacuated the Jerseys, intelligence was received of the appearance of Burgoyne on Lake Champlain, and that Ticonderoga was threatened. This intelligence strengthened the opinion that the design of Howe must be to seize the passes in the mountains on the Hudson, secure the command of that river, and effect a junction between the two armies. Yet Washington could not permit himself to yield so entirely to this impression, as to make a movement which might open the way by land to Philadelphia. His army therefore maintained its station at Middlebrook; but arrangements were made to repel any sudden attack on the posts which defended the Hudson.

Some changes made in the stations of the British ships and troops having relieved Washington from his apprehensions of a sudden march to Philadelphia, he advanced Sullivan's division to Pompton Plains, on the way to Peekskill, and proceeded with the main body of his army to Morristown; thus approaching the Highlands of New York, without removing so far from Middlebrook as to be unable to regain that camp should Howe indicate an intention to seize it.

Meanwhile Howe prosecuted diligently his plan of embarkation, which was, necessarily, attended with circumstances indicating a much longer voyage than one up the North River. These



circumstances were immediately communicated to the Eastern States, and Congress was earnestly pressed to strengthen the fortifications on the Delaware, and to increase the obstructions in that river.

In the midst of these appearances, certain intelligence was received that Burgoyne was in great force on the lakes, and was advancing against Ticonderoga. This intelligence confirmed the opinion that the main object of Howe must be to effect a junction with Burgoyne on the North River. Under this impression, Washington ordered Sullivan to Peekskill, and slowly advanced himself, first to Pompton Plains, and afterwards to the Clove, where he determined to remain until the views of the enemy should be disclosed.

While Washington thus anxiously watched the movements of his adversary, an agreeable and unexpected piece of intelligence was received from New England. The command of the British troops in Rhode Island had devolved on General Prescott. Thinking himself perfectly secure in an island, the water surrounding which was believed to be entirely guarded by his cruisers, and at the head of an army greatly superior to any force then collected in that department, he indulged himself in convenient quarters, rather distant from camp; and was remiss with respect to the guards about his person. Information of this negligence was communicated to the main, and a plan was formed to surprise him. This spirited enterprise was

executed, with equal courage and address, by Lieutenant-colonel Barton of the Rhode Island militia.

On the night of the 10th, he embarked on board four whale-boats, at Warwick Neck, with a party consisting of about forty persons, including captains Adams and Philips, and several other officers. After proceeding about ten miles by water, unobserved by the British guard-boats, although several ships of war lay in that quarter, he landed on the west of the island, about midway between Newport and Bristol Ferry, and marching a mile to the quarters of Prescott, dexterously seized the sentinel at his door, and one of his aids. The general himself was taken out of bed, and conveyed to a place of safety.

The success of this intrepid enterprise diffused the more joy throughout America, because it was supposed to secure the liberation of General Lee, by enabling Washington to offer an officer of equal rank in exchange for him.

Congress expressed a high sense of the gallant conduct of Colonel Barton and his party; and presented him with a sword as a mark of approbation.

As the fleet fell down towards Sandy Hook, Washington withdrew slowly from the Clove, and disposed his army in different divisions, so as to march to any point which might be attacked.

At length the embarkation was completed, and the fleet put to sea.

Still, its destination was uncertain. It might be going to the South, or it might return to New York and ascend



the Hudson. Soon, however, Washington received intelligence that it had been seen off the capes of the Delaware. It was of course expected to come up the Delaware, and attack Philadelphia.

Washington ordered the army to march to Germantown; and himself hastened forward to Chester. The fleet of the British had disappeared again. It might have returned to New York, or it might have sailed to New England, with a view to joining Burgoyne, as he was advancing on Ticonderoga.

During this period of suspense and conjecture, Washington was for several days in Philadelphia, consulting on public measures with the committees and members of Congress. Here he first met Lafayette. This young nobleman, whose name has since become so dear to every American heart, was born at Auvergne, in France, on the 6th of September, 1757. His family was of ancient date, and of the highest rank among the French nobility. He was left an orphan at an early age, heir to an immense estate, and exposed to all the temptations of "the gayest and most luxurious city on earth at the period of its greatest corruption. He escaped unhurt." Having completed his college education, he married at the age of sixteen the daughter of the Duke D'Ayen, of the family of Noailles. She was younger than himself, and was always "the encourager of his virtues, and the heroic partner of his suffer-

ings, his great name, and his honorable grave."

In the summer of 1776 (says Mr. Everett),\* and just after the American declaration of independence, Lafayette was stationed at Metz, a garrisoned town on the road from Paris to the German frontier, with the regiment to which he was attached as a captain of dragoons, not then nineteen years of age. The Duke of Gloucester, the brother of the king of England, happened to be on a visit to Metz, and a dinner was given to him by the commandant of the garrison. Lafayette was invited with other officers to the entertainment. Dispatches had just been received by the duke from England, relating to American affairs—the resistance of the colonists, and the strong measures adopted by the ministers to crush the rebellion. Among the details stated by the Duke of Gloucester was the extraordinary fact, that these remote, scattered, and unprotected settlers of the wilderness *had solemnly declared themselves an independent people*. That word decided the fortunes of the enthusiastic listener; and not more distinctly was the great Declaration a charter of political liberty to the rising States, than it was a commission to their youthful champion to devote his life to the same cause.

The details which he heard were new to him. The American contest was known to him before but as a rebel-

\* Eulogy on Lafayette. See Orations and Speeches on various occasions, by Edward Everett, vol. i. p. 462.

lion,—a tumultuary affair in a remote transatlantic colony. He now, with a promptness of perception which, even at this distance of time, strikes us as little less than miraculous, addressed a multitude of inquiries to the Duke of Gloucester on the subject of the contest. His imagination was kindled at the idea of a civilized people struggling for political liberty. His heart was warmed with the possibility of drawing his sword in a good cause. Before he left the table, his course was mentally resolved on; and the brother of the king of England (unconsciously, no doubt) had the singular fortune to enlist, from the French court and the French army, this gallant and fortunate champion in the then unpromising cause of the colonial Congress.

He immediately repaired to Paris to make further inquiries and arrangements towards the execution of his great plan. He confided it to two young friends, officers like himself, the Count de Ségur and Viscount de Noailles, and proposed to them to join him. They shared his enthusiasm, and determined to accompany him, but, on consulting their families, they were refused permission. But they faithfully kept Lafayette's secret. Happily—shall I say—he was an orphan, independent of control, and master of his own fortune, amounting to near forty thousand dollars per annum.

He next opened his heart to the Count de Broglie, a marshal in the French army. To the experienced war-

rior, accustomed to the regular campaigns of European service, the project seemed rash and Quixotic, and one that he could not countenance. Lafayette begged the count at least not to betray him, as he was resolved (notwithstanding his disapproval of the project) to go to America. This the count promised, adding, however, "I saw your uncle fall in Italy, and I witnessed your father's death at the battle of Minden, and I will not be accessory to the ruin of the only remaining branch of the family." He then used all the powers of argument which his age and experience suggested to him, to dissuade Lafayette from the enterprise, but in vain. Finding his determination unalterable, he made him acquainted with the Baron de Kalb, who, the count knew, was about to embark for America;—an officer of experience and merit, who, as is well known, fell at the battle of Camden.

The Baron de Kalb introduced Lafayette to Silas Deane, then agent of the United States in France, who explained to him the state of affairs in America, and encouraged him in his project. Deane was but imperfectly acquainted with the French language, and of manners somewhat repulsive. A less enthusiastic temper than that of Lafayette might, perhaps, have been chilled by the reception that he met with from Deane. He had, as yet, not been acknowledged in any public capacity; and was beset by the spies of the British ambassador. For these reasons, it was judged expedient that the visit of







Lafayette should not be repeated ; and their further negotiations were conducted through the intervention of Mr. Carmichael, an American gentleman, at that time in Paris. The arrangement was at length concluded, in virtue of which, Deane took upon himself, without authority, but by a happy exercise of discretion, to engage Lafayette to enter the American service, with the rank of major-general. A vessel was about to be dispatched with arms and other supplies for the American army, and in this vessel it was settled that he should take passage.

At this juncture, the news reached France of the evacuation of New York, the loss of Fort Washington, the calamitous retreat through New Jersey, and other disasters of the campaign of 1776. The friends of America in France were in despair. The tidings, bad in themselves, were greatly exaggerated in the British gazettes. The plan of sending an armed vessel with munitions was abandoned. The cause, always doubtful, was now pronounced desperate ; and Lafayette was urged by all who were privy to his project, to give up an enterprise so wild and hopeless. Even our commissioners (for Deane had been joined by Dr. Franklin and Arthur Lee) told him they could not in conscience urge him to proceed. His answer was : " My zeal and love of liberty have perhaps hitherto been the prevailing motive with me ; but now I see a chance of usefulness which I had not anticipated. These supplies I know

are greatly wanted by Congress. I have money ; I will purchase a vessel to convey them to America, and in this vessel my companions and myself will take passage."

His purpose was opposed by the government, and he was obliged to escape into Spain and sail from that country. He landed near Georgetown, in South Carolina, and in company with the Baron de Kalb, the companion of his voyage, proceeded to Charleston, where they were received with enthusiasm by the magistrates and the people.

As soon as possible, they proceeded by land to Philadelphia. On his arrival there, with the eagerness of a youth anxious to be employed upon his errand, he sent his letters to Mr. Lovell, chairman of the committee of foreign relations. He called the next day at the hall of Congress, and asked to see this gentleman. Mr. Lovell came out to him ; stated that so many foreigners offered themselves for employment in the American army, that Congress was greatly embarrassed to find them commands ; that the finances of the country required the most rigid economy ; and that he feared, in the present case, there was little hope of success. Lafayette perceived that the worthy chairman had made up his report without looking at the papers ; he explained to him that his application, if granted, would lay no burden upon the finances of Congress, and addressed a letter to the president, in which he expressed a wish to enter the American army on the condition of



serving without pay or emolument, and on the footing of a volunteer. These conditions removed the chief obstacles alluded to, in reference to the appointment of foreign officers; the letters brought by Lafayette made known to Congress his high connections, and his large means of usefulness, and without an hour's delay he received from them a commission of major-general in the American army, a month before he was twenty years of age.

Washington was at head-quarters when Lafayette reached Philadelphia, but he was daily expected in the city. The introduction of the youthful stranger to the man on whom his career depended, was therefore delayed a few days. It took place, in a manner peculiarly marked with the circumspection of Washington, at a dinner-party, where Lafayette was one among several guests of consideration. Washington was not uninformed of the circumstances connected with his arrival in the country. He knew what benefit it promised the cause, if his character and talents were adapted to the cause he had so boldly struck out; and he knew, also, how much it was to be feared, that the very qualities which had prompted him to embark in it, would make him a useless and even a dangerous auxiliary. We may well suppose that the piercing eye of the Father of his Country was not idle during the repast. But that searching glance, before which pretence or fraud never stood undetected, was completely satisfied. When they were

about to separate, Washington took Lafayette aside, spoke to him with kindness, paid a just tribute to the noble spirit which he had shown, and the sacrifices he had made in the American cause; invited him to make the headquarters of the army his home, and to regard himself, at all times, as one of the family of the commander-in-chief.

Such was the reception given to Lafayette by the most sagacious and observant of men; and the personal acquaintance thus commenced ripened into an intimacy, a confidence, and an affection without bounds, and never for one moment interrupted. If there lived a man whom Washington loved, it was Lafayette. The proofs of this are not wanted by those who have read the history of the Revolution; but the private correspondence of these two great men, hitherto unpublished, discloses the full extent of the mutual regard and affection which united them. It not only shows that Washington entertained the highest opinion of the military talent, the personal probity, and the general prudence and energy of Lafayette, but that he regarded him with the tenderness of a father; and found in the affection which Lafayette bore to him, in return, one of the greatest comforts and blessings of his own life. Whenever the correspondence of Washington and Lafayette shall be published, the publication will do what perhaps nothing else can—raise them both in the esteem and admiration of mankind.



Our readers will pardon this somewhat lengthened quotation respecting the bosom friend of Washington. We now return to our narrative of events.

Late in the month of August, Washington was relieved from his suspense in regard to the movements of Howe. He received intelligence that the British fleet had sailed up Chesapeake Bay, and that he was landing his army at the Head of Elk River, now Elkton. It was at length clearly apparent that his object was the capture of Philadelphia.

At the place of debarkation, the British army was within a few days' march of Philadelphia: no great rivers were in its way; and there was no very strong position of which the enemy could take possession. On landing, General Howe issued a proclamation, promising that private property should be respected, and offering pardon and protection to all who should submit to him; but, as the American army was at hand, the proclamation produced little effect.

Washington distinctly understood the nature of the contest in which he was engaged; and, sensible of the inferiority of his raw and disorderly army to the veteran troops under Howe, he wished to avoid a general engagement; but, aware of the effect which the fall of Philadelphia would produce on the minds of the people, determined to make every effort in order to retard the progress and defeat the aim of the royal army. Accordingly, he marched

to meet General Howe, who, from want of horses, many of which had perished in the voyage, and from other causes, was unable to proceed from the Head of the Elk before the 3d of September. On the advance of the royal army, Washington retreated across Brandywine Creek, which falls into the Delaware at Wilmington. He took post, with his main body, opposite Chad's Ford, where it was expected the British would attempt the passage; and ordered General Sullivan, with a detachment, to watch the fords above. He sent General Maxwell, with about one thousand light troops, to occupy the high ground on the other side of the Brandywine, to skirmish with the British, and retard them in their progress.

On the morning of the 11th of September, the British army advanced in two columns; the right, under General Knyphausen, marched straight to Chad's Ford; the left, under Cornwallis, accompanied by Howe and generals Grey, Grant, and Agnew, proceeded by a circuitous route towards a point named the Forks, where the two branches of the Brandywine unite, with a view to turn the right of the Americans and gain their rear. General Knyphausen's van soon found itself opposed to the light troops under General Maxwell. A smart conflict ensued. General Knyphausen reinforced his advanced guard, and drove the Americans across the rivulet, to shelter themselves under their batteries on the north bank. General Knyphausen ordered some artillery to

be placed on the most advantageous points, and a cannonade was carried on with the American batteries on the heights beyond the ford.

Meanwhile the left wing of the British crossed the fords above the Forks. Of this movement General Washington had early notice; but the information which he received from different quarters, through his raw and unpractised scouts, was confused and contradictory, and consequently his operations were embarrassed. After passing the fords, Cornwallis took the road to Dilworth, which led him on the American right. General Sullivan, who had been appointed to guard that quarter, occupied the heights above Birmingham Church, his left extending to the Brandywine, his artillery judiciously placed, and his right flank covered by woods. About four in the afternoon Cornwallis formed the line of battle and began the attack: for some time the Americans sustained it with intrepidity, but at length gave way. When Washington heard the firing in that direction, he ordered General Greene, with a brigade, to support General Sullivan. General Greene marched four miles in forty-two minutes, but, on reaching the scene of action, he found General Sullivan's division defeated, and in confusion. He covered the retreat; and, after some time, finding an advantageous position, he renewed the battle, and arrested the progress of the pursuing enemy.

General Knyphausen, as soon as he

heard the firing of Cornwallis's division, forced the passage of Chad's Ford, attacked the troops opposed to him, and compelled them to make a precipitate and disorderly retreat. General Washington, with the part of his army which he was able to keep together, retired with his artillery and baggage to Chester, where he halted, within eight miles of the British army, till next morning, when he retreated to Philadelphia.

Among the foreign officers engaged in this battle besides Lafayette, who was wounded in the leg during the action, were General Deborre,\* a French officer; General Conway, an Irishman, who had served in France; Captain Louis Fleury, a French engineer; and Count Pulaski, a Polish nobleman, subsequently distinguished as a commander of cavalry.

As must ever be the case in new-raised armies, unused to danger, and from which undeserving officers have not been expelled, their conduct was not uniform. Some regiments, especially those which had served the preceding campaign, maintained their ground with the firmness and intrepidity of veterans, while others gave way as soon as they were pressed. The author of a very correct history of the war, speaking of this action, says: "A part of the troops, among whom were

---

\* Deborre's brigade broke first; and, on an inquiry into his conduct being directed, he resigned. A misunderstanding existed between him and Sullivan, on whose right he was stationed.



particularly numbered some Virginia regiments, and the whole corps of artillery, behaved exceedingly well in some of the actions of this day, exhibiting a degree of order, firmness, and resolution, and preserving such a countenance in extremely sharp service, as would not have discredited veterans. Some other bodies of their troops behaved very badly."

The official letter of Sir William Howe stated his loss at rather less than one hundred killed, and four hundred wounded; and this account was accepted at the time as true. A late discovery shows its falsehood. Mr. Headley, in his recent *Life of Washington*, notices the finding of a document which settles the question.

It was found, he says, among General James Clinton's papers, carefully filed away and endorsed by himself. On the back, in his own handwriting, is inscribed: "Taken from the enemy's ledgers, which fell into the hands of General Washington's army at the action of Germantown."

Within is the following statement:

"State of the British troops and position they were in when they made the attack at Brandywine, the 11th of September, 1777.

The upper ford, under the command of Lt. Lord Cornwallis:

2d regiment British Guards	} 1,740,	612 {	killed and
2d " Light-infantry			
2d brigade British Foot.....	2,240,	360	" "
1st division Hessians.....	800,	70	" "
Ferguson's Riflemen,.....	80,	46	" "
Total, 4,860		1,088	

VOL. I.—73

Middle ford, under the command of Major-general Gray:

2d battalion Guards,.....	500
2d " 2d Highlanders, 700	
2d " 70th " 700	
Total, 1,900	

Lower ford, under the command of Lieutenant-general Knyphausen:

2d brigade, consisting of the	} 2,240,	580 {	killed and
4th, 5th, 10th, 15th, 23d,			
27th, 28th, 40th, 44th,			
and 55th regiments,			
Hessians to the amount of... 800			
Queen's Rangers..... 480		290	" "
Total, 3,520		898	
1,900			
4,860		1,088	
The whole British force, 10,280		1,986	" "
1,986			
8,294"			

The estimate, says Mr. Headley, of the total force which the British had on the field, makes the two armies actually engaged about equal. The heavy loss here given seems, at first sight, almost incredible, and puts an entirely different aspect on the battle. Of the authenticity and accuracy of this document I think there can be no doubt.

From the ardor with which Washington had inspired his troops before this action, it is probable that the conflict would have been more severe, had the intelligence respecting the movement on the left of the British army been less contradictory. Raw troops, changing their ground in the moment of action, and attacked in the agitation of moving, are easily thrown into confusion. This was the critical situation of



a part of Sullivan's division, and was the cause of its breaking before Greene could be brought up to support it; after which, it was impossible to retrieve the fortune of the day.

But had the best disposition of the troops been made at the time, which subsequent intelligence would suggest, the action could not have terminated in favor of the Americans. Their inferiority in numbers, in discipline, and in arms, was too great to leave them a probable prospect of victory. A battle, however, was not to be avoided. The opinion of the public and of Congress demanded it. The loss of Philadelphia, without an attempt to preserve it, would have excited discontent throughout the country, which might be productive of serious mischief; and action, though attended with defeat, provided the loss be not too great, must improve an army in which, not only the military talents, but even the courage, of officers, some of them of high rank, remained to be ascertained.

The battle of Brandywine was not considered as decisive by Congress, the general, or the army. The opinion was carefully cherished that the British had gained only the ground; and that their loss was still more considerable than had been sustained by the Americans. Congress appeared determined to risk another battle for the metropolis of America. Far from discovering any intention to change their place of session, they passed vigorous resolutions for reinforcing the army, and directed

Washington to give the necessary orders for completing the defences of the Delaware.

From Chester, the army marched through Darby, over the Schuylkill bridge, to its former ground, near the falls of that river. Greene's division, which, having been less in action, was more entire than any other, covered the rear; and the corps of Maxwell remained at Chester until the next day, as a rallying point for the small parties and straggling soldiers, who might yet be in the neighborhood.

Having allowed his army one day for repose and refreshment, Washington recrossed the Schuylkill, and proceeded on the Lancaster road, with the intention of risking another engagement.

Sir William Howe passed the night of the 11th on the field of battle. On the succeeding day, he detached Major-general Grant with two brigades to Concord meeting-house; and on the 13th, Lord Cornwallis joined General Grant, and marched towards Chester. Another detachment took possession of Wilmington; to which place the sick and wounded were conveyed.

To prevent a sudden movement to Philadelphia by the lower road, the bridge over the Schuylkill was loosened from its moorings, and General Armstrong was directed, with the Pennsylvania militia, to guard the passes over that river.

On the 15th, the American army, intending to gain the left of the British, reached the Warren tavern, on the

Lancaster road, twenty-three miles from Philadelphia. Intelligence was received, early next morning, that Howe was approaching in two columns. It being too late to reach the ground he had intended to occupy, Washington resolved to meet and engage him in front.

Both armies prepared, with great alacrity, for battle. The advanced parties had met, and were beginning

1777. to skirmish, when they were separated by a heavy rain, which, becoming more and more violent, rendered the retreat of the Americans a measure of absolute necessity. The inferiority of their arms never brought them into such imminent peril as on this occasion. Their gun-locks not being well secured, their muskets soon became unfit for use. Their cartridge-boxes had been so badly constructed, as not to protect their ammunition from the tempest. Their cartridges were soon damaged; and this mischief was the more serious, because very many of the soldiers were without bayonets.

The army being thus rendered unfit for action, the design of giving battle was reluctantly abandoned by Washington, and a retreat commenced. It was continued all the day, and great part of the night, through a cold and most distressing rain, and very deep roads. A few hours before day (September 17th), the troops halted at the Yellow Springs, where their arms and ammunition were examined, and the alarming fact was disclosed, that scarce-

ly a musket in a regiment could be discharged, and scarcely one cartridge in a box was fit for use. This state of things suggested the precaution of moving to a still greater distance, in order to refit their arms, obtain a fresh supply of ammunition, and revive the spirits of the army. Washington therefore retired to Warwick Furnace, on the south branch of French Creek, where ammunition and muskets might be obtained in time to dispute the passage of the Schuylkill, and make yet another effort to save Philadelphia.

The extreme severity of the weather had entirely stopped the British army. During two days, Howe made no other movement than to unite his columns.

From French Creek, General Wayne was detached with his division into the rear of the British, with orders to join General Smallwood,\* and, carefully concealing himself and his movements, to seize every occasion which this march might offer, of engaging them to advantage. Meanwhile, General Washington crossed the Schuylkill at Parker's Ferry, and encamped on both sides of Perkyomen Creek.

General Wayne lay in the woods near the entrance of the road from Darby into that leading to Lancaster, about three miles in the rear of the left wing of the British troops encamped at Trydruffin, where he believed himself to be perfectly secure. But the country was so extensively disaffected,

---

\* See Document [D] at the end of this chapter.



that Howe received accurate accounts of his position and of his force. Major-general Gray was detached to surprise him, and effectually accomplished his purpose. About eleven, in the night of the 20th, his pickets, driven in with charged bayonets, gave the first intimation of Gray's approach. Wayne instantly formed his division; and while his right sustained a fierce assault, directed a retreat by the left, under cover of a few regiments who, for a short time, withstood the violence of the shock. In his letter to Washington, he says that they gave the assailants some well-directed fires, which must have done considerable execution; and that, after retreating from the ground on which the engagement commenced, they formed again, at a small distance from the scene of action; but that both parties drew off without renewing the conflict. He states his loss at about one hundred and fifty killed and wounded. The British accounts admit, on their part, a loss of only seven.

When the attack commenced, General Smallwood, who was on his march to join Wayne, a circumstance entirely unexpected by General Gray, was within less than a mile of him; and, had he commanded regulars, might have given a very different turn to the night. But his militia thought only of their own safety; and, having fallen in with a party returning from the pursuit of Wayne, fled in confusion with the loss of only one man.

Some severe animadversions on this

unfortunate affair having been made in the army, General Wayne demanded a court-martial, which, after investigating his conduct, was unanimously of opinion, "that he had done every thing to be expected from an active, brave, and vigilant officer;" and acquitted him with honor.

Having secured his rear, by compelling Wayne to take a greater distance, Howe marched along the valley road to the Schuylkill, and encamped on the bank of that river, from the Fatland Ford up to French Creek, along the front of the American army. To secure his right from being turned, Washington again changed his position, and encamped with his left near, but above the British right.

Howe now relinquished his plan of bringing Washington to another battle; and thinking it advisable, perhaps, to transfer the seat of war to the neighborhood of his ships, determined to cross the Schuylkill, and take possession of Philadelphia. In the afternoon, he ordered one detachment to cross at Fatland Ford, which was on his right, and another to cross at Gordon's Ford, on his left, and to take possession of the heights commanding them. These orders were executed without much difficulty, and the American troops placed to defend these fords were easily dispersed.

This service being effected, the whole army marched by its right, about midnight, and crossing at Fatland without opposition, proceeded a considerable



distance towards Philadelphia, and encamped, with its left near Sweed's Ford, and its right on the Manatawny road, having Stony Run in its front.

It was now apparent that only immediate victory could save Philadelphia from the grasp of the British general, whose situation gave him the option of either taking possession of that place, or endeavoring to bring on another engagement. If, therefore, a battle must certainly be risked to save the capital, it would be necessary to attack the enemy.

Public opinion, which a military chief finds too much difficulty in resisting, and the opinion of Congress required a battle; but, on a temperate consideration of circumstances, Washington came to the wise decision of avoiding one for the present.

His reasons for this decision were conclusive. Wayne and Smallwood had not yet joined the army. The continental troops ordered from Peekskill, who had been detained for a time by an incursion from New York, were approaching; and a reinforcement of Jersey militia, under General Dickenson, was also expected.

To these powerful motives against risking an engagement, other considerations of great weight were added, founded on the condition of his soldiers. An army, manœuvring in an open country, in the face of a very superior enemy, is unavoidably exposed to excessive fatigue, and extreme hardship. The effect of these hardships was much

increased by the privations under which the American troops suffered. While in almost continual motion, wading deep rivers, and encountering every vicissitude of the seasons, they were without tents, nearly without shoes, or winter clothes, and often without food.

A council of war concurred in the opinion Washington had formed, not to march against the enemy, but to allow his harassed troops a few days for repose, and to remain on his present ground until the expected reinforcements should arrive.

Immediately after the battle of Brandywine, the distressed situation of the army had been represented to Congress, who had recommended the executive of Pennsylvania to seize the cloths and other military stores in the warehouses of Philadelphia, and, after granting certificates expressing their value, to convey them to a place of safety. The executive, being unwilling to encounter the odium of this strong measure, advised that the extraordinary powers of the commander-in-chief should be used on the occasion. Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Hamilton, one of the general's aids, already in high estimation for his talents and zeal, was employed on this delicate business. "Your own prudence," said the general, in a letter to him while in Philadelphia, "will point out the least exceptionable means to be pursued; but remember, delicacy and a strict adherence to the ordinary mode of application must give place to our necessities.

We must, if possible, accommodate the soldiers with such articles as they stand in need of, or we shall have just reason to apprehend the most injurious and alarming consequences from the approaching season."

All the efforts, however, of this very active officer could not obtain a supply in any degree adequate to the pressing and increasing wants of the army.

Colonel Hamilton was also directed to cause the military stores which had been previously collected to a large amount in Philadelphia, and the vessels which were lying at the wharves, to be removed up the Delaware. This duty was executed with so much vigilance, that very little public property fell, with the city, into the hands of the British general, who entered it on the

26th of September. The members of Congress separated on

the 18th, in the evening, and reassembled at Lancaster on the 27th of the same month. From thence they subsequently adjourned to Yorktown, where they remained eight months, till Philadelphia was evacuated by the British.

From the 25th of August, when the British army landed at the Head of Elk, until the 26th of September when it entered Philadelphia, the campaign had been active, and the duties of the American general uncommonly arduous. Some English writers\* bestow high en-

comiums on Sir William Howe for his military skill, and masterly movements during this period. At Brandywine especially, Washington is supposed to have been "out-generaled, more out-generaled than in any action during the war." If all the operations of this trying period be examined, and the means in possession of both be considered, the American chief will appear in no respect inferior to his adversary, or unworthy of the high place assigned to him in the opinions of his countrymen. With an army decidedly inferior, not only in numbers, but in every military requisite except courage, in an open country, he employed his enemy near thirty days in advancing about sixty miles. In this time he fought one general action; and, though defeated, was able to reassemble the same undisci-

the degree which circumstances appeared to have admitted. When the left column of the British had turned Washington's right flank, his whole army was hemmed in:—General Knyphausen and the Brandywine in front; Sir William Howe and Lord Cornwallis on his right; the Delaware in his rear; and the Christiana River on his left. He was obliged to retreat twenty-three miles to Philadelphia, when the British lay within eighteen miles of it. Had the commander-in-chief detached General Knyphausen's column in pursuit early next morning, General Washington might with ease have been intercepted, either at the Heights of Crum Creek, nine miles; at Derby, fourteen; or at Philadelphia, eighteen miles, from the British camp: or, the Schuylkill might have been passed at Gray's Ferry, only seventy yards over, and Philadelphia, with the American magazines, taken, had not the pontoons been improvidently left at New York as useless. Any one of these movements, it was thought, might have been attended with the total destruction of the American army. For some reason, however, which it is impossible to divine, the commander-in-chief employed himself for several days in making slight movements which could not by any possibility produce any important benefits to the British cause."

\* All English writers do not concur in this view of the matter. The British historian, Stedman, gives the following sharp criticism on Howe's conduct in the affair of the Brandywine:

"The victory does not seem to have been improved in



plined, unclothed, and almost unfed army; and, the fifth day afterwards, again to offer battle. When the armies were separated by a storm which involved him in the most distressing circumstances, he extricated himself from them, and still maintained a respectable and imposing countenance.

The only advantage he is supposed to have given was at the battle of Brandywine; and that was produced by the contrariety and uncertainty of the intelligence received. A general must be governed by his intelligence, and must regulate his measures by his information. It is his duty to obtain correct information; and among the most valuable traits of a military character, is the skill to select those means which will obtain it. Yet the best selected means are not always successful; and, in a new army, where military talent has not been well tried by the standard of experience, the general is peculiarly exposed to the chance of employing not the best instruments. In a country, too, which is covered with wood, precise information of the numbers composing different columns is to be gained with difficulty.

Taking into view the whole series of operations, from the landing of Howe at the Head of Elk to his entering Philadelphia, the superior generalship of Washington is clearly manifest. Howe with his numerous and well-appointed army performed a certain amount of routine work, and finally gained the immediate object which he had in view—the possession of Philadelphia—when, by every military rule, he should have gone up the Hudson to co-operate with Burgoyne. Washington with his army, composed almost entirely of raw recruits and militia, kept his adversary out of Philadelphia a month, still menaced him with an imposing front in his new position, and subsequently held him in check there while Gates was defeating and capturing Burgoyne.

We shall see, in the ensuing chapter, that although Howe\* had attained his first object in gaining possession of Philadelphia, he had still many new difficulties and dangers to encounter at the hands of his daring and persevering opponent before he could comfortably establish himself in winter-quarters.

---

\* See Document [E] at the end of this chapter.



## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER X.

---

[A.]

BRIGADIER-GENERAL OTHO H. WILLIAMS.

THIS gentleman was formed for eminence in any station. His talents were of a high order, and his attainments various and extensive. Possessing a person of uncommon symmetry, and peculiarly distinguished by the elegance of his manners, he would have graced, alike, a court or a camp.

Rich in that species of military science which is acquired by experience, and a correct, systematic, and severe disciplinarian, General Greene confided to him the important trust of adjutant-general to the Southern army. The services which, in this and other capacities, he rendered to that division of the American forces, in the course of their toilsome and perilous operations, were beyond all praise.

He was born in the county of Prince George, Maryland, in the year 1748, and received, during his youth, but a slender education. This he so much improved by subsequent study, that few men had a finer taste, or a more cultivated intellect.

He commenced his military career, as lieutenant of a rifle company, in 1775; and, in the course of the following year, was promoted to the rank of a major in a rifle regiment.

In this corps he very honorably distinguished himself in the defence of Fort Washington, on York Island, when assaulted by Sir William Howe; and, on the surrender of that post, became a prisoner.

Having suffered much by close confinement during his captivity, he was exchanged for Major Ackland, after the capture of Burgoyne, and immediately rejoined the standard of his country.

Being now promoted to the rank of colonel

of a regiment of infantry, he was detached, under the Baron de Kalb, to the army of the South.

General Gates having been appointed to the command of this division of the American forces, he was present with that officer, at his defeat before Camden; and during the action manifested great valor and skill in directing and leading the operations against the enemy, while resistance was practicable; and an equal degree of self-possession and address in conducting the troops from the field, when compelled to retreat.

But as an officer, his valor and skill in battle were among the lowest of his qualifications. His penetration and sagacity, united to a profound judgment, and a capacious mind, rendered him in the cabinet particularly valuable. Hence he was one of General Greene's favorite counsellors during the whole of his Southern campaigns. Nor did any thing ever occur, either through neglect or mistake, to impair the confidence thus reposed in him. In no inconsiderable degree, he was to Greene, what that officer had been to General Washington, his strongest hope in all emergencies where great policy and address were required. This was clearly manifested by the post assigned to him by General Greene during his celebrated retreat through North Carolina.

In that great and memorable movement, on which the fate of the South was staked, to Williams was confided the command of the rear-guard, which was literally the shield and rampart of the army. Had he relaxed, but for a moment, in his vigilance and exertion, or been guilty of a single imprudent act, ruin must have ensued.

Nor was his command much less momentous, when, recrossing the Dan, Greene again ad-

vanced on the enemy. Still in the post of danger and honor, he now, in the van of the army, commanded the same corps with which he had previously moved in the rear.

A military friend, who knew him well, has given us the following summary of his character:

He possessed that range of mind, although self-educated, which entitled him to the highest military station, and was actuated by true courage, which can refuse as well as give battle. Soaring far above the reach of vulgar praise, he singly aimed at promoting the common weal, satisfied with the consciousness of doing right, and desiring only that share of applause which was justly his own.

There was a loftiness and liberality in his character which forbade resort to intrigue and hypocrisy in the accomplishment of his views, and rejected the contemptible practice of disparaging others to exalt himself.

In the field of battle he was self-possessed, intelligent, and ardent; in camp, circumspect, attentive, and systematic; in council, sincere, deep, and perspicuous. During the campaigns of General Greene, he was uniformly one of his few advisers, and held his unchanged confidence. Nor was he less esteemed by his brother officers, or less respected by his soldiery.

Shortly before the close of the war, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. He was afterwards collector of customs for Maryland; and held that post till he died, at the age of forty-six years, July 16th, 1794.

---

[B.]

BRIGADIER-GENERAL DAVID WOOSTER.

The family papers of General Wooster were destroyed by the British, at the sacking of the town of New Haven, in 1779, and the biographers of this able officer can learn nothing of his ancestry and his early years, except that he was born in Stratford, Connecticut, on the 2d of March, 1710, and that he graduated at Yale College in 1738. In 1739 we find him employed as captain of a vessel, armed by the colony, to guard and protect the coast during

the Spanish war. Soon after, he married the daughter of President Clap, of Yale College. He was employed as a captain in Colonel Burr's regiment, sent, as part of the Connecticut troops, against Louisburg. He greatly distinguished himself at the siege and capture of that place. He was retained among those who garrisoned the fortress, and afterwards selected to take charge of a cartel-ship for France and England. In England he was received with marked honor, presented to the king, and the young American officer became the favorite of the court. The king admitted him into the regular service, and he was made a captain in Sir William Pepperrell's regiment, with half-pay for life. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle he returned to his family; but the commencement of the French War, in 1756, again called him to the field, and during its continuance he rose to the rank of brigadier-general. When he was restored to his home by the peace of 1763, he carried with him many marks of the valor which had won him promotion. He next engaged in mercantile business in New Haven, where he was appointed collector of the customs. The favors shown him by royalty, however, had not weaned him from the love of his country, and though an officer in the British regular service, entitled to half-pay for his life, and a revenue-officer, he gave up all in her behalf. His pen and sword were among the first employed in the contest for liberty, and his life was early given to seal his fidelity to the cause. When the battle of Lexington, April 19th, 1775, had fairly begun the contest, he immediately employed his energies and talents in devising a plan for getting possession of some of the fortresses held by the British arms in the colonies, and with a few others, on their own risk and responsibility, sent Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold to Ticonderoga, which was surprised and taken on the 10th of May. This bold step seems to have taken the Congress no less than the garrison wholly by surprise. When informed of it, they recommended that an inventory of the cannon and military stores found in the fort should be taken, "in order that they may be safely returned when the restoration of the former harmony between Great Britain and



these colonies, so ardently wished for by the latter, shall render it prudent and consistent with the overruling care of self-preservation."

General Wooster was the third on the list of eight brigadier-generals appointed by Congress on the 22d of June, 1775. He had command in Canada during the unfortunate campaign of 1776, where suffering and want, with the small-pox, proved the worst enemies of the army. On his return from this trying situation, he requested Congress to order a court of inquiry, by which he was acquitted of all blame.

He was next appointed major-general of the militia of Connecticut, and during the winter of 1776 and 1777, he was employed in protecting his State against the enemy. While engaged in this duty, the British with two thousand men from New York landed between Norwalk and Fairfield, and destroyed the magazines at Danbury. The rain prevented the troops ordered from New Haven from arriving in time to prevent this damage, but generals Wooster and Arnold, with six hundred men, collected by General Silliman, attacked the enemy in his retreat. The inequality of numbers was so great, however, that the militia gave way, and General Wooster, while endeavoring to rally them, received a mortal wound. His wife and son came to attend him at Danbury. He told them he was dying, but with the strong hope and persuasion that his country would gain her independence. His death took place on the 2d of May, 1777, at the age of sixty-seven.

Congress, in appreciation of his merits and services, passed resolutions for erecting a monument to his memory, made an appropriation for the purpose, and requested the governor of Connecticut to carry it into execution; but the remains of this gallant officer and patriot still lie in an unmarked grave, in the village he died defending.

---

[C.]

MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM ALEXANDER.

General William Alexander, commonly called Lord Stirling, was a native of the city of New York. He was considered by many as the

rightful heir to the title and estate of an earldom in Scotland, of which country his father was a native; and although when he went to North Britain in pursuit of this inheritance, he failed of obtaining an acknowledgment of his claim by government, yet, among his friends and acquaintances, he received, by courtesy, the title of Lord Stirling. In his youth his labors were arduous in the pursuit of science, and he discovered an early fondness for the study of mathematics and astronomy, in which he attained great eminence.

At the commencement of the Revolutionary War, he attached himself to the cause of America, and entered the field against her enemies. He was a brave, discerning, and intrepid officer. In the battle on Long Island, August 27th, 1776, he shared largely in the glory and disasters of the day. The part he bore in that engagement is described as follows: "The fire towards Brooklyn gave the first intimation to the American right that the enemy had gained their rear. Lord Stirling, perceiving the danger with which he was threatened, and that he could only escape it by instantly retreating across the creek, by the Yellow Mills, not far from the cove, orders to this effect were immediately given, and the more effectually to secure the retreat of the main body of the detachment, he determined to attack, in person, a corps of the British under Lord Cornwallis, stationed at a house somewhat above the place at which he proposed crossing the creek. About four hundred men were chosen out for this purpose; and the attack was made with great spirit. This small corps was brought up to the charge several times, and Lord Stirling stated that he was on the point of dislodging Lord Cornwallis from his post; but the force in his front increasing, and General Grant also advancing on his rear, the brave men he commanded were no longer able to oppose the superior numbers which assailed them on every quarter, and those who survived were, with their general, made prisoners of war. This bold and well-judged attempt, though unsuccessful, was productive of great advantages. It gave an opportunity to a large part of the detachment to save themselves by crossing the creek.



Immediately after his exchange, Lord Stirling joined the army under the immediate command of General Washington. In the battle of Germantown, his division and the brigade of generals Nash and Maxwell, formed the corps of reserve. At the battle of Monmouth, he commanded the left wing of the American army. At an important period of the engagement, he brought up a detachment of artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Carrington, with some field-pieces, which played with great effect on the enemy, who were pressing on to the charge. These pieces, with the aid of several parties of infantry, detached for the purpose, effectually put a stop to their advance. The American artillery maintained their ground with admirable firmness under a heavy fire from the British field-artillery.

His attachment to Washington was proved in the latter part of 1777, by transmitting to him an account of the disaffection of General Conway to the commander-in-chief. In the letter, he said, "such wicked duplicity of conduct I shall always think it my duty to detect."

He died at Albany, January 15th, 1783, aged fifty-seven years.

---

[D.]

GENERAL WILLIAM SMALLWOOD.

This gallant officer bore a distinguished part in the Revolutionary War. He was a native of the State of Maryland, and joined the cause of his country in August, 1776. He was at that time colonel of a battalion, with which he arrived in New York city on the 8th of that month. In the stirring scenes attending the defeat of the Americans at Long Island and White Plains, he performed a distinguished part, and was rewarded (October 23d) by his appointment as brigadier-general. In August of the following year, he led the Maryland militia in Sullivan's attempt on Staten Island. While Washington was using every exertion to defend Philadelphia against Sir William Howe, Smallwood mustered about twelve hundred militia from his native State, and hastened to join the main army. This he did September 28th,

1777, although sickness had reduced the number of his troops to one thousand. In the battle of Germantown he behaved with much bravery at the head of the Marylanders and Jerseymen, and in the retreat displayed all the coolness and ability of a veteran commander. In December of the same year he was ordered by Washington to Wilmington, in order to prevent that town from falling into the hands of the British, who were at that time marching against it. Early in 1779, the enemy made a similar attempt upon Elizabethtown. To repel this, Smallwood, with the Maryland division of the army, and General St. Clair, with the Pennsylvania division, were put in motion by different routes to form a junction at the Scotch Plains, and proceed to reinforce General Maxwell, and act as circumstances might require. The troops were recalled, however, before they had advanced far, in consequence of intelligence being received of the sudden retreat of the enemy.

General Smallwood was with Gates in the disastrous campaign of that officer in the South. In the fall of 1780, he was named as the officer to receive the appointment of major-general from the State of Maryland, and was accordingly commissioned by Congress. On account of some misunderstanding with the Baron Steuben about rank, he left the southern army, and even hinted at a determination to resign.

After the close of the war he continued in his native State until 1785, when he was elected to Congress. He became governor of Maryland the same year, and fulfilled the duties of that office until 1788. After this he retired to private life, until 1792, when his death occurred.

---

[E.]

GENERAL HOWE.

William, son of the second Viscount Howe, and younger brother of the celebrated admiral, Richard, Earl Howe, after having passed some time at Eton, became a cornet in the Duke of Cumberland's regiment of dragoons; and, during the Seven Years' War, distinguished himself in America, particularly under General Wolfe at Quebec. In 1764, he obtained the

command of the fourth regiment of foot; in 1772, he became a major-general; and, in 1775, having previously been appointed colonel of the Welsh Fusileers, commanded one division of the army under General Gage at the battle of Bunker Hill, fought immediately after. On the departure of General Gage for England, he assumed the chief command of the British forces in America; and, evacuating Boston, which was then besieged by Washington, proceeded to Halifax, whence he proceeded, in August, 1776, to Long Island, where, on the 27th of that month, he defeated the American general, Sullivan, two thousand of whose troops were either killed, wounded, or made prisoners, besides himself and twelve other field-officers. On the 15th of September, he took possession of New York, and, on the 28th of the same month, attacked General Washington at White Plains. He soon after retired into winter-quarters, and while the Americans were preparing for an active campaign, passed his time in culpable indolence.

On the 12th of June, 1777, he attempted by stratagem to bring Washington to an engagement, but without success. On the 7th of the following month, he was made a major-general, and received a red ribbon for his previous services. Shortly afterwards, he encountered and defeated the Americans on the Heights of Brandywine; he next took possession of Philadelphia. He passed the winter, it is said, as he had the preceding one, "in more ease than diligence;" and shortly after he had opened the next campaign, was superseded in his command by Sir Henry Clinton. The "British officers," says Gordon, in his *History of the American Revolution*, "to express their esteem for Sir William Howe, prepared a magnificent entertainment, with which to grace his departure for Great Britain. It consisted of a variety of parts, on land and water; was called the *Mischianza*; and was given on Monday, the 18th of May, 1778. It was indeed magnificent; began at four in the afternoon, and ended at four the next morning. There was a grand and beautiful exhibition of fireworks, towards the conclusion of which, a triumphal arch appeared gloriously illuminated, with Fame blowing from her

trumpet, in letters of light—"Thy laurels shall never fade."

On a parliamentary investigation of his conduct, which took place in 1779, it appeared that, in the opinion of Sir Charles Grey, Lord Cornwallis, and other military men, he had done all that could be expected, considering the paucity of his force, which, according to the evidence taken, was totally inadequate to the subjugation of the colonies. In 1782, he was made lieutenant-general of the ordnance; in 1786, colonel of the nineteenth dragoons, and, shortly afterwards, a full general. In 1795, he became governor of Berwick; in 1799, he succeeded to the Irish viscountship of his distinguished brother, Admiral Howe; in 1804, he resigned his office of lieutenant of the ordnance; and died, without issue, on the 12th of July, 1814, at which time he was a privy-counsellor and governor of Plymouth. He had represented Nottingham in several parliaments; but does not appear to have taken a conspicuous part in political affairs.

Although this officer had obtained the applause of his superiors, while at the head of a regiment as well as of a division, it is quite clear that he had neither acquired experience, nor evinced ability enough, to warrant his appointment to so important a command as that to which he was injudiciously raised. With his comparatively insufficient force, government expected him, not merely to beat his indefatigable and well-supported antagonist, but completely to subdue the revolted colonies, which, notwithstanding his occasional successes, were in a situation to defy a general of more genius with much greater means. Of his intrepidity, he had, before he succeeded General Gage, given sufficient proof. While serving under Wolfe, with whom he seems to have been a favorite, he led the body, as Bisset states, which first seized the Heights of Abraham; and at Bunker Hill, his conduct merited and obtained considerable eulogy; but in diligence, energy, and military talent as a commander, he was far inferior to the great Washington. He might, perhaps, have been more enterprising as a general, had he not also been appointed to act as one of the commissioners for effecting a reconciliation with the colonies. His employment in this capacity

is, with some truth, said to have been inconsistent with his duties as commander-in-chief; and it was insinuated, that instead of prosecuting hostilities with proper zeal and activity, he had gone to the utmost verge of his instructions to effect an amicable arrangement with

the Americans. This, however, it is proper to state, he solemnly denies, in a narrative of his proceedings; protesting that he had, in conjunction with his brother, carried on the war with as much vigor as the force in their hands would permit.



## CHAPTER XI.

1777.

### WASHINGTON HOLDS HOWE IN CHECK.

Washington not disheartened at the loss of Philadelphia.—He is reinforced.—He determines to attack Howe's army.—Howe detaches a part of his army to attack the forts on the Delaware.—Battle of Germantown.—Washington's commentary on it.—Sullivan's.—Thanks of Congress.—The forts on the Delaware reinforced.—Operations at Fort Mifflin.—Lord Howe sails up the Delaware.—Attack on Fort Mercer repulsed.—Death of Count Donop.—British frigates destroyed.—Thanks of Congress.—Preparations for defending Fort Mifflin.—News from Burgoyne.—Hamilton sent to the North for reinforcements.—They come too late.—Tremendous attack on Fort Mifflin.—It is battered to pieces and evacuated.—Fort Mercer attacked and destroyed.—Greene in New Jersey.—Cornwallis at Gloucester Point.—Communication between the fleet and army of the Howes fully opened.—An attack on the city proposed.—Its utter impracticability decided.—Lafayette attacks a picket of Cornwallis's at Gloucester Point.—He is placed in command of a division.—Board of War enlarged.—Allusion to "Conway's Cabal."—Howe marches out of Philadelphia to attack Washington's army, and drive him beyond the mountains.—Skirmishes and returns to the city.—Washington goes into winter-quarters at Valley Forge.—Comparative situation of the two armies.

WASHINGTON seems to have been by no means disheartened at the loss of Philadelphia. On the contrary, he justly regarded the circumstance of the enemy holding that city as one which might, as in the sequel it actually did, turn to the advantage of the American cause. Writing to Governor Trumbull on the 1st of October, he says: "You will hear, before this gets to hand, that the enemy have at length gained possession of Philadelphia. Many unavoidable difficulties and unlucky accidents which we had to encounter, helped to promote this success. This is an event which we have reason to wish had not happened, and which will be attended with several ill consequences; but I hope it will not be

so detrimental as many apprehend, and that a little time and perseverance will give us some favorable opportunity of recovering our loss, and of putting our affairs in a more flourishing condition. Our army has now had the rest and refreshment it stood in need of, and our soldiers are in very good spirits."

Philadelphia being lost, Washington sought to make its occupation inconvenient and insecure, by rendering it inaccessible to the British fleet. With this design, works had been erected on a low marshy island in the Delaware, near the junction of the Schuylkill, which, from the nature of its soil, was called Mud Island. On the opposite shore of Jersey, at Red Bank, a fort had also been constructed

1777.

which was defended with heavy artillery. In the deep channel between, or under cover of these batteries, several ranges of *chevaux-de-frise* had been sunk. These were so strong and heavy as to be destructive of any ship which might strike against them, and were sunk in such a depth of water as rendered it equally difficult to weigh them or cut them through; no attempt to raise them, or to open the channel in any manner, could be successful until the command of the shores on both sides should be obtained.

Other ranges of *chevaux-de-frise* had been sunk about three miles lower down the river; and some considerable works were in progress at Billingsport on the Jersey side, which were in such forwardness as to be provided with artillery. These works were further supported by several galleys mounting heavy cannon, together with two floating-batteries, a number of armed vessels, and some fire-ships.

The present relative situation of the armies gave a decisive importance to these works. Cutting off the communication of Howe with his brother's fleet, they prevented his receiving supplies by water. While the American vessels in the river above Fort Mifflin, the name given to the fort on Mud Island, rendered it difficult to forage in Jersey, Washington hoped to render his supplies on the side of Pennsylvania so precarious, as to compel him to evacuate Philadelphia.

The advantages of this situation were

considerably diminished by the capture of the Delaware frigate.

The day after Cornwallis entered Philadelphia, three batteries were commenced for the purpose of acting against any American ships which might appear before the town. While yet incomplete, they were attacked by two frigates, assisted by several galleys and gondolas. The Delaware, being left by the tide while engaged with the battery, grounded and was captured; soon after which, the smaller frigate and the other vessels retired under the guns of the fort. This circumstance was the more unfortunate, as it gave the British general the command of the ferry, and, consequently, free access to Jersey, and enabled him to intercept the communication between the forts below and Trenton, from which place the garrisons were to have drawn their military stores.

All the expected reinforcements, except the State regiment and militia from Virginia, being arrived, and the detached parties being called in, the effective strength of the army amounted to eight thousand continental troops, and three thousand militia. With this force Washington determined to approach the enemy, and seize the first favorable moment to attack him. In pursuance of this determination, the army took a position on the Skippack road, September 30th, 1777, about twenty miles from Philadelphia, and sixteen from Germantown,—a village stretching on both sides the great



road leading northward from Philadelphia, which forms one continued street nearly two miles in length. The British line of encampment crossed this village at right angles near the centre, and Cornwallis, with four regiments of grenadiers, occupied Philadelphia. The immediate object of General Howe being the removal of the obstructions in the river, Colonel Stirling, with two regiments, had been detached to take possession of the fort at Billingsport, which he accomplished without opposition. This service being effected, and the works facing the water destroyed, Colonel Stirling was directed to escort a convoy of provisions from Chester to Philadelphia. Some apprehensions being entertained for the safety of this convoy, another regiment was detached from Germantown, with directions to join Colonel Stirling.

This division of the British force appeared to Washington to furnish a fair opportunity to engage Sir William Howe with advantage. Determining to avail himself of it, he formed a plan for surprising the camp at Germantown. This plan consisted, in its general outline, of a night march and double attack, consentaneously made, on both flanks of the enemy's right wing; while a demonstration, or attack, as circumstances should render proper, was to be directed on the western flank of his left wing. With these orders and

1777.

objects, the American army began its march from Skippack Creek at seven o'clock in the evening of the 3d

of October, in two columns—the right, under Sullivan and Wayne, taking the Chestnut Hill road, followed by Stirling's division in reserve; the left, composed of the divisions of Greene and Stephen, with M'Dougal's brigade and fourteen hundred Maryland and Jersey militia, taking the Limekiln and old York roads; while Armstrong's Pennsylvania militia advanced by the Ridge road. Washington accompanied the right wing, and at dawn of day, next morning, attacked the royal army. After a smart conflict, he drove in the advanced-guard, which was stationed at the head of the village, and, with his army divided into five columns, prosecuted the attack; but Lieutenant-colonel Musgrave, of the fortieth regiment, which had been driven in, and who had been able to keep five companies of the regiment together, threw himself into a large stone house in the village, belonging to Mr. Chew, which stood in front of the main column of the Americans, and there almost a half of Washington's army was detained for a considerable time. Instead of masking Chew's house with a sufficient force, and advancing rapidly with their main body, the Americans attacked the house, which was obstinately defended. The delay was very unfortunate; for the critical moment was lost in fruitless attempts on the house; the royal troops had time to get under arms, and be in readiness to resist or attack, as circumstances required. General Grey came to the assistance of Colonel Musgrave; the



engagement for some time was general and warm; at length the Americans began to give way, and effected a retreat, with all their artillery. The morning was very foggy, a circumstance which had prevented the Americans from combining and conducting their operations as they otherwise might have done, but which now favored their retreat by concealing their movements.

In this engagement, the British had six hundred men killed or wounded; among the slain were Brigadier-general Agnew and Colonel Bird, officers of distinguished reputation. The Americans lost an equal number in killed and wounded, besides four hundred, who were taken prisoners. General Nash, of North Carolina, was among those who were killed. After the battle, Washington returned to his encampment at Skippack Creek.

The plan of attack formed by Washington for the battle of Germantown was fully justified by the result. The British camp was completely surprised, and their army was on the point of being entirely routed, when the continued fog led the American soldiers to mistake friends for foes, and caused a panic which threw every thing into confusion, and enabled the enemy to rally.

Washington, writing to his brother John Augustine, says: "If it had not been for a thick fog, which rendered it so dark at times that we were not able to distinguish friend from foe at the distance of thirty yards, we should, I be-

lieve, have made a decisive and glorious day of it. But Providence designed it otherwise: for, after we had driven the enemy a mile or two; after they were in the utmost confusion and flying before us in most places; after we were upon the point, as it appeared to everybody, of grasping a complete victory, our own troops took fright and fled with precipitation and disorder. How to account for this, I know not; unless, as I before observed, the fog represented their own friends to them for a reinforcement of the enemy, as we attacked in different quarters at the same time, and were about closing the wings of our army when this happened. One thing, indeed, contributed not a little to our misfortune, and that was a want of ammunition on the right wing, which began the engagement, and in the course of two hours and forty minutes, which time it lasted, had, many of them, expended the forty rounds that they took into the field. After the engagement, we removed to a place about twenty miles from the enemy, to collect our forces together, to take care of our wounded, get furnished with necessities again, and be in a better posture either for offensive or defensive operations. We are now advancing towards the enemy again, being at this time within twelve miles of them."

Writing to the President of Congress (October 7th), he still

imputes the disaster to the fog: 1777.

"It is with much chagrin and mortification I add, that every account con-

firms the opinion I at first entertained, that our troops retreated at the instant when victory was declaring herself in our favor. The tumult, disorder, and even despair, which, it seems, had taken place in the British army, were scarcely to be paralleled; and, it is said, so strongly did the idea of a retreat prevail, that Chester was fixed on as their rendezvous. I can discover no other cause for not improving this happy opportunity, than the extreme haziness of the weather."

Much controversy has arisen among writers as to the cause of failure at Germantown; but Washington's means of observation were certainly not inferior to those of any other person whatever, and in the above extracts the whole matter is clearly explained. He does not refer to the delay at Chew's house as the cause of failure. Panic-struck as the British were, they would have been defeated, notwithstanding the delay at that impromptu fortress, if the fog had not occasioned the American soldiers to believe that the firing on their own side proceeded from the enemy, and that they were about to be surrounded. Hence the recoil and retreat. It was apparently a great misfortune; but it was the destiny of Washington to achieve greatness in spite of severe and repeated misfortunes.

The same opinion respecting the fog is expressed in the following extract from a letter from General Sullivan to the president of New Hampshire:

"We brought off all our cannon and

all our wounded. Our loss in the action amounts to less than seven hundred, mostly wounded. We lost some valuable officers, among whom were the brave General Nash, and my two aids-de-camp, majors Sherburne and White, whose singular bravery must ever do honor to their memories. Our army rendezvoused at Paulen's Mills, and seems very desirous of another action. The misfortunes of this day were principally owing to a thick fog, which, being rendered still more so by the smoke of the cannon and musketry, prevented our troops from discovering the motions of the enemy, or acting in concert with each other. I cannot help observing, that with great concern I saw our brave commander exposing himself to the hottest fire of the enemy in such a manner, that regard to my country obliged me to ride to him, and beg him to retire. He, to gratify me and some others, withdrew a small distance; but his anxiety for the fate of the day soon brought him up again, where he remained till our troops had retreated."

Congress unanimously adopted the following resolution on hearing of the battle of Germantown:

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of Congress be given to General Washington, for his wise and well-concerted attack upon the enemy's army near Germantown, on the 4th instant, and to the officers and soldiers of the army for their brave exertions on that occasion; Congress being well satisfied, that the best designs and boldest efforts may



sometimes fail by unforeseen incidents, trusting that, on future occasions, the valor and virtue of the army will, by the blessing of Heaven, be crowned with complete and deserved success."

The attention of both armies was now principally directed to the forts below Philadelphia. These it was the great object of Howe to destroy, and of Washington to defend and maintain.

The loss of the Delaware frigate, and of Billingsport, greatly discouraged the seamen by whom the galleys and floating-batteries were manned. Believing the fate of America to be decided, an opinion strengthened by the intelligence received from their connections in Philadelphia, they manifested the most alarming defection, and several officers as well as sailors deserted to the enemy. This desponding temper was checked by the battle of Germantown, and by throwing a garrison of continental troops into the fort at Red Bank, called Fort Mercer, the defence of which had been intrusted to militia. This fort commanded the channel between the Jersey shore and Mud Island; and the American vessels were secure under its guns. The militia of Jersey were relied on to reinforce its garrison, and also to form a corps of observation which might harass the rear of any detachment investing the place.

To increase the inconvenience of Howe's situation by intercepting his supplies, Washington ordered six hundred militia, commanded by General Potter, to cross the Schuylkill, and scour

the country between that river and Chester; and the militia on the Delaware, above Philadelphia, were directed to watch the roads in that vicinity.

The more effectually to stop those who were seduced by the hope of gold and silver to supply the enemy at this critical time, Congress passed a resolution subjecting to martial law and to death, all who should furnish them with provisions, or certain other enumerated articles, who should be taken within thirty miles of any city, town, or place, in Jersey, Pennsylvania, or Delaware, occupied by British troops.

These arrangements being made to cut off supplies from the country, Washington took a strong position at White Marsh, within fourteen miles of Philadelphia.

Meanwhile, General Howe was actively preparing to attack Fort Mifflin from the Pennsylvania shore. He erected some batteries at the mouth of the Schuylkill, in order to command Webb's Ferry, which were attacked by Commodore Hazlewood, and silenced; but, the following night, a detachment crossed over Webb's Ferry into Province Island, and constructed a slight work opposite Fort Mifflin, within two musket-shots of the blockhouse, from which they were enabled to throw shot and shells into the barracks. When daylight discovered this work, three galleys and a floating-battery were ordered to attack it, and the garrison surrendered. While the boats were bringing off the prisoners, a large column of



British troops were seen marching into the fortress, upon which the attack on it was renewed, but without success; and two attempts made by Lieutenant-colonel Smith\* to storm it, failed. In a few nights, works were completed on the high ground of Province Island, which enfiladed the principal battery of Fort Mifflin, and rendered it necessary to throw up some cover on the platform to protect the men who worked the guns.

The aids expected from the Jersey militia were not received. "Assure yourself," said Lieutenant-colonel Smith, in a letter pressing earnestly for a reinforcement of continental troops, "that no dependence is to be put on the militia; whatever men your Excellency determines on sending, no time is to be lost." The garrison of Fort Mifflin was now reduced to one hundred and fifty-six effectives, and that of Red Bank did not much exceed two hundred.

In consequence of these representations, Washington ordered Colonel Christopher Greene, of Rhode Island, with his regiment, to Red Bank, and Lieutenant-colonel John Greene, of Virginia, with about two hundred men, to Fort Mifflin.

Immediately after the battle of Brandywine, Admiral Howe had sailed for the Delaware, where he expected to

arrive in time to meet and co-operate with the army in and about Philadelphia. But the winds were so unfavorable, and the navigation of the Bay of Delaware so difficult, that his van did not get into the river until the 4th of October. The ships of war and transports which followed, came up from the 6th to the 8th, and anchored from New Castle to Reedy Island.

The frigates, in advance of the fleet, had not yet succeeded in their endeavors to effect a passage through the lower double row of *chevaux-de-frise*. Though no longer protected by the fort at Billingsport, they were defended by the water force above, and the work was found more difficult than had been expected. It was not until the middle of October that the impediments were so far removed as to afford a narrow and intricate passage through them. In the mean time, the fire from the Pennsylvania shore had not produced all the effect expected from it; and it was perceived that greater exertions would be necessary for the reduction of the works than could safely be made in the present relative situation of the armies. Under this impression, General Howe, soon after the return of the American army to its former camp on the Skippack, withdrew his troops from Germantown into Philadelphia, as preparatory to a combined attack by land and water on forts Mercer and Mifflin.

After effecting a passage through the works sunk in the river at Billingsport,

\* This was Lieutenant-colonel Samuel Smith, of the Maryland line. After serving in this perilous post at Fort Mifflin, he was made general, and in that rank assisted in the defence of Baltimore in the War of 1812. See Document [A] at the end of this chapter.

other difficulties still remained to be encountered by the ships of war. Several rows of *chevaux-de-frise* had been sunk about half a mile below Mud Island, which were protected by the guns of the forts, as well as by the movable water force. To silence these works, therefore, was a necessary preliminary to the removal of these obstructions in the channel.

On the 21st of October, a detachment of Hessians, amounting to twelve hundred men, commanded by Colonel Count Donop, crossed the Delaware at Philadelphia, with orders to storm Fort Mercer, at Red Bank. The fortifications consisted of extensive outer works, within which was an intrenchment eight or nine feet high, boarded and fraized. Late in the evening of the 22d, Count Donop appeared before the fort, and attacked it with great intrepidity. It was defended with equal resolution by the brave garrison of Rhode Island continentals, under command of Colonel Christopher Greene. The outer works being too extensive to be manned by the troops in the fort, were used only to gall the assailants while advancing. On their near approach, the garrison retired within the inner intrenchment, whence they poured upon the Hessians a heavy and destructive fire. Colonel Donop\* received a

mortal wound; and Lieutenant-colonel Mengerode, the second in command, fell about the same time. Lieutenant-colonel Linsing, the oldest remaining officer, drew off his troops, and returned next day to Philadelphia. The loss of the assailants was estimated by the Americans at four hundred men. The garrison was reinforced from Fort Mifflin, and aided by the galleys which flanked the Hessians in their advance and retreat. The American loss, in killed and wounded, amounted to only thirty-two men.

The ships having been ordered to co-operate with Count Donop, the *Augusta*, with four smaller vessels, passed the lower line of *chevaux-de-frise*, opposite to Billingsport, and lay above it, waiting until the assault should be made on the fort. The flood-tide setting in about the time the attack commenced, they moved with it up the river. The obstructions sunk in the Delaware had in some degree changed its channel, in consequence of which the *Augusta* and the *Merlin* grounded a considerable distance below the second line of *chevaux-de-frise*, and a strong wind from the north so checked the rising of the tide, that these vessels could not be floated by the flood. Their situation, however, was not discerned that evening, as the frigates

\* Donop was a brave officer. He was found on the battle-field by Captain Mauduit Duplessis, a talented French engineer, who had assisted Greene in defence of the fort; and who attended the unfortunate count on his death-bed till he expired, three days after the battle, at the early age of thirty-seven. "I die," said he, in his

last hour, "a victim of my ambition, and of the avarice of my sovereign." A fine commentary on the mercenary system of the German princes. The government of Hesse Cassel quite recently caused the remains of Count Donop to be removed from Red Bank, to be interred with distinguished honor in his own country.



which were able to approach the fort, and the batteries from the Pennsylvania shore, kept up an incessant fire on the garrison, till night put an end to the cannonade. Early next morning it was recommenced, in the hope that, under its cover, the *Augusta* and the *Merlin* might be got off. The Americans, on discovering their situation, sent four fire-ships against them, but without effect. Meanwhile, a warm cannonade took place on both sides, in the course of which the *Augusta* took fire, and it was found impracticable to extinguish the flames. Most of the men were taken out, the frigates withdrawn, and the *Merlin* set on fire; after which the *Augusta* blew up, and a few of the crew were lost in her.

This repulse inspired Congress with flattering hopes for the permanent defence of the posts on the Delaware. That body expressed its high sense of the merits of Colonel Greene, of Rhode Island, who had commanded in Fort Mercer; of Lieutenant-colonel Smith, of Maryland, who had commanded in Fort Mifflin; and of Commodore Hazlewood, who commanded the galleys; and presented a sword to each of these officers, as a mark of the estimation in which their services were held.

The situation of these forts was far from justifying this confidence of their being defensible. That on Mud Island had been unskilfully constructed, and required at least eight hundred men fully to man the lines. The island is about half a mile long. Fort Mifflin

was placed at the lower end, having its principal fortifications in front for the purpose of repelling ships coming up the river. The defences in the rear consisted only of a ditch and palisade, protected by two block-houses, the upper story of one of which had been destroyed in the late cannonade. Above the fort were two batteries opposing those constructed by the British on Province and Carpenter's islands, which were separated from Mud Island only by a narrow passage between four and five hundred yards wide.

The garrison of Fort Mifflin consisted of only three hundred continental troops, who were worn down with fatigue and incessant watching, under the constant apprehension of being attacked from Province Island, from Philadelphia, and from the ships below.

Having failed in every attempt to draw the militia of New Jersey to the Delaware, Washington determined to strengthen the garrison by further drafts from his army. Three hundred Pennsylvania militia were detached, to be divided between the two forts; and, a few days afterwards, General Varnum was ordered, with his brigade, to take a position about Woodbury, near Red Bank, and to relieve and reinforce the garrisons of both forts as far as his strength would permit. Washington hoped that the appearance of so respectable a continental force might encourage the militia to assemble in greater numbers.

Aware of the advantage to result



from a victory over the British army while separated from the fleet, Washington had been uniformly determined to risk much to gain one. He had, therefore, after the battle of Germantown, continued to watch assiduously for an opportunity to attack his enemy once more to advantage. The circumstance of General Howe afforded none. After the repulse at Red Bank, his measures were slow but certain; and were calculated to insure the possession of the forts without exposing his troops to the hazard of an assault.

In this state of things, intelligence was received of the successful termination of the northern campaign, in consequence of which great part of the troops who had been employed against Burgoyne, might be drawn to the aid of the army in Pennsylvania. But Washington had just grounds to apprehend that, before these reinforcements could arrive, Howe would gain possession of the forts, and remove the obstructions to the navigation of the Delaware. This apprehension furnished a strong motive for vigorous attempts to relieve Fort Mifflin. But the relative force of the armies, the difficulty of acting offensively against Philadelphia, and, above all, the reflection that a defeat might disable him from meeting his enemy in the field even after the arrival of the troops expected from the North, determined Washington not to hazard a second attack under existing circumstances.

To expedite the reinforcements for

which he waited, Washington dispatched Colonel Hamilton to General Gates, with directions to represent to him the condition of the armies in Pennsylvania; and to urge him, if he contemplated no other service of more importance, immediately to send the regiments of Massachusetts and New Hampshire to aid the army of the middle department. These orders were not peremptory, because it was possible that some other object (as the capture of New York) still more interesting than the expulsion of General Howe from Philadelphia, might be contemplated by Gates; and Washington meant not to interfere with the accomplishment of such object.

On reaching General Putnam, Colonel Hamilton found that a considerable part of the northern army had joined that officer, but that Gates had detained four brigades at Albany for an expedition intended to be made in the winter against Ticonderoga.

Having made such arrangements with Putnam as he supposed would secure the immediate march of a large body of continental troops from that station, Colonel Hamilton proceeded to Albany for the purpose of remonstrating with General Gates against retaining so large and valuable a part of the army unemployed at a time when the most imminent danger threatened the vitals of the country. Gates was by no means disposed to part with his troops. He could not believe that an expedition then preparing at New York, was de

signed to reinforce General Howe; and insisted that, should the troops then embarked at that place, instead of proceeding to the Delaware, make a sudden movement up the Hudson, it would be in their power, should Albany be left defenceless, to destroy the valuable arsenal which had been there erected, and the military stores captured with Burgoyne, which had been chiefly deposited in that town.

Having, after repeated remonstrances, obtained an order directing three brigades to the Delaware, Hamilton hastened back to Putnam, and found the troops which had been ordered to join Washington, still at Peekskill. The detachment from New York had suggested to Putnam the possibility of taking that place; and he does not appear to have made very great exertions to divest himself of a force he deemed necessary for an object the accomplishment of which would give so much splendor to his military character. In addition to this circumstance, an opinion had gained ground among the soldiers, that their share of service for the campaign had been performed, and that it was time for them to go into winter-quarters. Great discontents too prevailed concerning their pay, which the government had permitted to be more than six months in arrear; and in Poor's brigade, a mutiny broke out, in the course of which a soldier who was run through the body by his captain, shot the captain dead before he expired. Colonel Hamilton came in time to bor-

row money from the governor, George Clinton,\* of New York, to put the troops in motion; and they proceeded by brigades to the Delaware. But these several delays retarded their arrival until the contest for the forts on that river was terminated.

The preparations of Sir William Howe being completed, a large battery on Province Island of twenty-four and thirty-two pounders, and two howitzers of eight inches each, opened, early in the morning of the 10th of November, upon Fort Mifflin, at the distance of five hundred yards, and kept up an incessant fire for several successive days. The blockhouses were reduced to a heap of ruins; the palisades were beaten down; and most of the guns dismounted and otherwise disabled. The barracks were battered in every part, so that the troops could not remain in them. They were under the necessity of working and watching the whole night to repair the damages of the day, and to guard against a storm, of which they were in perpetual apprehension. If in the day a few moments were allowed for repose, it was taken on the wet earth, which, in consequence of heavy rains, had become a soft mud. The garrison was relieved by General Varnum every forty-eight hours; but his brigade was so weak that half the men were constantly on duty.

Colonel Smith was decidedly of opinion, and General Varnum concurred with

---

\* See Document [B] at the end of this chapter.



him, that the garrison could not repel an assault, and ought to be withdrawn; but Washington still cherished the hope that the place might be maintained until he should be reinforced from the northern army. Believing that an assault would not be attempted until the works were battered down, he recommended that the whole night should be employed in making repairs. His orders were that the place should be defended to the last extremity; and never were orders more faithfully executed.

Several of the garrison were killed, and among them Captain Treat, a gallant officer, who commanded the artillery. Colonel Smith received a contusion on his hip and arm which compelled him to give up the command, and retire to Red Bank. Major Fleury, a French officer of distinguished merit, who served as engineer, reported to Washington that, although the block-houses were beaten down, all the guns in them, except two, disabled, and several breaches made in the walls, the place was still defensible; but the garrison was so unequal to the numbers required by the extent of the lines, and was so dispirited by watching, fatigue, and constant exposure to the cold rains which were almost incessant, that he dreaded the event of an attempt to carry the place by storm. Fresh troops were ordered to their relief from Var-num's brigade, and the command was taken, first by Colonel Russell, and afterwards by Major Thayer. The artil-

lery, commanded by Captain Lee, continued to be well served. The besiegers were several times thrown into confusion, and a floating-battery which opened on the morning of the 14th, was silenced in the course of the day.

The defence being unexpectedly obstinate, the assailants brought up their ships (November 15th) as far as the obstructions in the river permitted, and added their fire to that of the batteries, which was the more fatal as the cover for the troops had been greatly impaired. The brave garrison, however, still maintained their ground with unshaken firmness. In the midst of this stubborn conflict, the *Vigilant* and a sloop-of-war were brought up the inner channel, between Mud and Province islands, which had, unobserved by the besieged, been deepened by the current in consequence of the obstructions in the main channel; and, taking a station within one hundred yards of the works, not only kept up a destructive cannonade, but threw hand-grenades into them; while the musketeers from the round-top of the *Vigilant* killed every man that appeared on the platform. 1777.

Major Thayer applied to the commodore to remove these vessels, and he ordered six galleys on the service; but, after reconnoitering their situation, the galleys returned without attempting any thing. Their report was, that these ships were so covered by the batteries on Province Island as to be unassailable.



It was now apparent to all that the fort could be no longer defended. The works were in ruins. The position of the Vigilant rendered any further continuance on the island a prodigal and useless waste of human life; and on the 16th, about eleven at night, the garrison was withdrawn.

A second attempt was made to drive the vessels from their stations, with a determination, should it succeed, to repossess the island; but the galleys effected nothing; and a detachment from Province Island soon occupied the ground which had been abandoned.

The day after, receiving intelligence of the evacuation of Fort Mifflin, Washington deputed generals De Kalb and Knox, to confer with General Varnum and the officers at Fort Mercer on the practicability of continuing to defend the obstructions in the channel, to report thereon, and to state the force which would be necessary for that purpose. Their report was in favor of continuing the defence. A council of the navy officers had already been called by the commodore in pursuance of a request of the commander-in-chief made before the evacuation had taken place, who were unanimously of opinion that it would be impracticable for the fleet, after the loss of the island, to maintain its station, or to assist in preventing the *chevaux-de-frise* from being weighed by the ships of the enemy.

General Howe had now completed a line of defence from the Schuylkill to the Delaware; and a reinforcement

from New York had arrived at Chester. These two circumstances enabled him to form an army in the Jerseys sufficient for the reduction of Fort Mercer, without weakening himself so much in Philadelphia as to put his lines in hazard. Still, deeming it of the utmost importance to open the navigation of the Delaware completely, he detached Lord Cornwallis about one in the morning of the 17th, with a strong body of troops to Chester. From that place, his lordship crossed over to Billingsport, where he was joined by the reinforcement from New York.

Washington received immediate intelligence of the march of this detachment, which he communicated to General Varnum, with orders that Fort Mercer should be defended to the last extremity. With a view to military operations in that quarter, he ordered one division of the army to cross the river at Burlington, and dispatched expresses to the northern troops who were marching on by brigades, directing them to move down the Delaware on its northern side until they should receive further orders.

General Greene was selected for this expedition. A hope was entertained that he would be able, not only to protect Fort Mercer, but to obtain some decisive advantage over Lord Cornwallis; as the situation of the fort, which his lordship could not invest without placing himself between Timber and Manto creeks, would expose the assailants to great peril from a respectable

force in their rear. But, before Greene could cross the Delaware, Cornwallis approached with an army rendered more powerful than had been expected by the junction of the reinforcement from New York; and Fort Mercer was evacuated.

A few of the smaller galleys escaped up the river, and the others were burnt by their crews.

Washington still hoped to recover much of what had been lost. A victory would restore the Jersey shore, and this object was deemed so important, that General Greene's instructions indicated the expectation that he would be in a condition to fight Cornwallis.

Greene feared the reproach of avoiding an action less than the just censure of sacrificing the real interests of his country by engaging the enemy on disadvantageous terms. The numbers of the British exceeded his, even counting his militia as regulars; and he determined to wait for Glover's brigade, which was marching from the North. Before its arrival, Cornwallis took post on Gloucester Point, a point of land making deep into the Delaware, which was entirely under cover of the guns of the ships, from which place he was embarking his baggage and the provisions he had collected for Philadelphia.

Believing that Cornwallis would immediately follow the magazines he had collected, and that the purpose of Howe was, with his united forces, to attack the American army while divided, General

Washington ordered Greene to recross the Delaware, and join the army.

Thus after one continued struggle of more than six weeks, in which the continental troops displayed great military virtues, the army in Philadelphia secured itself in the possession of that city, by opening a free communication with the fleet.

While Lord Cornwallis was in Jersey, and General Greene on the Delaware above him, the reinforcements from the North being received, an attack on Philadelphia was strongly pressed by several officers high in rank; and was in some measure urged by that torrent of public opinion, which, if not resisted by a very firm mind, overwhelms the judgment, and by controlling measures not well comprehended, may frequently produce, especially in military transactions, the most disastrous effects.

The officers who advised this measure were Lord Stirling, generals Wayne, Scott, and Woodford. The considerations urged upon Washington in its support were—that the army was now in greater force than he could expect it to be at any future time; that being joined by the troops who had conquered Burgoyne, his own reputation, the reputation of his army, the opinion of Congress and of the nation, required some decisive blow on his part; and that the rapid depreciation of the paper currency, by which the resources for carrying on the war were dried up, rendered indispensable some grand ef



fort to bring it to a speedy termination.

Washington reconnoitered the enemy's lines with great care, and took into serious consideration the plan of attack proposed. The plan proposed was: that General Greene should embark two thousand men at Dunks' Ferry, and descending the Delaware in the night, land in the town just before day, attack the enemy in the rear, and take possession of the bridge over the Schuylkill; that a strong corps should march down on the west side of that river, occupy the heights enfilading the works of the enemy, and open a brisk cannonade upon them, while a detachment from it should march down to the bridge, and attack in front at the same instant that the party descending the river should commence its assault on the rear.

Not only the commander-in-chief, but some of his best officers, those who could not be impelled by the clamors of the ill-informed to ruin the public interests, were opposed to this mad enterprise. The two armies, they said, were now nearly equal in point of numbers, and the detachment under Lord Cornwallis could not be supposed to have so weakened Sir William Howe as to compensate for the advantages of his position. His right was covered by the Delaware, his left by the Schuylkill, his rear by the junction of those two rivers, as well as by the city of Philadelphia, and his front by a line of redoubts extending from river to

river, and connected by an abattis, and by circular works. It would be indispensably necessary to carry all these redoubts; since to leave a part of them to play on the rear of the columns, while engaged in front with the enemy in Philadelphia, would be extremely hazardous.

Supposing the redoubts carried, and the British army driven into the town, yet all military men were agreed on the great peril of storming a town. The streets would be defended by an artillery greatly superior to that of the Americans, which would attack in front, while the brick houses would be lined with musketeers, whose fire must thin the ranks of the assailants.

A part of the plan, on the successful execution of which the whole depended, was, that the British rear should be surprised by the corps descending the Delaware. This would require the concurrence of too many favorable circumstances to be calculated on with any confidence. As the position of General Greene was known, it could not be supposed that Sir William Howe would be inattentive to him. It was probable that not even his embarkation would be made unnoticed; but it was presuming a degree of negligence which ought not to be assumed, to suppose that he could descend the river to Philadelphia undiscovered. So soon as his movement should be observed, the whole plan would be comprehended, since it would never be conjectured that Greene was to attack singly.



If the attack in front should fail, which was not even improbable, the total loss of the two thousand men in the rear must follow; and General Howe would maintain his superiority through the winter.

The situation did not require these desperate measures. The British general would be compelled to risk a battle on equal terms, or to manifest a conscious inferiority to the American army. The depreciation of paper money was the inevitable consequence of immense emissions without corresponding taxes. It was by removing the cause, not by sacrificing the army, that this evil was to be corrected.

Washington possessed too much discernment to be dazzled by the false brilliant presented by those who urged the necessity of storming Philadelphia, in order to throw lustre round his own fame, and that of his army; and too much firmness of temper, too much virtue and real patriotism, to be diverted from a purpose believed to be right, by the clamors of faction or the discontents of ignorance. Disregarding the importunities of mistaken friends, the malignant insinuations of enemies, and the expectations of the ill-informed, he persevered in his resolution to make no attempt on Philadelphia. He saved his army, and was able to keep the field in the face of his enemy; while the clamor of the moment wasted in air and was forgotten.

About this time Washington learnt, by a letter from General Greene, that

his young friend, Lafayette, although hardly recovered from the wound received at Brandywine, had signalized his spirit and courage by an attack on Cornwallis's picket-guard at Gloucester Point, below Philadelphia. "The Marquis," writes Greene, "with about four hundred militia and the rifle corps, attacked the enemy's picket last evening, killed about twenty, wounded many more, and took about twenty prisoners. The Marquis is charmed with the spirited behavior of the militia and rifle corps; they drove the enemy about half a mile, and kept the ground till dark. The enemy's picket consisted of about three hundred, and were reinforced during the skirmish. The Marquis is determined to be in the way of danger."

The following letter to Washington, cited by Sparks, contains Lafayette's own account of this affair:

"After having spent the most part of the day in making myself well-acquainted with the certainty of the enemy's motions, I came pretty late into the Gloucester road between the two creeks. I had ten light-horse, almost one hundred and fifty riflemen, and two pickets of militia. Colonel Armand, Colonel Laumoy, and the chevaliers Duplessis and Gimat, were the Frenchmen with me. A scout of my men, under Duplessis, went to ascertain how near to Gloucester were the enemy's first pickets, and they found at the distance of two miles and a half from that place a strong post of three hundred and fifty Hessians, with field-pieces, and

they engaged immediately. As my little reconnoitering party were all in fine spirits, I supported them. We pushed the Hessians more than half a mile from the place where their main body had been, and we made them run very fast. British reinforcements came twice to them, but, very far from recovering their ground, they always retreated. The darkness of the night prevented us from pursuing our advantage. After standing on the ground we had gained, I ordered them to return very slowly to Haddonfield."

The Marquis had only one man killed, and six wounded. "I take the greatest pleasure," he added, "in letting you know that the conduct of our soldiers was above all praise. I never saw men so merry, so spirited, and so desirous to go on to the enemy, whatever force they might have, as that same small party in this little fight."

Washington, in a letter to Congress, dated November 26th, 1777, mentions this affair with commendation, and suggests, as he had repeatedly done before, Lafayette's appointment to one of the vacant divisions of the army; and on the same day that this letter was received, Congress voted that such an appointment would be agreeable to them. Three days afterwards Washington placed Lafayette in command of the division of General Stephen, who had been dismissed from the army for having been intoxicated, to the great injury of the public service, on the eventful day of the battle of German-

town. We shall see that this appointment, by enabling Lafayette to act occasionally on a separate command, afforded him the opportunity of rendering essential service to the cause of independence.

On the 27th of November, the Board of War was increased from three to five members, viz.: General Mifflin, formerly aid to Washington, and recently quartermaster-general, Joseph Trumbull, Richard Peters, Colonel Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts, and General Gates. Gates was appointed president of the Board, with many flattering expressions from Congress. His recent triumph over Burgoyne had gained him many friends among the members of Congress, and a few among the officers of the army. His head, naturally not over-strong, had been turned by success; and he entered into the views of a certain clique which had recently been formed, whose object was to disparage Washington, and put forward rather high pretensions in favor of the "hero of Saratoga." This clique, called from the name of its most active member, General Conway, the "Conway Cabal," we shall notice hereafter. At the time of this change in the constitution of the Board of War, it was in full activity; and its operations were well known to Washington. In fact, he had already applied the match which ultimately exploded the whole conspiracy, and brought lasting disgrace on every one of its members.

General Howe in the mean time was



preparing to attack Washington in his camp, and, as he confidently threatened, to "drive him beyond the mountains."

On the 4th of December, Captain M'Lane, a vigilant officer on the lines, discovered that an attempt to surprise the American camp at White Marsh was about to be made, and communicated the information to Washington. In the evening of the same day, General Howe marched out of Philadelphia with his whole force; and, about eleven at night, M'Lane, who had been detached with one hundred chosen men, attacked the British van at the Three Mile Run, on the Germantown road, and compelled their front division to change its line of march. He hovered on the front and flank of the advancing army, galling them severely until three next morning, when the British encamped on Chestnut Hill, in front of the American right, and distant from it about three miles. A slight skirmish had also taken place between the Pennsylvania militia under General Irvine, and the advanced light parties of the enemy, in which the general was wounded, and the militia, without much other loss, were dispersed.

The range of hills on which the British were posted, approached nearer to those occupied by the Americans, as they stretched northward.

Having passed the day in reconnoitering the right, Howe changed his ground in the course of the night, and moving along the hills to his right, took

an advantageous position, about a mile in front of the American left. The next day, he inclined still further to his right, and, in doing so, approached still nearer to the left wing of the American army. Supposing a general engagement to be approaching, Washington detached Gist, with some Maryland militia, and Morgan, with his rifle corps, to attack the flanking and advanced parties of the enemy. A sharp action ensued, in which Major Morris, of New Jersey, a brave officer in Morgan's regiment, was mortally wounded, and twenty-seven of his men were killed and wounded. A small loss was also sustained in the militia. The parties first attacked were driven in; but the enemy reinforcing in numbers, and Washington, unwilling to move from the heights, and engage on the ground which was the scene of the skirmish, declining to reinforce Gist and Morgan, they, in turn, were compelled to retreat.

Howe continued to manœuvre towards the flank, and in front of the left wing of the American army. Expecting to be attacked in that quarter in full force, Washington made such changes in the disposition of his troops as the occasion required; and the day was consumed in these movements. In the course of it, Washington rode through every brigade of his army, delivering, in person, his orders respecting the manner of receiving the enemy, exhorting his troops to rely principally on the bayonet, and encouraging them by the steady firmness of his counte-



nance as well as by his words, to a vigorous performance of their duty. The dispositions of the evening indicated an intention to attack him the ensuing morning; but in the afternoon of the 8th, the British suddenly filed off from their right, which extended beyond the American left, and retreated to Philadelphia. The parties detached to harass their rear could not overtake it.\*

The loss of the British in this expedition, as stated in the official letter of General Howe, rather exceeded one hundred in killed, wounded, and missing; and was sustained principally in the skirmish of the 7th, in which Major Morris fell.

On no former occasion had the two armies met, uncovered by works, with superior numbers on the side of the Americans. The effective force of the British was then stated at twelve thousand men. Stedman, the historian, who then belonged to Howe's army, states its number to have been fourteen thousand. The American army consisted of precisely twelve thousand one hundred and sixty-one continental troops, and three thousand two hundred and forty-one militia. This equality in point of numbers, rendered it a prudent precau-

tion to maintain a superiority of position. As the two armies occupied heights fronting each other, neither could attack without giving to its adversary some advantage in the ground; and this was an advantage which neither seemed willing to relinquish.

The return of Howe to Philadelphia without bringing on an action, after marching out with the avowed intention of fighting, is the best testimony of the respect which he felt for the talents of his adversary, and the courage of the troops he was to encounter.

The cold was now becoming so intense that it was impossible for an army neither well-clothed, nor sufficiently supplied with blankets, longer to keep the field in tents. It had become necessary to place the troops in winter-quarters; but in the existing state of things the choice of winter-quarters was a subject for serious reflection. It was impossible to place them in villages without uncovering the country, or exposing them to the hazard of being beaten in detachment.

To avoid these calamities, it was determined to take a strong position in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, equally distant from the Delaware above and below that city; and there to construct huts, in the form of a regular encampment, which might cover the army during the winter. A strong piece of ground at Valley Forge, on the west side of the Schuylkill, between twenty and thirty miles from Philadelphia, was selected for that purpose; and some

---

\* Judge Marshall, the biographer of Washington, on whose account of this affair ours is founded, was present on the occasion. He served in the army from the beginning of the war; was appointed first-lieutenant in 1776, and captain in 1777. He resigned his commission in 1778, and, devoting himself to the practice of the law, subsequently rose to the eminent office of chief-justice of the United States. He died at Philadelphia, July 6th, 1836, aged seventy-nine.

time before day on the morning of the 11th of December, the army marched to take possession of it. By an acci-

dental concurrence of circum-  
1777.

stances, Lord Cornwallis had been detached the same morning at the head of a strong corps, on a foraging party on the west side of the Schuylkill. He had fallen in with a brigade of Pennsylvania militia commanded by General Potter, which he soon dispersed; and, pursuing the fugitives, had gained the heights opposite Matron's Ford, over which the Americans had thrown a bridge for the purpose of crossing the river, and had posted troops to command the defile called the Gulph, just as the front division of the American army reached the bank of the river. This movement had been made without any knowledge of the intention of General Washington to change his position, or any design of contesting the passage of the Schuylkill; but the troops had been posted in the manner already mentioned for the sole purpose of covering the foraging party.

Washington apprehended, from his first intelligence, that General Howe had taken the field in full force. He therefore recalled the troops already on the west side, and moved rather higher up the river, for the purpose of understanding the real situation, force, and designs of the enemy. The next day Lord Cornwallis returned to Philadelphia; and, in the course of the night, the American army crossed the river.

Here the commander-in-chief communicated to his army, in general orders, the manner in which he intended to dispose of them during the winter. He expressed, in strong terms, his approbation of their conduct, presented them with an encouraging state of the future prospects of their country, exhorted them to bear with continuing fortitude the hardships inseparable from the position they were about to take, and endeavored to convince their judgments that those hardships were not imposed on them by unfeeling caprice, but were necessary for the good of their country.

The winter had set in with great severity, and the sufferings of the army were extreme. In a few days, however, these sufferings were considerably diminished by the erection of logged huts, filled up with mortar, which, after being dried, formed comfortable habitations, and gave content to men long unused to the conveniences of life. The order of a regular encampment was observed; and the only appearance of winter-quarters, was the substitution of huts for tents.

Stedman, who, as we have already remarked, was in Howe's army, has not only given a vivid description of the condition of Washington's army, which agrees in the main with those of our own writers, but he has also exhibited in contrast the condition and conduct of the British army in Philadelphia. We transcribe this instructive passage:

"The American general determined



to remain during the winter in the position which he then occupied at Valley Forge, recommending to his troops to build huts in the woods for sheltering themselves from the inclemency of the weather. And it is perhaps one of the most striking traits in General Washington's character, that he possessed the faculty of gaining such an ascendancy over his raw and undisciplined followers, most of whom were destitute of proper winter clothing, and otherwise unprovided with necessaries, as to be able to prevail upon so many of them to remain with him during the winter, in so distressing a situation. With immense labor he raised wooden huts, covered with straw and earth, which formed very uncomfortable quarters. On the east and south, an intrenchment was made—the ditch six feet wide and three in depth; the mound not four feet high, very narrow, and such as might easily have been beat down by cannon. Two redoubts were also begun, but never completed. The Schuylkill was on his left, with a bridge across. His rear was mostly covered by an impassable precipice formed by Valley Creek, having only a narrow passage near the Schuylkill. On the right his camp was accessible with some difficulty, but the approach on his front was on ground nearly on a level with his camp. It is indeed difficult to give an adequate description of his misery in this situation. His army was destitute of almost every necessary of clothing, nay, almost naked; and very often on

short allowance of provisions; an extreme mortality raged in his hospitals, nor had he any of the most proper medicines to relieve the sick. There were perpetual desertions of parties from him of ten to fifty at a time. In three months he had not four thousand men, and these could by no means be termed effective. Not less than five hundred horses perished from want and the severity of the season. He had often not three days' provisions in his camp, and at times not enough for one day. In this infirm and dangerous state he continued from December to May, during all which time every person expected that General Howe would have stormed or besieged his camp, the situation of which equally invited either attempt. To have posted two thousand men on a commanding ground near the bridge, on the north side of the Schuylkill, would have rendered his escape on the left impossible; two thousand men placed on a like ground opposite the narrow pass, would have as effectually prevented a retreat by his rear; and five or six thousand men, stationed on the front and right of his camp, would have deprived him of flight on those sides. The positions were such, that, if any of the corps were attacked, they could have been instantly supported. Under such propitious circumstances, what mortal could doubt of success? But the British army, neglecting all these opportunities, was suffered to continue at Philadelphia, where the whole winter was spent in dissipation. A want



of discipline and proper subordination pervaded the whole army; and if disease and sickness thinned the American army encamped at Valley Forge, indolence and luxury perhaps did no less injury to the British troops at Philadelphia. During the winter a very unfortunate inattention was shown to the feelings of the inhabitants of Philadelphia, whose satisfaction should have been vigilantly consulted, both from gratitude and from interest. They experienced many of the horrors of civil war. The soldiers insulted and plundered them; and their houses were occupied as barracks, without any compensation being made to them. Some of the first families were compelled to receive into their habitations individual officers, who were even indecent enough to introduce their mistresses into the mansions of their hospitable entertainers. This soured the minds of the inhabitants, many of whom were Quakers.

But the residence of the army at Philadelphia occasioned distresses which will probably be considered by the generality of mankind as of a more grievous nature. It was with difficulty that fuel could be got on any terms. Provisions were most exorbitantly high. Gaming of every species was permitted, and even sanctioned. This vice not only debauched the mind, but, by sedentary confinement and the want of seasonable repose, enervated the body. A foreign officer held the bank at the game of faro, by which he made a very considerable fortune; and but too many

respectable families in Britain had to lament its baleful effects. Officers who might have rendered honorable service to their country were compelled, by what was termed a bad run of luck, to dispose of their commissions, and return penniless to their friends in Europe. The father who thought he had made a provision for his son by purchasing him a commission in the army, ultimately found that he had put his son to school to learn the science of gambling, not the art of war. Dissipation had spread through the army, and indolence and want of subordination, its natural concomitants. For, if the officer be not vigilant, the soldier will never be alert.

Sir William Howe, from the manners and religious opinions of the Philadelphians, should have been particularly cautious. For this public dissoluteness of the troops could not but be regarded by such people as a contempt of them, as well as an offence against piety; and it influenced all the representations which they made to their countrymen respecting the British. They inferred from it, also, that the commander could not be sufficiently intent on the plans of either conciliation or subjugation; so that the opinions of the Philadelphians, whether erroneous or not, materially promoted the cause of Congress. During the whole of this long winter of riot and dissipation, General Washington was suffered to continue, with the remains of his army, not exceeding five thousand effective men at most, undis-

turbed at Valley Forge: considerable arrears of pay due to them; almost in a state of nature for want of clothing; the Europeans in the American service disgusted, and deserting in great numbers, and indeed in companies, to the British army; and the natives tired of the war. Yet, under all these favorable circumstances for the British interest, no one step was taken to dislodge Washington, whose cannon were frozen up, and could not be moved. If Sir William Howe had marched out in the night, he might have brought Washington to action; or, if he had retreated, he must have left his sick, cannon, ammunition, and heavy baggage behind. A nocturnal attack on the Americans would have had this further good effect: it would have depressed the spirit of revolt, confirmed the wavering, and attached them to the British interest. It would have opened a passage for supplies to the city, which was in great want of provisions for the inhabitants. It would have shaken off that lethargy in which the British soldiers had been immersed during the winter. It would have convinced the well-affected that the British leader was in earnest. If Washington had retreated, the British could have followed. With one of the best appointed, in every respect, and finest armies (consisting of at least fourteen thousand effective men) ever assembled in any country, a number of officers of approved service, wishing only to be led to action, this dilatory commander, Sir William Howe, drag-

ged out the winter, without doing any one thing to obtain the end for which he was commissioned. Proclamation was issued after proclamation, calling upon the people of America to repair to the British standard, promising them remission of their political sins, and an assurance of protection in both person and property; but these promises were confined merely to paper. The best personal security to the inhabitants was an attack by the army, and the best security of property was peace; and this to be purchased by successful war. For, had Sir William Howe led on his troops to action, victory was in his power, and conquest in his train. During Sir William Howe's stay at Philadelphia a number of disaffected citizens were suffered to remain in the garrison; these people were ever upon the watch, and communicated to Washington every intelligence he could wish for."

We have copied this passage from Stedman, with a view to show the contrast between the situation of Washington and Howe, and their respective armies, as exhibited by an enemy to our cause. It is literally the contrast between virtue and vice. The final result shows that Providence, in permitting the occupation of Philadelphia by the British army, was really promoting the cause of human liberty.

Stedman's statement of the numbers of Washington's army is erroneous, even if it refers only to effective men; and his schemes for annihilating Washington's army would probably not have

been so easily executed as he imagined. Still the army was very weak. Marshall says, that although the total of the army exceeded seventeen thousand men (February, 1778), the present effective rank and file amounted to only five thousand and twelve. This statement alone, suggests volumes of

misery, sickness, destitution, and suffering.

We must now call the reader's attention to the northern campaign of 1777, which, remote as it was from Washington's immediate scene of action, was not conducted without his aid and direction.





## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER XI.

---

[A.]

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SAMUEL SMITH.

GENERAL SMITH was a native of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, born July 27th, 1752. Soon after his birth his father removed to Maryland, where he took a conspicuous part in political affairs. The son received a liberal education, and afterwards engaged in mercantile pursuits. The aggressions of Great Britain towards her colonies early engaged his attention, and in January, 1776, he obtained a captaincy in Colonel Smallwood's regiment. He was with the army in its disastrous campaign in the Middle States, and at the opening of the year 1777, had risen to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in which capacity he served in the battle of Brandywine. When Lord Howe, having obtained possession of Philadelphia, was using every exertion to open a communication with his fleet, Smith was intrusted with the defence of Fort Mifflin on the Delaware, and during seven weeks held it against the efforts of the entire British fleet. His gallantry on this occasion elicited warm approbation from Washington, and admiration even from the enemy. Congress rewarded him with a sword and their thanks. He fought at the battle of Monmouth, and took part in the subsequent operations of that campaign. After the war he remained in the army, was given command of the Maryland militia in the Whiskey Riots, and afterwards used his utmost efforts in support of the new constitution. In the War of 1812, he was appointed major-general of the militia; and when the British attacked Baltimore, he received the chief command of the troops destined to oppose them. He remained with the army some time after this event, but

eventually retired to domestic enjoyment. Once only was his retirement interrupted by a military duty. This was in 1836, when a popular outbreak, consequent upon the derangement of the currency, took place in Baltimore. It was quelled without bloodshed. General Smith filled several important civil offices. He was a member of the popular branch of Congress for sixteen years, and of the Senate for twenty-three. In 1837, he was elected mayor of Baltimore, which office he held until the infirmities of age warned him to resign. He died April 22d, 1839, aged eighty-seven.

---

[B.]

BRIGADIER-GENERAL GEORGE CLINTON.

Among the many distinguished patriots of the Revolution who have become tenants of the tomb, the services of none will be more readily acknowledged than those of the late venerable George Clinton. He was descended from a respectable and worthy family, and was born on the 26th of July, 1739, in the county of Ulster, New York. His father, Colonel Charles Clinton, was an emigrant from Ireland.

In early youth he was put to the study of law; but long before he became a man, he rallied under the standard of his country, and assisted Amherst in the reduction of Montreal. In this campaign he nobly distinguished himself in a conflict on the northern waters, when, with four gun-boats, after a severe engagement, he captured a French brig of eighteen guns.

This war being ended, he returned again to his favorite pursuit, the science of the law, and placed himself under the tuition of Chief-justice

Smith, where he became a student with Governor Morris, between whom and himself a difference of political opinion, in after life, wrought a separation.

He had scarcely commenced as a practitioner, when, in 1765, the storm appeared to gather round his native land, and the tyrannic disposition of the mother country was manifested. Foreseeing the evil at hand, with a mind glowing with patriotism, correct and quick in its perceptions; and, like time, steady and fixed to the achievement of its objects, he abandoned the advantages of the profession to which he had been educated, and became a member of the colonial legislature; where he ever displayed a love of liberty, an inflexible attachment to the rights of his country, and that undaunted firmness and integrity, without which this nation never would have been free; and which has ever formed the most brilliant, though by no means the most useful trait of his character. He was chief of the whig party.

In this situation he remained, contending against the doctrine of British supremacy, and, with great strength of argument and force of popularity, supporting the rights of America, till the crisis arrived, when, in 1775, he was returned a member of that patriotic Congress who laid the foundation of our independence. While in this venerable body, it may be said of him with truth, that "he strengthened the feeble knees, and the hands that hang down." On the 4th of July, 1776, he was present at the glorious declaration of independence, and assented, with his usual energy and decision, to that measure; but having been appointed a brigadier-general in the militia, and also in the continental army, the exigencies of his country at that trying hour rendered it necessary for him to take the field in person, and he therefore retired from Congress immediately after his vote was given, and before the instrument was transcribed for the signature of the members; for which reason his name does not appear among the signers.

A constitution having been adopted for the State of New York, in April, 1777, he was chosen, at the first election under it, both governor and lieutenant-governor, and was continued in the former office for eighteen years.

In this year he was also appointed by Congress to command the post of the Highlands, a most important and arduous duty. The design of the enemy was to separate New England from the rest of the nation, and by preventing succor from the East, to lay waste the middle and southern country. Had this plan been carried into effect, American liberty would probably have expired in its cradle. It was then that his vast and comprehensive genius viewed in its true light the magnitude of the evil contemplated; and he roused to a degree of energy unknown and unexpected. It was then that Burgoyne was, with the best-appointed army ever seen in America, attempting to force his way to Albany, and Sir Henry Clinton attempting to effect a junction with him at that important place. The crisis was all-important, and Clinton did not hesitate,—he determined at all hazards to save his country. With this view, when the British general attempted to ascend the river, Clinton from every height and angle assailed him. His gallant defence of Fort Montgomery, with a handful of men, against a powerful force commanded by Sir Henry Clinton, was equally honorable to his intrepidity and his skill. The following are the particulars of his gallant conduct at the storming of forts Montgomery and Clinton, in October, 1777:

"When the British reinforcements, under General Robertson, amounting to nearly two thousand men, arrived from Europe, Sir Henry Clinton used the greatest exertion, and availed himself of every favorable circumstance, to put these troops into immediate operation. Many were sent to suitable vessels, and united in the expedition, which consisted of about four thousand men, against the forts in the Highlands. Having made the necessary arrangements, he moved up the North River, and landed on the 4th of October at Tarrytown, purposely to impress General Putnam, under whose command a thousand continental troops had been left, with a belief that his post at Peekskill was the object of attack. At eight o'clock at night, the general communicated the intelligence to Governor Clinton of the arrival of the British, and at the same time expressed his opinion respecting their destination. The designs of Sir Henry



were immediately perceived by the governor, who prorogued the Assembly on the following day, and arrived that night at Fort Montgomery. The British troops, in the mean time, were secretly conveyed across the river, and assaults upon our forts were meditated to be made on the 6th, which were accordingly put in execution by attacking the American advanced party at Doodletown, about two miles and a half from Fort Montgomery. The Americans received the fire of the British, and retreated to Fort Clinton. The enemy then advanced to the west side of the mountain, in order to attack our troops in the rear. Governor Clinton immediately ordered out a detachment of one hundred men towards Doodletown, and another of sixty, with a brass field-piece, to an eligible spot on another road. They were both soon attacked by the whole force of the enemy, and compelled to fall back. It has been remarked, that the talents as well as the temper of a commander are put to as severe a test in conducting a retreat as in achieving a victory. The truth of this Governor Clinton experienced, when, with great bravery, and the most perfect order, he retired till he reached the fort. He lost no time in placing his men in the best manner that circumstances would admit. His post, however, as well as Fort Clinton, in a few minutes was invaded on every side. In the midst of this disheartening and appalling disaster, he was summoned, when the sun was only an hour high, to surrender in five minutes; but his gallant spirit sternly refused to obey the call. In a short time after, the British made a general and most desperate attack on both posts, which was received by the Americans with undiminished courage and resistance. Officers and men, militia and continentals, all behaved nobly. An incessant fire was kept up till dusk, when our troops were overpowered by numbers, who forced the lines and redoubts at both posts. Many of the Americans fought their way out; others accidentally mixed with the enemy, and thus made their escape effectually; for, besides being favored by the night, they knew the various avenues in the mountains. The governor, as well as his brother, General James Clinton, who was wounded, escaped."

Howe, driven to madness by the manly resistance of his foes, inconsiderately landed and marched into the country, and immortalized his name by burning Kingston and other villages. But the great object of the expedition, the forming a junction with Burgoyne, was happily defeated by the capture of that general, and America was free.

From this moment, for eighteen years in succession, he remained the governor of New York, re-elected to that important station by a generous and wise people, who knew how to appreciate his wisdom and virtue and their own blessings. During this period, he was president of the convention of that State, which ratified the national constitution: when, as in all other situations, he undeviatingly manifested an ardent attachment to civil liberty.

After the life of labor and usefulness here faintly portrayed—worn with the fatigues of duty, and with a disease which then afflicted him, but which had been removed for the last eight years of his life—having led his native State to eminent, if not unrivalled importance and prosperity, he retired from public life, with a mind resolved not to mingle again with governmental concerns, and to taste those sweets which result from reflecting on a life well spent.

In 1805 he was chosen Vice-President of the United States, by the same number of votes that elevated Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency; in which station he discharged his duties with unremitted attention; presiding with great dignity in the Senate, and evincing, by his votes and his opinions, his decided hostility to constructive authority, and to innovations on the established principles of republican government.

He died at Washington, when attending to his duties as Vice-President, and was interred in that city, where a monument was erected by the filial piety of his children, with this inscription, written by his nephew:

"To the memory of George Clinton. He was born in the State of New York, on the 26th July, 1739, and died in the city of Washington, on the 20th April, 1812, in the 73d year of his age.

"He was a soldier and statesman of the Revolution. Eminent in council and distinguished in war, he filled, with unexampled usefulness, purity, and ability, among many other offices, those of Governor of his native State,



and of Vice-President of the United States. While he lived, his virtue, wisdom, and valor were the pride, the ornament, and security of his country ; and when he died, he left an illustrious example of a well-spent life, worthy of all imitation."

MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES CLINTON.

General Clinton was the fourth son of Colonel Charles Clinton, and was born in Ulster county, New York, August 19th, 1736. In common with his brothers, he received an excellent education.

In the critical and eventful affairs of nations, when their rights and interests are invaded, Providence, in the plenitude of its beneficence, has generally provided men qualified to raise the standard of resistance, and has infused a redeeming spirit into the community which enabled it to rise superior to the calamities that menaced its liberty and its prosperity. History does not record a more brilliant illustration of this truth than the American Revolution. In defiance of the most appalling considerations, constellations of the most illustrious men pierced the dark and gloomy clouds which enveloped this oppressed people, and shone forth in the councils and the armies of the nation. Their wisdom drew forth the resources, and their energy vindicated the rights of America. They took their lives in their hands, and liberty or death was inscribed on their hearts. Amidst this gallant band, General Clinton stood deservedly conspicuous. To an iron constitution and an invincible courage, he added great coolness in action and perseverance in effort. The predominant inclination of his mind was to a military life, and by a close attention to the studies connected with it, he prepared himself to perform those duties which afterwards devolved upon him, and thereby established his character as an intrepid and skilful officer.

In the war of 1756, usually denominated the old French War, Clinton first encountered the fatigues and dangers of a military life. He was a captain under Colonel Bradstreet at the capture of Fort Frontenac, and rendered essential service in that expedition by the capture of a sloop-of-war on Lake Ontario.

His company was placed in row-galleys, and,

favoured by a calm, compelled the French vessels to strike, after an obstinate resistance. His designation as captain-commandant of the four companies raised for the protection of the western frontiers of the counties of Orange and Ulster, was a post of great responsibility and hazard, and demonstrated the confidence of the government. The safety of a line of settlements extending at least fifty miles, was intrusted to his vigilance and intrepidity. The ascendancy of the French over the ruthless savages was always predominant, and the inhabitant of the frontiers was compelled to hold the plough with one hand for his sustenance, and to grasp his gun with the other for his defence ; and he was constantly in danger of being awakened in the hour of darkness by the warwhoop of the savages, to witness the conflagration of his dwelling and the murder of his family.

After the termination of the French War, Mr. Clinton married Mary De Witt, and he retired from the camp to enjoy the repose of domestic life.

When the American Revolution was on the eve of its commencement, he was appointed, on the 30th of June, 1775, by the Continental Congress, colonel of the third regiment of New York forces. On the 25th of October following, he was appointed by the Provincial Congress of New York, colonel of the regiment of foot in Ulster county ; on the 8th of March, 1776, by the Continental Congress, colonel of the second battalion of New York troops ; and on the 9th of August, 1776, a brigadier-general in the army of the United States, in which station he continued during the greater part of the war, having the command of the New York line, or the troops of that State ; and at its close he was constituted a major-general.

In 1775, his regiment composed part of the army, under General Montgomery, which invaded Canada ; and he participated in all the fatigues, dangers, and privations of that celebrated, but unfortunate expedition.

In October, 1777, he commanded at Fort Clinton, which, together with its neighbor, Fort Montgomery, constituted the defence of the Hudson River against the ascent of an enemy. His brother, the governor, commanded in chief

at both forts. Sir Henry Clinton, with a view to create a diversion in favor of General Burgoyne, moved up the Hudson with an army of four thousand men, and attacked those works, which were very imperfectly fortified, and only defended by five hundred men, composed principally of militia. After a most gallant resistance, the forts were carried by storm. General Clinton was the last man who left the works—and not until he was severely wounded by the thrust of a bayonet—pursued and fired at by the enemy, and his attending servant killed. He bled profusely, and when he dismounted from his war-horse, in order to effect his escape from the enemy, who were close on him, it occurred to him that he must either perish on the mountains or be captured, unless he could supply himself with another horse,—an animal which sometimes roamed at large in that wild region. In this emergency, he took the bridle from his horse, and slid down a precipice of one hundred feet to the ravine of the creek which separated the forts, and feeling cautiously his way along its precipitous banks, he reached the mountain at a distance from the enemy, after having fallen into the stream, the cold water of which arrested a copious effusion of blood. The return of light furnished him with the sight of a horse, which conveyed him to his house, about sixteen miles from the fort, where he arrived about noon, covered with blood and laboring under a severe fever. While he was in this helpless condition the British passed up the Hudson, within a few miles of his house, and destroyed the town of Kingston.

The cruel ravages and horrible irruptions of the Iroquois, or Six Nations of Indians, on our frontier settlements, rendered it necessary to inflict a terrible chastisement, which would prevent a repetition of their atrocities. An expedition was accordingly planned, and the principal command was committed to General Sullivan, who was to proceed up the Susquehanna, with the main body of the army, while General Clinton was to join him by the way of the Mohawk.

The Iroquois inhabited, or occasionally occupied that immense and fertile region which composes the western parts of New York and Penn-

sylvania, and besides their own ravages, from the vicinity of their settlements to the inhabited parts of the United States, they facilitated the inroads of the more remote Indians. When General Sullivan was on his way to the Indian country, he was joined by General Clinton with upwards of sixteen hundred men. The latter had gone up the Mohawk in batteaux, from Schenectady, and after ascending that river about fifty-four miles, he conveyed his batteaux from Canajoharie to the head of Otsego Lake, one of the sources of the Susquehanna. Finding the stream of water in that river too low to float his boats, he erected a dam across the mouth of the lake, which soon rose to the altitude of the dam. Having got his batteaux ready, he opened a passage through the dam for the water to flow. This raised the river so high that he was enabled to embark all his troops, to float them down to Tioga, and to join General Sullivan in good season. The Indians collected their strength at Newtown, took possession of proper ground, and fortified it with judgment. On the 29th of August, 1779, an attack was made on them: their works were forced, and their consternation was so great, that they abandoned all further resistance; for, as the Americans advanced into their settlements, they retreated before them without throwing any obstructions in their way. The army passed between the Cayuga and Seneca lakes, by Geneva and Canandaigua, and as far west as the Genesee River, destroying large settlements and villages, fields of corn, orchards of fruit-trees, and gardens abounding with esculent vegetables. The progress of the Indians in agriculture struck the Americans with astonishment. Many of their ears of corn measured twenty-two inches in length. They had horses, cows, and hogs in abundance. They manufactured salt and sugar, and raised the best of apples and peaches, and their dwellings were large and commodious. The desolation of their settlements, the destruction of their provisions, and the conflagration of their houses, drove them to the British fortresses of Niagara for subsistence, where, living on salt provisions, to which they were unaccustomed, they died in great numbers. The effect of this expedition



was—to diminish their population; to damp their ardor; to check their arrogance; to restrain their cruelty, and to inflict an irrecoverable blow on their resources of extensive aggression. General Williamson and Colonel Pickens also attacked the Indians in the South, and drove them into the settled towns of the Creeks, about the same time.

For a considerable portion of the war, General Clinton was stationed at Albany, where he commanded, in the northern department of the Union, a place of high responsibility, and requiring uncommon vigilance and continual exertion. An incident occurred, when on this command, which strongly illustrates his character. A regiment which had been ordered to march, mutinied under arms, and peremptorily refused obedience. The general, on being apprized of this, immediately repaired with his pistols to the ground: he went up to the head of the regiment and ordered it to march; a silence ensued, and the order was not complied with. He then presented a pistol to the breast of a sergeant, who was the ringleader, and commanded him to proceed on pain of death; and so on in succession along the line, and his command was, in every instance, obeyed, and the regiment restored to entire and complete subordination and submission.

General Clinton was at the siege of Yorktown and the capture of Cornwallis, where he distinguished himself by his usual intrepidity.

His last appearance in arms was on the evacuation of the city of New York by the British. He then bade the commander-in-chief a final and affectionate adieu, and retired to his ample estates, where he enjoyed that repose which was required by a long period of fatigue and privation.

He was, however, frequently called from his retirement by the unsolicited voice of his fellow-

citizens, to perform civic duties. He was appointed a commissioner to adjust the boundary line between Pennsylvania and New York, which important measure was amicably and successfully accomplished. He was also selected by the legislature for an interesting mission, to settle controversies about lands in the West, which also terminated favorably. He represented his native county in the Assembly, and in the convention that adopted the present constitution of the United States; and he was elected, without opposition, a senator from the middle district: all which trusts he executed with perfect integrity, with solid intelligence, and with the full approbation of his constituents.

The temper of General Clinton was mild and affectionate, but when raised by unprovoked or unmerited injury, he exhibited extraordinary and appalling energy. In battle, he was as cool and as collected as if sitting by his fireside. Nature intended him for a gallant and efficient soldier, when she endowed him with the faculty of entire self-possession in the midst of the greatest dangers.

He died on the 22d of December, 1812, and was interred in the family burial-place in Orange county; and his monumental stone bears the following inscription:

“Underneath are interred the remains of James Clinton, Esquire.

“He was born the 9th of August, 1736; and died the 22d of December, 1812.

“His life was principally devoted to the military service of his country, and he had filled with fidelity and honor several distinguished civil offices.

“He was an officer in the Revolutionary War, and the war preceding; and, at the close of the former, was a major-general in the army of the United States. He was a good man and a sincere patriot, performing, in the most exemplary manner, all the duties of life; and he died, as he lived, without fear, and without reproach.”



## CHAPTER XII.

1777.

### BURGOYNE'S INVASION OF NEW YORK PUNISHED BY SCHUYLER AND GATES.

General Schuyler in command at the North.—State of the army.—St. Clair at Ticonderoga.—Burgoyne in England.—Supersedes Carleton as general-in-chief.—His army.—St. Leger sent to the Mohawk River.—Burgoyne advances to Crown Point.—Has a *talk* with the Indians.—Issues a proclamation.—Ticonderoga.—Its position and defences.—St. Clair resolves to defend it.—Burgoyne takes Mount Hope and Sugar Hill.—St. Clair retreats.—Is pursued.—He escapes to Fort Edward.—Second proclamation of Burgoyne.—Effects of the loss of Ticonderoga.—Washington's astonishment and distress.—He reinforces Schuyler.—Schuyler retards Burgoyne's march.—Battle of Bennington.—Siege of Fort Stanwix.—Battle of Oriskany.—Death of Herkimer.—Siege raised.—Bad conduct of the Indians.—Affair of Miss M'Crea.—Schuyler superseded.—His noble magnanimity.—Gates in command.—Burgoyne already in great difficulties.—He crosses the Hudson.—Battle of Stillwater.—Its effect.—Colonel Brown's expedition.—Position of the two armies.—Another pitched battle.—Burgoyne defeated.—He retires to Saratoga.—His desperate condition.—His letter to Lord Germain.—Convention of Saratoga.—Loss of forts Clinton and Montgomery.—Effects of the fall of Burgoyne.—Rewards to Gates.—Gates unwilling to send reinforcements to Washington.—Effect of the surrender of Burgoyne's army on the British parliament and people.

WE have already had occasion to refer to what was passing in the North, during the time when Washington was conducting the arduous campaign in Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. General Schuyler had held the chief command of the army operating against Canada, since the opening of the war in 1775. Under his direction, the force of Montgomery was sent to Quebec in the disastrous expedition of which we have already related the history; and Arnold was acting in a subordinate capacity to Schuyler, when he so bravely resisted the descent of Carleton on the lakes. Schuyler also performed the best part of the service of resisting the invasion of New York from Canada,

and nearly completed the campaign which terminated in the surrender of Burgoyne to Gates. To the events of this campaign we now call the reader's attention.

At the commencement of the campaign of 1777, the American army on the frontier of Canada having been composed chiefly of soldiers enlisted for a short period only, had been greatly reduced in numbers by the expiration of their term of service.

The cantonments of the British northern army, extending from Isle aux Noix and Montreal to Quebec, were so distant from each other that they could not readily have afforded mutual support in case of an attack; but the Amer-

icans were in no condition to avail themselves of this circumstance. They could scarcely keep up even the appearance of garrisons in their forts, and were apprehensive of an attack on Ticonderoga, as soon as the ice was strong enough to afford an easy passage to troops over the lakes.

At the close of the preceding campaign, General Gates had joined the army under Washington, and the command of the army in the northern department, comprehending Albany, Ticonderoga, Fort Stanwix, and their dependencies, remained in the hands of General Schuyler. The services of that meritorious officer were more solid than brilliant, and had not been duly valued by Congress, which, like other popular assemblies, was slow in discerning real and unostentatious merit. Disgusted at the injustice which he had experienced, he was restrained from leaving the army merely by the deep interest which he took in the arduous struggle in which his country was engaged; but after a full investigation of his conduct during the whole of his command, Congress was at length convinced of the value of his services, and requested him to continue at the head of the army of the northern department. That army he found too weak for the services which it was expected to perform, and ill-supplied with arms, clothes, and provisions. He made every exertion to organize and place it on a respectable footing for the ensuing campaign; but his means were scanty, and the new levies arrived slow-

ly. General St. Clair, who had served under Gates, commanded at Ticonderoga, and, including militia, had nearly two thousand men under him; but the works were extensive, and would have required ten thousand men to man them fully.\*

The British ministry had resolved to prosecute the war vigorously on the northern frontier of the United States, and appointed Burgoyne, who had served under Carleton† in the preceding campaign, to command the royal army in that quarter. The appointment gave offence to Carleton, then governor of Canada, who naturally expected to be continued in the command of the northern army, and that officer testified his dissatisfaction by tendering the resignation of his government. But although displeased with the nomination, he gave Burgoyne every assistance in his power in preparing for the campaign.

Burgoyne had visited England during the winter, concerted with the ministry a plan of the campaign, and given an estimate of the force necessary for its successful execution. Besides a fine train of artillery and a suitable body of artillerymen, an army, consisting of more than seven thousand veteran troops, excellently equipped, and in a high state of discipline, was put under his command. Besides this regular

\* The weakness of St. Clair's garrison was partly owing to its having contributed detachments to the support of Washington's army in New Jersey.

† See Document [H] at the end of this chapter.

force, he had a great number of Canadians and savages.

The employment of the savages had been determined on at the very commencement of hostilities ; their alliance had been courted and their services accepted, and on the present occasion the British ministry placed no small dependence on their aid. Carleton was directed to use all his influence to bring a large body of them into the field, and his exertions were very successful. General Burgoyne was assisted by a number of distinguished officers, among whom were generals Philips, Fraser, Powel, Hamilton, Riedesel, and Specht. A suitable naval armament, under the orders of Commodore Lutwych, attended the expedition.

After detaching Colonel St. Leger, with a body of light troops and Indians, amounting to about eight hundred men, by the way of Lake Oswego and the Mohawk River, to make a diversion in that quarter, and to join him when he advanced to the Hudson, Burgoyne left St. John's on the 16th of June, and, preceded by his naval armament, sailed up Lake Champlain, and in a few days landed and encamped at Crown Point, earlier in the season than the Americans had thought it possible for him to reach that place.

He met his Indian allies, and, in imitation of a savage partisan, gave them a war-feast, at which he made them a speech, in order to inflame their courage and repress their barbarous cruelty. He next issued a lofty proclamation, ad-

dressed to the inhabitants of the country, in which, as if certain of victory, he threatened to punish with the utmost severity those who refused to attach themselves to the royal cause. He talked of the ferocity of the Indians, and their eagerness to butcher the friends of independence, and he graciously promised protection to those who should return to their duty. The proclamation was so far from answering the general's intention, that it was derided by the people as a model of pomposity.

Having made the necessary arrangements, on the 30th of June Burgoyne advanced cautiously on both sides of the narrow channel which connects lakes Champlain and George, the British on the west, and the German mercenaries on the east, with the naval force in the centre, forming a communication between the two divisions of the army ; and on the 1st of July his van appeared in sight of Ticonderoga.

The river Sorel issues from the north end of Lake Champlain, and throws its superfluous waters into the St. Lawrence. Lake Champlain is about eighty miles long from north to south, and about fourteen miles broad where it is widest. Crown Point stands at what may properly be considered the south end of the lake, although a narrow channel, which retains the name of the lake, proceeds southward, and forms a communication with South River and the waters of Lake George.

Ticonderoga is on the west side of



the narrow channel, twelve miles south from Crown Point. It is a rocky angle of land, washed on three sides by the water, and partly covered on the fourth side by a deep morass. On the space on the northwest quarter, between the morass and the channel, the French had formerly constructed lines of fortification, which still remained, and those lines the Americans had strengthened by additional works.

Opposite Ticonderoga, on the east side of the channel, which is here between three and four hundred yards wide, stands a high circular hill, called Mount Independence, which had been occupied by the Americans when they abandoned Crown Point, and carefully fortified. On the top of it, which is flat, they had erected a fort, and provided it sufficiently with artillery. Near the foot of the mountain, which extends to the water's edge, they had raised intrenchments, and mounted them with heavy guns, and had covered those lower works by a battery about half way up the hill.

With prodigious labor they had constructed a communication between those two posts, by means of a wooden bridge which was supported by twenty-two strong wooden pillars, placed at nearly equal distances from each other. The spaces between the pillars were filled up by separate floats, strongly fastened to each other and to the pillars by chains and rivets. The bridge was twelve feet wide, and the side of it next Lake Champlain was defended by

a boom formed of large pieces of timber, bolted and bound together by double iron chains an inch and a half thick. Thus an easy communication was established between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and the passage of vessels up the strait prevented.

Immediately after passing Ticonderoga, the channel becomes wider, and, on the southeast side, receives a large body of water from a stream at that point called South River, but higher up named Wood Creek. From the southwest come the waters flowing from Lake George; and in the angle formed by the confluence of those two streams rises a steep and rugged eminence called Sugar Hill, which overlooks and commands both Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. That hill had been examined by the Americans; but General St. Clair, considering the force under his command insufficient to occupy the extensive works of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and flattering himself that the extreme difficulty of the ascent would prevent the British from availing themselves of it, neglected to take possession of Sugar Hill. It may be remarked that the north end of Lake George is between two and three miles above Ticonderoga; but the channel leading to it is interrupted by rapids and shallows, and is unfit for navigation. Lake George is narrow, but is thirty-five miles long, extending from northeast to southwest. At the head of it stood a fort of the same name, strong enough to resist an attack of Indians, but incapa-

ble of making any effectual opposition to regular troops. Nine miles beyond it was Fort Edward, on the Hudson.

On the appearance of Burgoyne's van, St. Clair had no accurate knowledge of the strength of the British army, having heard nothing of the reinforcement from Europe. He imagined that they would attempt to take the fort by assault, and flattered himself that he would easily be able to repulse them. But, on the 2d of July, the British appeared in great force on both sides of the channel, and encamped four miles from the forts, while the fleet anchored just beyond the reach of the guns. After a slight resistance, Burgoyne took possession of Mount Hope, an important post on the south of Ticonderoga, which commanded part of the lines of that fort, as well as the channel leading to Lake George; and extended his lines so as completely to invest the fort on the west side. The German division under General Riedesel occupied the eastern bank of the channel, and sent forward a detachment to the vicinity of the rivulet which flows from Mount Independence. Burgoyne now labored assiduously in bringing forward his artillery and completing his communications. On the 5th of the month he caused Sugar Hill to be examined; and being informed that the ascent, though difficult, was not impracticable, he immediately resolved to take possession of it, and proceeded with such activity in raising works and mounting guns upon it, that his battery might have been opened on the garrison next day.

These operations received no check from the besieged, because, as it has been alleged, they were not in a condition to give any. St. Clair was now nearly surrounded. Only the space between the stream which flows from Mount Independence and South River remained open, and that was to be occupied next day.

In these circumstances it was requisite for the garrison to come to a prompt and decisive resolution, either at every hazard to defend the place to the last extremity, or immediately to abandon it. St. Clair called a council of war, the members of which unanimously advised the immediate evacuation of the forts; and preparations were instantly made for carrying this resolution into execution. The British had the command of the communication with Lake George, and consequently the garrison could not escape in that direction. The retreat could be effected by the South River only. Accordingly, the invalids, the hospital, and such stores as could be most easily removed, were put on board two hundred boats, and, escorted by Colonel Long's regiment, proceeded, on the night between the 5th and 6th of July, up the South River towards Skeenesborough. The garrisons of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence marched by land, through Castleton, towards the same place. The troops were ordered to march out in profound silence, and particularly to set nothing on fire. But these prudent orders were disobeyed; and, before the



rear-guard was in motion, the house on Mount Independence, which General Fermoy had occupied, was seen in flames. That served as a signal to the enemy, who immediately entered the works, and fired, but without effect, on the rear of the retreating army.

The Americans marched in some confusion to Hubbardton, whence the main body, under St. Clair, pushed forward to Castleton. But the English were not

idle. General Fraser, at the 1777.

head of a strong detachment of grenadiers and light troops, commenced an eager pursuit by land, upon the right bank of Wood Creek. General Riedesel, behind him, rapidly advanced with his Brunswickers, either to support the English, or to act separately, as occasion might require. Burgoyne determined to pursue the Americans by water. But it was first necessary to destroy the boom and bridge which had been constructed in front of Ticonderoga. The British seamen and artificers immediately engaged in the operation, and in less time than it would have taken to describe their structure, those works, which had cost so much labor and so vast an expense, were cut through and demolished. The passage thus cleared, the ships of Burgoyne immediately entered Wood Creek, and proceeded with extreme rapidity in search of the Americans. All was in movement at once upon land and water. By three in the afternoon, the van of the British squadron, composed of gun-boats, came up with and attacked the American gal-

leys near Skeenesborough Falls. In the mean time, three regiments which had been landed at South Bay, ascended and passed a mountain with great expedition, in order to turn the retreating army above Wood Creek, to destroy the works at the Falls of Skeenesborough, and thus to cut off the retreat of the army to Fort Anne. But the Americans eluded this stroke by the rapidity of their march. The British frigates having joined the van, the galleys, already hard pressed by the gun-boats, were completely overpowered. Two of them surrendered; three of them were blown up. The Americans, having set fire to their boats, mills, and other works, fell back upon Fort Anne, higher up Wood Creek. All their baggage, however, was lost, and a large quantity of provisions and military stores fell into the hands of the British.

The pursuit by land was not less active. Early on the morning of the 7th of July, the British overtook the American rear-guard, who, in opposition to St. Clair's orders, had lingered behind, and posted themselves on strong ground in the vicinity of Hubbardton. Fraser's troops were little more than half the number opposed to him, but

1777.  
aware that Riedesel was close behind, and fearful lest his chase should give him the slip, he ordered an immediate attack. Warner opposed a vigorous resistance, but a large body of his militia retreated, and left him to sustain the combat alone, when the firing of Riedesel's advanced guard was heard,



and shortly after his whole force, drums beating and colors flying, emerged from the shades of the forest, and part of his troops immediately effected a junction with the British line. Fraser now gave orders for a simultaneous advance with the bayonet, which was effected with such resistless impetuosity that the Americans broke and fled, sustaining a very serious loss. St. Clair, upon hearing the firing, endeavored to send back some assistance; but the discouraged militia refused to return, and there was no alternative but to collect the wrecks of his army, and proceed to Fort Edward to effect a junction with Schuyler.

Burgoyne lost not a moment in following up his success at Skeenesborough, but dispatched a regiment to effect the capture of Fort Anne, defended by a small party under the command of Colonel Long. This officer judiciously posted his troops in a narrow ravine through which his assailants were compelled to pass, and opened upon them so severe a fire in front, flank, and rear, that the British regiments, nearly surrounded, with difficulty escaped to a neighboring hill, where the Americans attacked them anew with such vigor that they must have been utterly defeated, had not the ammunition of the assailants given out at this critical moment. No longer being able to fight, Long's troops fell back, and, setting the fort on fire, also directed their retreat to the head-quarters at Fort Edward.

While at Skeenesborough, General Burgoyne issued a second proclamation

summoning the people of the adjacent country to send ten deputies from each township to meet Colonel Skeene at Castleton, in order to deliberate on such measures as might still be adopted to save those who had not yet conformed to his first, and submitted to the royal authority. General Schuyler, apprehending some effect from this paper, issued a counter-proclamation, stating the insidious designs of the enemy,—warning the inhabitants, by the example of Jersey, of the danger to which their yielding to this seductive proposition would expose them, and giving them the most solemn assurances that all who should send deputies to this meeting, or in any manner aid the enemy, would be considered as traitors, and should suffer the utmost rigor of the law.

Nothing, as Botta remarks,\* could exceed the consternation and terror which the victory of Ticonderoga, and the subsequent successes of Burgoyne, spread through the American provinces, nor the joy and exultation they excited in England. The arrival of these glad tidings was celebrated by the most brilliant rejoicings at court, and welcomed with the same enthusiasm by all those who desired the unconditional reduction of America. They already announced the approaching termination of this glorious war; they openly declared it a thing impossible, that the rebels should ever recover from the shock of their recent losses, as well

\* "*History of the War of Independence*," vol. ii. p. 280.

of men as of arms, and of military stores, and especially that they should ever regain their courage and reputation, which, in war, always contribute to success as much, at least, as arms themselves. Even the ancient reproaches of cowardice were renewed against the Americans, and their own partisans abated much of the esteem they had borne them. They were more than half disposed to pronounce the colonists unworthy to defend that liberty which they gloried in with so much complacency. But it deserves to be noted here especially, that there was no sign of faltering on the part of the people, no disposition to submit to the invading force. The success of the enemy did but nerve our fathers to more vigorous resolves to maintain the cause of liberty even unto death.

Certainly, the campaign had been opened and prosecuted thus far in a very dashing style by Burgoyne, and had he been able to press forward, it is quite possible that success might have crowned his efforts. But there were some sixteen miles of forest yet to be traversed: Burgoyne waited for his baggage and stores; and, meanwhile General Schuyler, who was in command of the American forces, took such steps as would necessarily put a stop to the rapid approach of the enemy. Trenches were opened; the roads and paths were obstructed; the bridges were broken up; and in the only practicable defiles, large trees were cut in such a manner, on both sides of the road, as to fall

across and lengthwise, which, with their branches interwoven, presented an insurmountable barrier: in a word, this wilderness, of itself by no means easy of passage, was thus rendered almost absolutely impenetrable. Nor did Schuyler rest satisfied with these precautions; he directed the cattle to be removed to the most distant places, and the stores and baggage from Fort George to Fort Edward, that articles of such necessity for the troops might not fall into the power of the British. He urgently demanded that all the regiments of regular troops found in the adjacent States should be sent, without delay, to join him; he also made earnest and frequent calls upon the militia of New England and of New York. He likewise exerted his utmost endeavors to procure himself recruits in the vicinity of Fort Edward and the city of Albany; the great influence he enjoyed with the inhabitants gave him, in this quarter, all the success he could desire. Finally, to retard the progress of the enemy, he resolved to threaten his left flank. Accordingly, he detached Colonel Warner, with his regiment, into the State of Vermont, with orders to assemble the militia of the country, and to make incursions towards Ticonderoga. In fact, Schuyler did every thing which was possible to be done under the circumstances; and it is not too much to assert, in justice to the good name of General Schuyler, that the measures which he adopted paved the way to the victory which finally crowned the American arms at Saratoga.



Washington, equally with Congress, supposing that Schuyler's force was stronger, and that of the British weaker, than was really the case, was very greatly distressed and astonished at the disasters which befell the American cause in the North. He waited, therefore, with no little anxiety, later and more correct information before he was willing to pronounce positively upon the course pursued by St. Clair. When that officer joined Schuyler, the whole force did not exceed four thousand four hundred men; about half of these were militia, and the whole were ill clothed, badly armed, and greatly dispirited by the recent reverses. Very ungenerously and unjustly, it was proposed to remove the northern officers from the command, and send successors in their places. An inquiry was instituted by order of Congress, which resulted honorably for Schuyler and his officers; and Schuyler, the able commander and zealous-hearted patriot, remained for the present at the head of the northern department.\*

\* Washington, writing to General Schuyler, clearly presaged the great and auspicious change in affairs which was soon to take place: "Though our affairs have for some days past worn a gloomy aspect, yet I look forward to a happy change. I trust General Burgoyne's army will meet sooner or later an effectual check; and, as I suggested before, that the success he has had will precipitate his ruin. From your accounts, he appears to be pursuing that line of conduct which, of all others, is most favorable to us,—I mean acting in detachment. This conduct will certainly give room for enterprise on our part, and expose his parties to great hazard. Could we be so happy as to cut one of them off, though it should not exceed four, five, or six hundred men, it would inspire the people, and do away much of their present anxiety. In such an event, they would lose sight of past

Washington exerted himself with all diligence to send reinforcements and supplies to the army of Schuyler. The artillery and warlike stores were expedited from Massachusetts. General Lincoln, a man of great influence in New England, was sent there to encourage the militia to enlist. Arnold, in like manner, repaired thither: it was thought his ardor might serve to inspire the dejected troops. Colonel Morgan, an officer whose brilliant valor we have already had occasion to remark, was ordered to take the same direction with his troop of light-horse. All these measures, conceived with prudence and executed with promptitude, produced the natural effect. The Americans recovered by degrees their former spirit, and the army increased from day to day.

During this interval, Burgoyne actively exerted himself in opening a passage from Fort Anne to Fort Edward. But notwithstanding the diligence with which the whole army engaged in the work, their progress was exceedingly slow, so formidable were the obstacles which nature as well as art had thrown in their way. Besides having to remove the fallen trees with which the Americans had obstructed the roads, they had no less than forty bridges to construct, and many others to repair: one of these was entirely of log-work, over a morass two miles wide. In short, the British encountered so many impediments in

misfortunes, and urged on at the same time by a regard for their own security, they would fly to arms, and afford every aid in their power."



measuring this inconsiderable space, that it was found impossible to reach the banks of the Hudson, near Fort Edward, until the 30th of July. The Americans, either because they were too feeble to oppose the enemy, or that Fort Edward was no better than a ruin, not susceptible of defence, or, finally, because they were apprehensive that Colonel St. Leger, after the reduction of Fort Stanwix, might descend by the left bank of the Mohawk to the Hudson, and thus cut off their retreat, retired lower down to Stillwater, where they threw up intrenchments. At the same time they evacuated Fort George, having previously burned their boats upon the lake, and in various ways obstructed the road to Fort Edward. Burgoyne might have reached Fort Edward much more readily by way of Lake George; but

1777. he had judged it best to pursue the panic-stricken Americans, and, despite the difficulties of the route, not to throw any discouragements in the way of his troops by a retrograde movement.

At Fort Edward, General Burgoyne again found it necessary to pause in his career; for his carriages, which, in the hurry, had been made of unseasoned wood, were much broken down, and needed to be repaired. From the unavoidable difficulties of the case, not more than one-third of the draught-horses contracted for in Canada had arrived; and General Schuyler had been careful to remove almost all the horses and draught-cattle of the country out of his way. Boats for the navigation of

the Hudson, provisions, stores, artillery, and other necessities for the army, were all to be brought from Fort George; and although that place was only nine or ten miles from Fort Edward, yet such was the condition of the roads, rendered nearly impassable by the great quantities of rain that had fallen, that the labor of transporting necessities was incredible. Burgoyne had collected about one hundred oxen, but it was often necessary to employ ten or twelve of them in transporting a single boat. With his utmost exertions he had, on the 15th of August, conveyed only twelve boats into the Hudson, and provisions for the army for four days in advance. Matters began to assume a very serious aspect indeed; and as the further he removed from the lakes the more difficult it became to get supplies from that quarter, Burgoyne saw clearly that he must look elsewhere for sustenance for his army.

The British commander was not ignorant that the Americans had accumulated considerable stores, including live cattle, and vehicles of various kinds, at Bennington, about twenty-four miles east of the Hudson. Burgoyne, easily persuaded that the tories in that region would aid his efforts, and thinking that he could alarm the country as well as secure the supplies of which he began to stand in great need, determined to detach Colonel Baum, with a force of some six or eight hundred of Riedesel's dragoons, for the attack upon Bennington. His instructions to Baum were, "to try the affections of the country, to

disconcert the counsels of the enemy, to mount Riedesel's dragoons, to complete Peters' corps (of loyalists), and to obtain large supplies of cattle, horses, and carriages." Baum set off, on the 13th of August, on this expedition, which was to result so unfortunately to himself, and which proved in fact the ruin of Burgoyne's entire plans and purposes.

We have spoken of the consternation which filled the minds of men a short time before this, when Burgoyne seemed to be marching in triumph through the country. The alarm, however, subsided, and the New England States resolved to make most vigorous efforts to repel the attack of the enemy. John Langdon, a merchant of Portsmouth and speaker of the New Hampshire Assembly, roused the desponding minds of his fellow-members to the need of providing defence for the frontiers, and with whole-hearted patriotism thus addressed them: "I have three thousand dollars in hard money; I will pledge my plate for three thousand more. I have seventy hogsheads of Tobago rum, which shall be sold for the most it will bring. These are at the service of the State. If we succeed in defending our firesides and homes, I may be remunerated; if we do not, the property will be of no value to me. Our old friend Stark, who so nobly sustained the honor of our State at Bunker Hill, may be safely intrusted with the conduct of the enterprise, and we will check the progress of Burgoyne." That brave son of New Hampshire, General Stark, conceiving himself

aggrieved by certain acts of Congress in appointing junior officers over his head, had resigned his commission. He was now prevailed upon to take service under authority from his native State, it being understood that he was to act independently as to his movements against the enemy. His popularity speedily called in the militia, who were ready to take the field under him without hesitation.

Soon after, Stark proceeded to Manchester, twenty miles north of Bennington, where Colonel Seth Warner, the former associate of Ethan Allen, had taken post with the troops under his command. Here he met

1777.

General Lincoln, who had been sent by Schuyler to lead the militia to the west bank of the Hudson. Stark refused to obey Schuyler's orders, and Congress, on the 19th of August, passed a vote of censure upon his conduct. But Stark did not know of this; and as his course was clearly that of sound policy, and his victory two days before the censure cast upon him showed it to be so, he had the proud satisfaction of knowing that the commander-in-chief approved of his plan of harassing the rear of the British, and that the victory of Bennington paralyzed the entire operations of Burgoyne.

On the day that Baum set out, Stark arrived at Bennington. The progress of the German troops, at first tolerably prosperous, was soon impeded by the state of the roads and the weather, and as soon as Stark heard of their ap-



proach, he hurried off expresses to Warner to join him, who began his march in the night. After sending forward Colonel Gregg to reconnoitre the enemy, he advanced to the rencontre with Baum, who finding the country thus rising around him, halted and intrenched himself in a strong position above the Wollamsac River, and sent off an express to Burgoyne, who instantly dispatched Lieutenant-colonel Breyman with a strong reinforcement.

During the 15th of August, the rain prevented any serious movement. The Germans and English continued to labor at their intrenchments, upon which they had mounted two pieces of artillery. The following day was bright and sunny, and early in the morning Stark sent forward two columns to storm the intrenchments at different points, and when the firing had commenced, threw himself on horseback and advanced with the rest of his troops. As soon as the enemy's columns were seen forming on the hill-side, he exclaimed, "See, men! there are the red-coats; we must beat to-day, or Molly Stark's a widow." The military replied to this appeal by a tremendous shout, and the battle which ensued, as Stark states in his official report, "lasted two hours, and was the hottest I ever saw. It was like one continual clap of thunder." The Indians ran off at the beginning of the battle; the tories were driven across the river; and although the Germans fought bravely, they were compelled to abandon the intrenchments, and fled, leav-

ing their artillery and baggage on the field.

As Breyman and his corps approached, they heard the firing, and hurried forward to the aid of their countrymen. An hour or two earlier, they might have given a different turn to the affair, but the heavy rain had delayed their progress. They met and rallied the fugitives, and returned to the field of battle. Stark's troops, who were engaged in plunder, were taken in great measure by surprise, and the victory might after all have been wrested from their grasp, but for the opportune arrival of Warner's regiment at the critical moment. The battle continued until sunset, when the Germans, overwhelmed by numbers, at length abandoned their baggage and fled. Colonel Baum, their brave commander, was killed, and the British loss amounted to some eight or nine hundred effective troops, in killed and prisoners. The loss of the Americans was thirty killed and forty wounded. Stark's horse was killed in the action.

Too much praise, as Mr. Everett well remarks,\* cannot be bestowed on the conduct of those who gained the battle of Bennington, officers and men. It is, perhaps, the most conspicuous example of the performance by militia of all that is expected of regular, veteran troops. The fortitude and resolution with which the lines at Bunker Hill were maintained, by recent recruits, against the assault of

---

\* "Life of John Stark," p. 58.



a powerful army of experienced soldiers, have always been regarded with admiration. But at Bennington, the hardy yeomen of New Hampshire, Vermont, and Massachusetts, many of them fresh from the plough and unused to the camp, "advanced," as General Stark expresses it in his official letter, "through fire and smoke, and mounted breastworks that were well fortified and defended with cannon."

Fortunately for the success of the battle, Stark was most ably seconded by the officers under him; every previous disposition of his little force was most faithfully executed. He expresses his particular obligations to colonels Warner and Herrick, "whose superior skill was of great service to him." Indeed the battle was planned and fought with a degree of military talent and science, which would have done no discredit to any service in Europe. A higher degree of discipline might have enabled the general to check the eagerness of his men to possess themselves of the spoils of victory; but his ability, even in that moment of dispersion and under the flush of success, to meet and conquer a hostile reinforcement, evinces a judgment and resource, not often equalled in partisan warfare.

In fact, it would be the height of injustice not to recognize, in this battle, the marks of the master mind of the leader, which makes good officers and good soldiers out of any materials, and infuses its own spirit into all that surround it. This brilliant exploit was the

work of Stark,\* from its inception to its achievement. His popular name called the militia together. His resolute will obtained him a separate commission,—at the expense, it is true, of a wise political principle, but on the present occasion with the happiest effect. His firmness prevented him from being overruled by the influence of General Lincoln, which would have led him, with his troops, across the Hudson. How few are the men who in such a crisis would not merely not have sought, but actually have repudiated, a junction with the main army! How few, who would not only have desired, but actually insisted on taking the responsibility of separate action! Having chosen the burden of acting alone, he acquitted himself in the discharge of his duty, with the spirit and vigor of a man conscious of ability proportioned to the crisis. He advanced against the enemy with promptitude; sent forward a small force to reconnoitre and measure his strength; chose his ground deliberately and with skill; planned and fought the battle with gallantry and success.

The consequences of this victory were of great moment. It roused the people, and nerved them to the contest with the enemy; and it also justified the sagacity of Washington, whose words we have quoted on a previous page. Burgoyne's plans were wholly deranged, and instead of relying upon

---

\* See Document [A] at the end of this chapter.

lateral excursions, to keep the population in alarm, and obtain supplies, he was compelled to procure necessities as best he might. His rear was exposed, and Stark, acting on his line of policy, prepared to place himself so that Burgoyne might be hemmed in, and be, as soon after he was, unable to advance or retreat. When Washington heard of Stark's victory, he was in Bucks county, Pennsylvania; whence he wrote to Putnam: "As there is now not the least danger of General Howe's going to New England, I hope the whole force of that country will turn out, and by following the great stroke struck by General Stark, near Bennington, entirely crush General Burgoyne, who, by his letter to Colonel Baum, seems to be in want of almost every thing."

The defeat at Bennington was not the only misfortune which now fell upon the British arms. We have noted, on a previous page, that Burgoyne had detached Colonel St. Leger, with a body of regular troops, Canadians, loyalists, and Indians, by the way of Oswego, to make a diversion on the upper part of the Mohawk River, and afterwards join him on his way to Albany. On the 2d of August, St. Leger approached Fort Stanwix, or Schuyler, a log fortification, situated on rising ground, near the source of the Mohawk River, and garrisoned by about six hundred  
1777. continentals, under the command of Colonel Gansevoort. Next day, he invested the place with an army of sixteen or seventeen hundred men,

nearly one half of whom were Indians, and the rest British, Germans, Canadians, and tories. On being summoned to surrender, Gansevoort answered that he would defend the place to the last.

On the approach of St. Leger to Fort Schuyler, General Herkimer, who commanded the militia of Tryon county, assembled about seven hundred of them, and marched to the assistance of the garrison. On the forenoon of the 6th of August, a messenger from Herkimer found means to enter the fort, and gave notice that he was only eight miles distant, and intended that day to force a passage into the fort, and join the garrison. Gansevoort resolved to aid the attempt by a vigorous sally, and appointed Colonel Willet, with upwards of two hundred men, to that service.

St. Leger received information of the approach of Herkimer, and placed a large body, consisting of the "Johnson Greens," and Brant's Indians, in ambush, near Oriskany, on the road by which he was to advance. Herkimer fell into the snare. The first notice which he received of the presence of an enemy, was from a heavy discharge of musketry on his troops, which was instantly followed by the war-whoop of the Indians, who attacked the militia with their tomahawks. Though disconcerted by the suddenness of the attack, many of the militia behaved with spirit, and a scene of unutterable confusion and carnage ensued. The royal troops and the militia became so closely



crowded together, that they had not room to use firearms, but pushed and pulled each other, and, using their daggers, fell pierced by mutual wounds. Some of the militia fled at the first onset; others made their escape afterwards; about a hundred of them retreated to a rising ground, where they bravely defended themselves, till a successful sortie from the fort compelled the British to look to the defence of their own camp. Colonel Willet, in this sally, killed a number of the enemy, destroyed their provisions, carried off some spoil, and returned to the fort without the loss of a man. Besides the loss of the brave General Herkimer, who was slain, the number of the killed was computed at four hundred. St. Leger, imitating the grandiloquent style of Burgoyne, again summoned the fort to surrender, but Colonel Gansevoort peremptorily refused.

Colonel Willet, accompanied by Lieutenant Stockwell, having passed through the British camp, eluded the patrols and the savages, and made his way for fifty miles through pathless woods and dangerous morasses, and informed General Schuyler of the position of the fort, and the need of help in the emergency. He determined to afford it to the extent of his power, and Arnold, who was always ready for such expeditions, agreed to take command of the troops for the purpose of relieving the fort. Arnold put in practice an acute stratagem, which materially facilitated his success. It was this.

Among the tory prisoners was one Yost Cuyler, who had been condemned to death, but whom Arnold agreed to spare, on consideration of his implicitly carrying out his plan. Accordingly, Cuyler, having made several holes in his coat, to imitate bullet-shots, rushed breathless among the Indian allies of St. Leger, and informed them that he had just escaped in a battle with the Americans, who were advancing on them with the utmost celerity. While pointing to his coat for proof of his statement, a sachem, also in the plot, came in and confirmed the intelligence. Other scouts arrived speedily with a report, which probably grew out of the affair at Bennington, that Burgoyne's army was entirely routed. All this made a deep impression upon the fickle-minded red-men.

Fort Schuyler was better constructed, and defended with more courage than St. Leger had expected; and his light artillery made little impression on it. His Indians, who liked better to take scalps and plunder than to besiege fortresses, became very unmanageable. The loss which they had sustained in the encounters with Herkimer and Willet deeply affected them: they had expected to be witnesses of the triumphs of the British, and to share with them the plunder. Hard service and little reward caused bitter disappointment; and when they knew that a strong detachment of Americans was marching against them, they resolved to take safety in flight. St.



Leger employed every argument and artifice to detain them, but in vain; part of them went off, and all the rest threatened to follow if the siege were persevered in. Therefore, on the 22d of August, St. Leger raised the siege, and retreated with circumstances indicating great alarm: the tents were left standing, the artillery was abandoned, and a great part of the baggage, ammunition, and provisions fell into the hands of the garrison, a detachment from which harassed the retreating enemy. But the British troops were exposed to greater danger from the fury of their savage allies than from the pursuit of the Americans. During the retreat they robbed the officers of their baggage, and the army generally of their provisions and stores. Not content with this, they first stripped off their arms, and afterwards murdered with their own bayonets all those who from inability to keep up, from fear, or other cause were separated from the main body. The confusion, terror, and sufferings of this retreat found no respite till the royal troops reached the lake on their way to Montreal.

Arnold arrived at Fort Schuyler two days after the retreat of the besiegers; but finding no occasion for his services, he soon returned to camp. The successful defence of Fort Stanwix or Schuyler powerfully co-operated with the defeat of the royal troops at Bennington in raising the spirits and invigorating the activity of the Americans. The loyalists became timid; the

wavering began to doubt the success of the royal arms; and the great body of the people became convinced that nothing but steady exertion on their part was necessary, to ruin that army which a short time before had appeared to be sweeping every obstacle from its path, on the high road to victory.

The decisive victory at Bennington, and the retreat of St. Leger from Fort Schuyler, however important in themselves, were still more so in their consequences. An army, which had spread terror and dismay in every direction—which had, previously, experienced no reverse of fortune, was considered as already beaten; and the opinion became common, that the appearance of the great body of the people in arms would secure the emancipation of their country. It was, too, an advantage of no inconsiderable importance resulting from this change of public opinion, that the disaffected became timid; and the wavering, who, had the torrent of success continued, would have made a merit of contributing their aid to the victor, were no longer disposed to put themselves and their fortunes in hazard, to support an army whose fate was so uncertain.

The barbarities which had been perpetrated by the Indians belonging to the invading armies, excited still more resentment than terror. As the prospect of revenge began to open, their effect became the more apparent; and their influence on the royal cause was the more sensibly felt because they had been indiscriminate.

The murder of Miss M'Crea passed through all the papers of the continent; and the story, being retouched by the hand of more than one master, excited a peculiar degree of sensibility.\* But there were other causes of still greater influence in producing the events which afterwards took place. The last reinforcements of continental troops arrived in camp about this time, and added both courage and strength to the army. The harvest, which had detained the northern militia upon their farms, was over; and General Schuyler, whose continued and eminent services had not exempted him from the imputation of being a traitor, was succeeded by General Gates, who possessed a large share of the public confidence.

When Schuyler was directed by Con-

---

\* Mr. Jones, an officer of the British army, had gained the affections of Miss M'Crea, a lovely young lady of amiable character and spotless reputation, daughter of a gentleman attached to the royal cause, residing near Fort Edward; and they had agreed to be married. In the course of service, the officer was removed to some distance from his bride, and became anxious for her safety and desirous of her company. He engaged some Indians, of two different tribes, to bring her to camp, and promised a keg of rum to the person who should deliver her safe to him. She dressed to meet her bridegroom, and accompanied her Indian conductors; but by the way, the two chiefs, each being desirous of receiving the promised reward, disputed which of them should deliver her to her lover. The dispute rose to a quarrel; and, according to their usual method of disposing of a disputed prisoner, one of them instantly cleft the head of the lady with his tomahawk.

This is the common version of the story found in the histories. Mr. Lossing, in his *Field-Book of the Revolution*, relying on the traditions in the neighborhood of the scene, comes to the conclusion, that the lady was accidentally killed by a party of Americans in pursuit of the Indians who had carried her off. Irving says she was killed by one of the Indians.

gress to resume the command of the northern department, Gates withdrew himself from it. When the resolute passed recalling the general officers who had served in that department, General Washington was requested to name a successor to Schuyler. On his expressing a wish to decline this nomination, and representing the inconvenience of removing all the general officers, Gates was again directed to repair thither and take the command, and their resolution to recall the brigadiers was suspended until the commander-in-chief should be of opinion that it might be carried into effect with safety.

Schuyler retained the command until the arrival of Gates, which was on the 19th of August, and continued his exertions to restore the affairs of the department, though he felt acutely the disgrace of being recalled in this critical and interesting state of the campaign. "It is," said he, in a letter to the commander-in-chief, "matter of extreme chagrin to me to be deprived of the command at a time when, soon if ever, we shall probably be enabled to face the enemy; when we are on the point of taking ground where they must attack to a disadvantage, should our force be inadequate to facing them in the field; when an opportunity will, in all probability, occur, in which I might evince that I am not what Congress have too plainly insinuated by taking the command from me."

If error be attributable to the evacuation of Ticonderoga, no portion of it



was committed by Schuyler. His removal from the command was probably severe and unjust as respected himself, but perhaps wise as respected America. The frontier towards the lakes was to be defended by the troops of New England; and, however unfounded their prejudices against him might be, it was prudent to consult them.

Notwithstanding the difficulties which multiplied around him, Burgoyne remained steady to his purpose. The disasters at Bennington and on the Mohawk produced no disposition to abandon the enterprise and save his army.

It had now become necessary for Burgoyne to recur to the slow and toilsome mode of obtaining supplies from Fort George. Having, with persevering labor, collected provision for thirty days in advance, he crossed the Hudson on the 13th and 14th of September, and  
1777. encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga, with a determination to decide the fate of the expedition in a general engagement.

Gates, having been joined by all the continental troops destined for the northern department, and reinforced by large bodies of militia, had moved from his camp in the islands, and advanced to the neighborhood of Stillwater.

The bridges between the two armies having been broken down by General Schuyler, the roads being excessively bad, and the country covered with wood, the progress of the British army down the river was slow. On the night of the 17th of September, Burgoyne en-

camped within four miles of the American army, and the next day was employed in repairing the bridges between the two camps. In the morning of the 19th he advanced in full force towards the American left. Morgan was immediately detached with his rifle corps to observe the enemy, and to harass his front and flanks. He fell in with a picket in front of the right wing, which he attacked with vivacity, and drove in upon the main body. Pursuing with too much ardor, he was met in considerable force, and, after a severe encounter, was compelled in turn to retire in some disorder. Two regiments, led by Arnold, being advanced to his assistance, his corps was rallied, and the action became more general. The Americans were formed in a wood, with an open field in front, and invariably repulsed the British corps which attacked them; but when they pursued those corps to the main body, they were in turn driven back to their first ground. Reinforcements were continually brought up, and about four in the afternoon, upwards of three thousand American troops were closely engaged with the whole right wing of the British army, commanded by General Burgoyne in person. The conflict was extremely severe, and only terminated with the day. At dark the Americans retired to their camp, and the British, who had found great difficulty in maintaining their ground, lay all night on their arms near the field of battle.

In this action, the killed and wounded



on the part of the Americans were between three and four hundred. Among the former were colonels Colburn and Adams, and several other valuable officers. The British loss has been estimated at rather more than five hundred men.

Each army claimed the victory, and each believed itself to have beaten near the whole of the hostile army with only a part of its own force. The advantage, however, taking all circumstances into consideration, was decidedly with the Americans. In a conflict which nearly consumed the day, they found themselves at least equal to their antagonists. In every quarter they had acted on the offensive, and, after an encounter for several hours, had not lost an inch of ground. They had not been driven from the field, but had retired from it at the close of day, to the camp from which they had marched to battle. Their object, which was to check the advancing enemy, had been obtained; while that of the British general had failed. In the actual state of things, to fight without being beaten was, on their part, victory; while, on the part of the British, to fight without a decisive victory, was defeat. The Indians, who found themselves beaten in the woods by Morgan,\* and restrained from scalping and

plundering the unarmed by Burgoyne, who saw before them the prospect of hard fighting without profit, grew tired of the service, and deserted in great numbers. The Canadians and Provincials were not much more faithful; and Burgoyne soon perceived that his hopes must rest almost entirely on his European troops.

With reason, therefore, this action was celebrated throughout the United States as a victory, and considered as the precursor of the total ruin of the invading army. The utmost exultation was displayed, and the militia were stimulated to fly to arms, and complete the work so happily begun.

General Lincoln, in conformity with directions which have been stated, had assembled a considerable body of New England militia in the rear of Burgoyne, from which he drew three parties of about five hundred men each. One of these was detached, under the command of Colonel Brown, to the north end of Lake George, principally to relieve a number of prisoners who were confined there, but with orders to push his success, should he be fortunate, as far as prudence would admit. Colonel Johnson, at the head of another party, marched towards Mount Independence; and Colonel Woodbury, with a third, was detached to Skeenesborough to cov-

---

\* Colonel Morgan, with his regiment of riflemen, had been recently sent by Washington to join the northern army. Gates, writing to Washington, May 22d, 1777, says: "I cannot sufficiently thank your Excellency for sending Colonel Morgan's corps to this army; they will be of the greatest service to it; for, until the late success this way, I am told the army were quite panic-struck by

---

the Indians, and their tory and Canadian assassins in Indian dress. Horrible, indeed, have been the cruelties they have wantonly committed upon the miserable inhabitants, insomuch that all is now fair with General Burgoyne, even if the bloody hatchet he has so barbarously used should find its way into his own head."

er the retreat of both the others. With the residue, Lincoln proceeded to the camp of Gates.

Colonel Brown, after marching all night, arrived, at the break of day, on the north end of the lake, where he found a small post, which he carried without opposition. The surprise was complete; and he took possession of Mount Defiance, Mount Hope, the landing-place, and about two hundred batteaux. With the loss of only three killed and five wounded, he liberated one hundred American prisoners, and captured two hundred and ninety-three of the enemy. This success was joyfully proclaimed through the northern States. It was believed confidently that Ticonderoga and Mount Independence were recovered; and the militia were exhorted, by joining their brethren in the army, to insure that event if it had not already happened.

The attempt on those places however failed. The garrison repulsed the assailants; who, after a few days, abandoned the siege. On their return through Lake George in the vessels they had captured, the militia made an attack on Diamond Island, the depot of all the stores collected at the north end of the lake. Being again repulsed, they destroyed the vessels they had taken, and returned to their former station.

The day after the battle of Stillwater, General Burgoyne took a position almost within cannon-shot of the American camp, fortified his right, and extended his left to the river. Directly

after taking this ground he received a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, informing him that he should attack Fort Montgomery about the 20th of September. The messenger returned with information that Burgoyne was in extreme difficulty, and would endeavor to wait for aid until the 12th of October.\*

Both armies retained their position until the 7th of October. Burgoyne, in the hope of being relieved by Sir Henry Clinton; and Gates, 1777. in the confidence of growing stronger every day.

Having received no further intelligence from Sir Henry, and being reduced to the necessity of diminishing the ration issued to his soldiers, Burgoyne determined to make one more trial of strength with his adversary. In execution of this determination, he drew out on his right fifteen hundred choice troops, whom he commanded in person, assisted by generals Philips, Riedesel, and Fraser.

The right wing was formed within three-quarters of a mile of the left of the American camp; and a corps of rangers, Indians, and provincials was pushed on through secret paths, to show themselves in its rear, and excite alarm in that quarter.

These movements were perceived by General Gates, who determined to attack their left, and, at the same time, to fall on their right flank. Poor's brigade, and some regiments from New

---

\* Letter of Burgoyne.



Hampshire, were ordered to meet them in front; while Morgan, with his rifle corps, made a circuit unperceived, and seized a very advantageous height covered with wood on their right. As soon as it was supposed that Morgan had gained the ground he intended to occupy, the attack was made in front and on the left, in great force. At this critical moment, Morgan poured in a deadly and incessant fire on the front and right flank.

While the British right wing was thus closely pressed in front and on its flank, a distinct division of the American troops was ordered to intercept its retreat to camp, and to separate it from the residue of the army. Burgoyne perceived the danger of his situation, and ordered the light-infantry under General Fraser, with part of the 24th regiment, to form a second line, in order to cover the light-infantry of the right, and secure a retreat. While this movement was in progress, the left of the British right was forced from its ground, and the light-infantry was ordered to its aid. In the attempt to execute this order, they were attacked by the rifle corps with great effect; and Fraser was mortally wounded. Overpowered by numbers, and pressed on all sides by a superior weight of fire, Burgoyne, with great difficulty, and with the loss of his field-pieces and great part of his artillery corps, regained his camp. The Americans followed close in his rear; and assaulted his works throughout their whole ex-

tent. Towards the close of day, the intrenchments were forced on their right; and General Arnold, with a few men, actually entered their works; but his horse being killed under him, and himself wounded, the troops were forced out of them; and it being nearly dark, they desisted from the assault. The left of Arnold's division was still more successful. Jackson's regiment of Massachusetts, then led by Lieutenant-colonel Brooks,\* turned the right of the encampment, and stormed the works occupied by the German reserve. Lieutenant-colonel Breyman who commanded in them was killed, and the works were carried. The orders given by Burgoyne to recover them, were not executed; and Brooks maintained the ground he had gained.

Darkness put an end to the action; and the Americans lay all night with their arms in their hands, about half a mile from the British lines, ready to renew the assault with the return of day. The advantage they had gained was decisive. They had taken several pieces of artillery, killed a great number of men, made upwards of two hundred prisoners, among whom were several officers of distinction, and had penetrated the lines in a part which exposed the whole to considerable danger.

Unwilling to risk the events of the next day on the same ground, Burgoyne changed his position in the course of the night, and drew his whole

---

\* See Document [B] at the end of this chapter.



army into a strong camp on the river heights, extending his right up the river. This movement extricated him from the danger of being attacked the ensuing morning by an enemy already in possession of part of his works. The 8th of October was spent in skirmishing and cannonading. About sunset, the body of General Fraser,\* who had been mortally wounded on the preceding day, was, agreeably to his own desire, carried up the hill to be interred in the great redoubt, attended only by the officers who had lived in his family. Generals Burgoyne, Philips, and Riedesel, in testimony of respect and affection for their late brave companion in arms, joined the mournful procession, which necessarily passed in view of both armies. The incessant cannonade, the steady attitude and unfaltering voice of the chaplain, and the firm demeanor of the company, though occasionally covered with the earth thrown up by the shot from the hostile batteries ploughing the ground around them, the mute expression of feeling pictured on every countenance, and the increasing gloom of the evening, all contributed to give an affecting solemnity to the obsequies. General Gates afterwards declared, that if he had been apprised of what was going on, he would at least have silenced his batteries, and allowed the last offices of humanity to be performed without disturbance, or even have ordered minute-

guns to be fired in honor of the deceased general.

Gates perceived the strength of Burgoyne's new position, and was not disposed to hazard an assault. Aware of the critical situation of his adversary, he detached a party higher up the Hudson for the purpose of intercepting the British army on its retreat, while strong corps were posted on the other side of the river to guard its passage.

This movement compelled Burgoyne again to change his position, and to retire to Saratoga. About nine at night, the retreat was commenced, and was effected with the loss of his hospital, containing about three hundred sick, and of several batteaux laden with provision and baggage. On reaching the ground to be occupied, he found a strong corps already intrenched on the opposite side of the river, prepared to dispute its passage.

From Saratoga, Burgoyne detached a company of artificers, under a strong escort, to repair the roads and bridges towards Fort Edward. Scarcely had this detachment moved, when the Americans appeared in force on the heights south of Saratoga Creek, and made dispositions which excited the apprehension of a design to cross it and attack his camp. The Europeans escorting the artificers were recalled, and a provincial corps, employed in the same service, being attacked by a small party, ran away and left the workmen to shift for themselves. No hope of repairing the roads remaining, it became

\* See Documents [F] and [G] at the end of this chapter.

impossible to move the baggage and artillery.

The British army was now almost completely environed by a superior force. No means remained of extricating itself from difficulties and dangers which were continually increasing, but fording a river, on the opposite bank of which a formidable body of troops was already posted; and then escaping to Fort George, through roads impassable by artillery or wagons, while its rear was closely pressed by a victorious enemy.\*

A council of general officers, called to deliberate on their situation, took the

\* Gordon, in his history of the war, states himself to have received from General Glover an anecdote, showing that all these advantages were on the point of being exposed to imminent hazard: "On the morning of the eleventh, Gates called the general officers together, and informed them of his having received certain intelligence, which might be depended upon, that the main body of Burgoyne's army was marched off for Fort Edward with what they could take; and that the rear-guard only was left in the camp, who, after a while, were to push off as fast as possible, leaving the heavy baggage behind. On this it was concluded to advance and attack the camp in half an hour. The officers repaired immediately to their respective commands. General Nixon's being the eldest brigade, crossed the Saratoga Creek first. Unknown to the Americans, Burgoyne had a line formed behind a parcel of brushwood, to support the park of artillery where the attack was to be made. General Glover was upon the point of following Nixon. Just as he entered the water, he saw a British soldier making across, whom he called and examined." This soldier was a deserter, and communicated the very important fact that the whole British army were in their encampment. Nixon was immediately stopped, and the intelligence conveyed to Gates, who countermanded his orders for the assault, and called back his troops, not without sustaining some loss from the British artillery.

Gordon is confirmed by General Wilkinson, who was adjutant-general in the American army. The narrative of the general varies from that of Gordon only in minor circumstances.

bold resolution to abandon every thing but their arms and such provisions as the soldiers could carry; and, by a forced march in the night up the river, to extricate themselves from the American army; and, crossing at Fort Edward, or at a ford above it, to press on to Fort George.

Gates had foreseen this movement, and had prepared for it. In addition to placing strong guards at the fords of the Hudson, he had formed an intrenched camp on the high grounds between Fort Edward and Fort George. The scouts sent to examine the route returned with this information, and the plan was abandoned as impracticable.

Nothing could be more hopeless than the condition of the British army, or more desperate than that of their general, as described by himself. In his letter to Lord George Germain, secretary of state for American affairs, he says: "A series of hard toil, incessant effort, stubborn action, until disabled in the collateral branches of the army by the total defection of the Indians; the desertion or timidity of the Canadians and provincials, some individuals excepted; disappointed in the last hope of any co-operation from other armies; the regular troops reduced by losses from the best parts to three thousand five hundred fighting-men, not two thousand of which were British; only three days' provisions, upon short allowance, in store; invested by an army of sixteen thousand men, and no appearance of retreat remaining;—I called into council

all the generals, field-officers, and captains commanding corps, and by their unanimous concurrence and advice, I was induced to open a treaty with Major-general Gates."

A treaty was opened with a general proposition, stating the willingness of the British general to spare the further effusion of blood, provided a negotiation could be effected on honorable terms.

This proposition was answered by a demand that the whole army should ground their arms in their encampment, and surrender themselves prisoners of war. This demand was instantly rejected, with a declaration that if General Gates designed to insist on it, the negotiation must immediately break off, and hostilities recommence. On receiving this decided answer, Gates receded from the rigorous terms at first proposed; and a convention was signed

1777. (October 17th), in which it was agreed that the British army, after marching out of their encampment with all the honors of war, should lay down their arms, and not serve against the United States till exchanged. They were not to be detained in captivity, but to be permitted to embark for England.

The situation of the armies considered,\* these terms were highly honorable to the British general, and favorable to

his nation. They were probably more advantageous than would have been granted by Gates, had he entertained no apprehension from Sir Henry Clinton, who was at length making the promised diversion on the North River, up which he had penetrated as far as *Æso-*  
*pus*.

The drafts made from Peekskill for both armies had left that post in a situation to require the aid of militia for its security. The requisitions of General Putnam were complied with; but the attack upon them being delayed, the militia, who were anxious to attend to their farms, became impatient; many deserted; and Putnam was induced to discharge the residue.

Governor Clinton immediately ordered out half the militia of New York, with assurances that they should be relieved in one month by the other half. This order was executed so slowly that the forts were carried before the militia were in the field.

Great pains had been taken, and much labor employed, to render the position of the American army for guarding the passage up the Hudson secure. The principal defences were forts Montgomery and Clinton. They had been constructed on the western bank of the Hudson, on very high ground, extremely difficult of access, and were separated from each other by a small creek which runs from the mountains into the river. These forts were too much elevated to be battered from the water, and the hills on which they stood were too steep to be ascended by

\* The American army consisted of nine thousand and ninety-three continental troops. The number of the militia fluctuated; but amounted, at the signature of the convention, to four thousand one hundred and twenty-nine. The sick exceeded two thousand five hundred men.



troops landing at the foot of them. The mountains, which commence five or six miles below them, are so high and rugged, the defiles, through which the roads leading to them pass, so narrow, and so commanded by the heights on both sides, that the approaches to them are extremely difficult and dangerous.

To prevent ships from passing the forts, *chevaux-de-frise* had been sunk in the river, and a boom extended from bank to bank, which was covered with immense chains stretched at some distance in its front. These works were defended by the guns of the forts, and by a frigate and galleys stationed above them, capable of opposing with an equal fire in front any force which might attack them by water from below.

Fort Independence is four or five miles below forts Montgomery and Clinton, and on the opposite side of the river, on a high point of land; and Fort Constitution is rather more than six miles above them, on an island near the eastern shore. Peekskill, the general head-quarters of the officer commanding at the station, is just below Fort Independence, and on the same side of the river. The garrisons had been reduced to about six hundred men, and the whole force under Putnam did not much exceed two thousand. Yet this force, though far inferior to that which Washington had ordered to be retained at the station, was, if properly applied, more than competent to the defence of the forts against any numbers which could be spared from New York. To

insure success to the enterprise, it was necessary to draw the attention of Putnam from the real object, and to storm the works before the garrisons could be aided by his army. This Sir Henry Clinton accomplished.

Between three and four thousand men embarked at New York, and landed on the 5th of October at Verplanck's Point, on the east side of the Hudson, a short distance below Peekskill, upon which Putnam retired to the heights in his rear. On the evening of the same day, a part of these troops re-embarked, and the fleet moved up the river to Peekskill Neck, in order to mask King's Ferry, which was below them. The next morning, at break of day, the troops destined for the enterprise landed on the west side of Stony Point, and commenced their march through the mountains, into the rear of forts Clinton and Montgomery. This disembarkation was observed, but the morning was so foggy that the numbers could not be distinguished; and a large fire, which was afterwards perceived at the landing-place, suggested the idea that the sole object of the party on shore was the burning of some storehouses. In the mean time, the manœuvres of the vessels, and the appearance of a small detachment left at Verplanck's Point, persuaded Putnam that the meditated attack was on Fort Independence.

His whole attention was directed to this object; and the real designs of the enemy were not suspected, until a heavy firing from the other side of the river

announced the assault on forts Clinton and Montgomery. Five hundred men were instantly detached to reinforce the garrisons of those places; but, before this detachment could cross the river, the forts were in possession of the British.

Having left a battalion at the pass of Thunderhill to keep up a communication, Sir Henry Clinton had formed his army into two divisions—one of which, consisting of nine hundred men, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, made a circuit by the forest of Deane, in order to fall on the back of Fort Montgomery; while the other, consisting of twelve hundred men, commanded by General Vaughan, and accompanied by Sir Henry Clinton in person, advanced slowly against Fort Clinton.

Both posts were assaulted about five in the afternoon. The works were defended with resolution, and were maintained until dark, when, the lines being too extensive to be completely manned, the assailants entered them in different places. The defence being no longer possible, some of the garrison were made prisoners, while their better knowledge of the country enabled others to escape. Governor Clinton passed the river in a boat, and General James Clinton, though wounded in the thigh by a bayonet, also made his escape. Lieutenant-colonels Livingston and Bruyn, and majors Hamilton and Logan, were among the prisoners. The loss sustained by the garrisons was about two hundred and fifty

men: that of the assailants was stated by Sir Henry Clinton at less than two hundred. Among the killed were Lieutenant-colonel Campbell and two other field-officers.

As the boom and chains drawn across the river could no longer be defended, the continental frigates and galleys lying above them were burnt, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. Fort Independence and Fort Constitution were evacuated the next day, and Putnam retreated to Fishkill. General Vaughan, after burning Continental Village, where stores to a considerable amount had been deposited, proceeded, at the head of a strong detachment, up the river to *Æsopus*, which he also destroyed.\*

Putnam, whose army had been augmented by reinforcements of militia to six thousand men, detached General Parsons, with two thousand, to repossess himself of Peekskill, and of the passes in the Highlands, while with the residue he watched the progress of the enemy up the river. The want of heavy artillery prevented his annoying their ships in the Hudson.

On the capitulation of Burgoyne, near five thousand men had been detached by Gates to aid Putnam. Before their arrival, General Vaughan had returned to New York, whence a reinforcement

\* Intelligence of the success of Sir Henry Clinton on the North River was received by General Burgoyne in the night after the convention at Saratoga had been agreed upon, but before the articles had been signed and executed. The British general had serious thoughts of breaking off the treaty.

to General Howe was then about to sail.

Great as was the injury sustained by the United States from this enterprise, Great Britain derived from it no solid advantage. It was undertaken at too late a period to save Burgoyne; and though the passes in the Highlands were acquired, they could not be retained. The British had reduced to ashes every village, and almost every house, within their power; but this wanton and useless destruction served to irritate, without tending to subdue. A keenness was given to the resentment of the injured, which outlived the contest between the two nations.

The army which surrendered at Saratoga exceeded five thousand men. On marching from Ticonderoga, it was estimated at nine thousand. In addition to this great military force, the British lost, and the Americans acquired, a fine train of artillery, seven thousand stand of excellent arms, clothing for seven thousand recruits, with tents and other military stores to a considerable amount.

The thanks of Congress were voted to General Gates and his army; and a medal of gold, in commemoration of this great event, was ordered to be struck, and presented to him by the president, in the name of the United States. Colonel Wilkinson,\* his adjutant-general, whom he strongly recommended, was appointed brigadier-general by brevet.

\* See Document [C] at the end of this chapter.

In the opinion that the British would not immediately abandon the passes in the Highlands, Congress ordered Putnam to join Washington with a reinforcement not exceeding two thousand five hundred men, and directed Gates to take command of the army on the Hudson, with unlimited powers to call for aids of militia from the New England States, as well as from New York and New Jersey.

A proposition to authorize the commander-in-chief, after consulting with General Gates and Governor George Clinton, to increase the detachment designed to strengthen his army, if he should then be of opinion that it might be done without endangering the objects to be accomplished by Gates, was seriously opposed. An attempt was made to amend this proposition, so as to make the increase of the reinforcement to depend on the assent of Gates and Clinton; but this amendment was lost by a considerable majority, and the original resolution was carried. These proceedings were attended with no other consequences, than to excite some degree of attention to the state of parties.

Soon after the capitulation of Burgoyne, Ticonderoga and Mount Independence were evacuated, and the garrison retired to Isle aux Noix and St. John's.

The effect produced by this event on the British cabinet and nation, was great and immediate. It seemed to remove the delusive hopes of conquest with



which they had been flattered, and suddenly to display the mass of resistance which must yet be encountered. Previous to the reception of this disastrous intelligence, the employment of savages in the war had been the subject of severe animadversion. Parliament was assembled on the 20th of November; and, as usual, addresses were proposed in answer to the speech from the throne, entirely approving the conduct of the administration. In the House of Lords, the Earl of Chatham\* moved to amend the address, by introducing a clause recommending to his majesty an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty of conciliation, "to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries." In the course of the very animated observations made by this extraordinary man in support of his motion, he said: "But, my lords, who is the man that, in addition to the disgraces and mischiefs of war, has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage? to call into civilized alliance the wild and inhuman inhabitant of the woods? to delegate to the merciless Indian the defence of disputed rights, and to wage the horrors of his barbarous war against our brethren? My lords, these enormities cry aloud for redress and punishment. Unless thoroughly done away, they will be a stain on

the national character. It is not the least of our national misfortunes, that the strength and character of our army are thus impaired. Familiarized to the horrid scenes of savage cruelty, it can no longer boast of the noble and generous principles which dignify a soldier; no longer sympathize with the dignity of the royal banner, nor feel the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war that makes ambition virtue. What makes ambition virtue? the sense of honor. But is this sense of honor consistent with the spirit of plunder, or the practice of murder? Can it flow from mercenary motives? or can it prompt to cruel deeds?"

The conduct of the administration, however, received the full approbation of large majorities; but the triumph these victories in parliament afforded them was of short duration. The disastrous issue of an expedition from which the most sanguine expectations had been formed was soon known, and the mortification it produced was extreme. A reluctant confession of the calamity was made by the minister, and a desire to restore peace on any terms consistent with the integrity of the empire found its way into the cabinet.

The surrender of Burgoyne† was an event of very great importance in a political point of view, as it undoubtedly decided the French government to form an alliance with the United States; but it was only one of the many disasters

\* See Document [D] at the end of this chapter.

† See Document [E] at the end of this chapter.

<p>to the British arms which compelled them to acknowledge our independence. There remained much to be done. Washington was still to endure greater hardships and mortifications—</p>	<p>to have his patriotism and disinterestedness more severely tried than ever, during the coming campaigns. We must now return to his dreary camp at Valley Forge.</p>
---	--

## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER XII.

---

[A.]

### GENERAL STARK.

THIS excellent officer was surpassed by none of that illustrious band that surrounded Washington in the Revolutionary War, in patriotism, courage, or efficiency. The following sketch affords a brief outline of his services.

John Stark was born in Londonderry, New Hampshire, 28th of August (Old Style), 1728. John removed with his father to Derryfield (now Manchester), about the year 1736, and settled a mile north of Amoskeag Falls, where he was employed occasionally in hunting and husbandry, until the 28th day of April, 1752, when he and three others, while hunting beaver on Baker's River, were surprised by ten St. François Indians. He had separated from his companions, in order to collect the traps. In the act of taking the last trap, he was seized by the Indians, who interrogated him about his companions; when he pointed out a contrary route, and led them nearly two miles from the right place, and was proceeding, when they heard guns fired, which his comrades had commenced, on presumption that he had lost his way. The Indians then changed their course, got ahead of the boat, and lay in ambush. His comrades having fallen into the ambush, the Indians directed Stark to call for them; he did so, but advised them to escape to the opposite shore, on which four of the Indians fired. At the moment of the discharge, Stark knocked up the guns of two of the Indians; and he did the same when the rest of the party fired a second volley, calling to his brother to make his escape, as all the guns were discharged. One of his comrades, however, was killed. The savages beat Stark most severely. He and Eastman, one of

his comrades, remained prisoners with the Indians six weeks, when Captain Stevens and Mr. Wheelwright were sent by Massachusetts to redeem prisoners who had been captured from that province. Not finding any, they liberally paid the ransom of Stark and Eastman,—the former being redeemed for one hundred and three dollars, the latter for sixty. Stark returned to Derryfield in August. In the following winter, the General Court of New Hampshire concluded to send a party to explore the Coos country. A company was enlisted to perform this duty. On their arrival at Concord, they applied to Mr. Stark to act as their pilot, who agreed to accompany them. They finished the exploration in thirteen days. In the year 1754, it was understood that the French were making a fort at the Upper Coos. Captain Powers was sent by the governor of New Hampshire, with thirty men, bearing a flag of truce, to demand the reason of making a fort there. On his arrival at Concord he had no pilot, and applied to Mr. Stark, who, ever ready to embark in the most hazardous enterprises, readily accompanied them. He conducted the party to the Upper Coos, and on the same route that the Indians had led him captive two years before. They found no garrison, and the party returned after exploring for the first time (by any English adventurer) the Coos meadows, the now healthful and flourishing towns of Haverhill and Newbury, New Hampshire.

On the commencement of the Seven Years' War, in 1755, Stark had acquired so much celebrity by these several expeditions, that the governor appointed him a lieutenant in Captain Rogers' company, in Colonel Blanchard's regiment. Rogers possessing the same bold and enterprising spirit, the rugged sons of the forest



soon ranged themselves under their banners, and were ordered to proceed to Coos, and burn the meadows, preparatory to building a fort and forming an establishment there; but before they reached Coos, a new order commanded them to join the regiment at Fort Edward, by way of Charlestown Number Four, and Hoosack, and arrived about the time that Sir William Johnson was attacked by the French and Indians near Bloody Pond, between Fort Edward and Lake George. This campaign passed over without any occurrence worthy of remark. In the autumn, the regiment was discharged, and Lieutenant Stark returned home.

In the winter of 1756, a project was formed by the British commander at Fort Edward, to establish a corps of rangers, to counteract the French scouts of Canadians and Indians that constantly harassed the frontiers, and hung on the wings of the army. Rogers was appointed captain, and he immediately repaired to New Hampshire, to engage Stark to be his lieutenant and raise the soldiers. They soon completed their quota, and in April following began their march for Fort Edward. In this campaign nothing of importance was done, except that this company was almost constantly on foot, watching the motions of the enemy at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and preparing themselves for more important services. In the autumn of this year the corps was joined by two companies commanded by Hobbs and Spikeman, from Halifax. At this time the three companies contained nearly three hundred men, and began to be esteemed of considerable consequence. In January, 1757, a plan was formed for this corps to march to the lake, and intercept the supplies from Crown Point to Ticonderoga. They turned Ticonderoga, seized a few sleighs, and were returning to Fort George, when the party was attacked about three miles from Ticonderoga, by the combined force of French and Indians from the garrison, when a most bloody and desperate action ensued. Perhaps, according to numbers engaged, a more sanguinary battle was not fought during the war. In this instance, great prudence and coolness, joined with the most obstinate bravery, marked the conduct of the young officer. Captain Spikeman being killed,

and Rogers wounded, the command of the retreat devolved on Lieutenant Stark, who, by his intrepidity and firmness, in the face of the garrison, secured the wounded, and drew off the detachment with such order and address, as to keep the enemy at bay. At eight in the morning, they arrived at Lake George. The wounded, who, during the night march, had kept up their spirits, now stiff with cold, fatigue, and loss of blood, could march no further. It became necessary to send notice to Fort George, that sleighs might be sent for them: he undertook the task, and with fatigue more easily imagined than described, arrived at the fort about eight o'clock in the evening; and the day following his companions returned in sleighs. In the new organization of the corps, Lieutenant Stark was appointed to supply the vacancy caused by the death of Captain Spikeman.

The garrison at Fort William Henry had been quiet for some time, when on the evening of the 16th of March, Stark made his rounds, and heard the Rangers planning a celebration of St. Patrick's day. By one of those eccentricities for which he was always remarkable, he commanded the sutler to deliver no rum to the Rangers without a written order. He then pretended to be unwell, and lame in his right hand, and could make no order. By this circumstance, the Rangers were kept sober; but the Irish troops of the regular regiment did not forget their ancient practice, and took large libations in honor of St. Patrick. The French at Ticonderoga, knowing the laudable custom of the Hibernians on that festival, had planned an attack on the garrison that night, and would probably have carried the fort without much difficulty, if the sober Rangers had not repulsed them, while the Irish were coming to their senses. The prudence of Stark thus saved the fort. The British commander-in-chief, sensible of the services of Stark, held him in high estimation ever after. From this time to the autumn following, no military movement of any consequence took place, when Lord Loudon, the then commander, ordered the Rangers to march to New York, to be employed on the Halifax station. When the order came, Captain Stark was on a scout, and did not join them

till their arrival at New York, at which place he was seized with the small-pox of the most malignant kind, and of course did not embark. Indeed he hardly recovered his strength during the season; but as he was on the eve of sailing for Halifax, the Rangers returned, and he again joined them at Albany in the month of October, and passed the following winter at Fort Edward.

In the year 1758, General Abercrombie commanding the British forces, resolved to attempt the reduction of Ticonderoga. The Rangers, as usual, were ordered to scour the country, and open the way for the British troops to march up to the attack. The evening before this fatal battle, Stark had a long conversation with Lord Howe, resting on a large bearskin (his lordship's camp-bed), relative to the mode of attack, and the position of the fort. Similarity of character had created a strong friendship between them; they supped together, and the last orders were given to the Rangers to carry the bridge between Lake George and the plains of Ticonderoga, at an early hour in the morning. According to orders, they advanced, and on approaching the bridge, Major Rogers was at their head, and saw the Canadians and Indians prepared to dispute the passage with them: he halted a few minutes, which naturally pushed the rear on the front; not knowing the cause, Stark rushed forward to Rogers, and told him it was no time to delay, but to run boldly on to the bridge, and the danger would soon be over; the advice was pursued, and in a few minutes the enemy fled and left the course clear for the army to pass. The result of the action is well known. Stark's regrets for the fate of the brave Lord Howe lasted with his life, with only the exception of the period of the Revolution, when he often remarked that he became more reconciled to his fate; for Howe, if he had lived, might have been employed against the United States.

The repulse from Ticonderoga closed the campaign. In the winter, Stark was permitted to return home on furlough, when he married Elizabeth Page. In the spring following, he joined the army under General Amherst, and was present at the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

After the conquest of Canada in 1759 and '60, little more active military service was expected in America. This circumstance, added to the death of Lord Howe, and the jealousies of the British officers, induced Stark to quit the service. General Amherst, however, by an official letter, assured him of his protection, and that if he should be inclined to re-enter the service, he should not lose his rank by retiring.

From this period until the year 1774, nothing of moment in public or private life roused him to action. In all instances of disputes between the king's governors and the people, he was uniformly attached to the interests of the latter, and became a kind of rallying point for the people in his vicinity to exchange ideas and discuss public measures. About this period, he was appointed one of the Committee of Safety, and performed that critical and delicate duty with great firmness and moderation; using all his endeavors to inspire union of sentiment, and to be prepared for action in case it became necessary.

On the news of the battle of Lexington, Stark immediately mounted his horse and proceeded to the theatre of action, encouraging the volunteers from New Hampshire to rendezvous at Medford, as the most convenient and proper place to assemble. His military services, and his uniform integrity and patriotism, left him no rival in the minds of his neighbors who had appeared in arms; and he was hailed their colonel and commander, by a unanimous voice. Isaac Wyman was chosen lieutenant-colonel, and Andrew McClary, major. They soon had ten or twelve full companies, and began exercising their men with all possible diligence and activity. As Stark had left a considerable farm and numerous family of young children at a few minutes' notice, he returned home in about twenty days, arranged his affairs as well as he could (in the two days that he tarried), and returned to the army for the campaign. Soon after joining his regiment, he was instructed by General Ward to take a small escort, and examine Noddle's Island, preparatory to a project to raise some batteries to annoy the shipping in Boston harbor. He took Major McClary, and one or two other officers, and crossed on to



the island from Chelsea. While in the act of examining the ground, they discovered a similar detachment of English, who had formed a project to cut them off, by seizing their boat. Timely vigilance frustrated their plan. After exchanging a few shots they reached the boat, and safely landed on terra firma. Soon after this, the battle of Bunker Hill called his regiment into action, and it is an acknowledged fact, that they sustained the repeated attacks of the enemy with a resolution and success that would have done credit to chivalry in its most daring and brilliant periods. When the fort was carried, and retreat became unavoidable, Stark drew off his men in tolerable order, although his soldiers were very unwilling to quit their position, as they had repulsed the enemy so often, that they considered themselves completely victorious. Immediately on the retreat, the lines were laid out on Winter Hill, and finished with uncommon zeal and enthusiasm. The remainder of the campaign passed over without any more fighting. A few abortive projects, and settling the rank of the general and field-officers, occupied the remainder of the season. Towards the close of the year it was deemed prudent to re-enlist the army. His exertions in this service were aided by his popularity, and were attended with success. The regiment was soon completed.

On the evacuation of Boston, Stark's regiment was ordered to New York, where he assisted in planning and executing the defences of that city, until May, when the regiment was ordered to proceed by way of Albany to Canada. Stark left New York, and passing through the New England States, joined the army at St. Johns early in June, and soon proceeded to the mouth of the Sorel. He opposed the fatal expedition to Three Rivers as hazardous and imprudent. On the return of the remains of that expedition, he accompanied his regiment to Chamblee, and was very active in rendering assistance to the soldiers afflicted with the small-pox. After crossing Lake Champlain, his regiment encamped on Chimney Point, until they were ordered to proceed to Ticonderoga. He was opposed to the removal, and got up a memorial in form of a protest against the measure: our limits will not

allow the reasons to be given. General Schuyler being of a different opinion, the army was removed on the 6th or 7th of July. It was always Stark's maxim to give his opinion firmly, and then obey the orders of the commanding officer. On the morning after the arrival of the army at Ticonderoga, the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed to the army with shouts of applause. Stark's post was Mount Independence (named on the occasion), then a wilderness. General Gates soon joined the army, and in the organization Stark was appointed to command a brigade, and to clear and fortify the Mount. Towards the close of the campaign, Congress appointed several of the younger colonels, brigadiers; against which Stark protested, on the ground of insecurity of rank, and planting the seeds of jealousy among the officers.

On closing the campaign in the North, his regiment was ordered to Pennsylvania, and joined General Washington at head-quarters on the 20th of December, just before the battle of Trenton. He was instructed by General Sullivan to lead the vanguard, and by his promptness contributed his share in that bold and fortunate *coup de main*. He was with Washington when he crossed the Delaware, and very active at the battle of Princeton, and continued with the general until he had established his winter-quarters at Morristown. As the enlisted term of his regiment had expired, and only a small number could be induced to tarry a few weeks longer, he was ordered to New Hampshire, to raise another regiment.

Early in the month of March, 1777, Stark summoned his officers to hand him a return of their success in recruiting, which fully equalling his expectations, he immediately gave notice to the Council of New Hampshire and General Washington. Early in April, he went to Exeter, to receive instructions for the campaign, and was, for the first time, informed that a new list of promotions had been made, and his name omitted. He easily traced the cause to some officers of high rank, and members of Congress, who were not pleased with his unbending character. He immediately called on the Council, waited on generals Sullivan and Poor, explained his motives, wished them all possible success, surrendered



his commission, and returned home without expectation of ever again taking the field; in the mean time he fitted out all his own sons old enough for service, assisted them to join the army, and continued his zeal for the national cause as heretofore. From this period to the time of St. Clair's retreat from Ticonderoga, he was busily engaged in husbandry.

On that disastrous event, New Hampshire was called on to recruit and forward men to check the advance of the enemy. The Council immediately fixed their eyes on Colonel Stark, and sent an express to notify him and request a conference. Ever prompt when his country was in danger, he hastened to Exeter, and presented himself to the Council. They soon communicated their views, urged him to forget what had passed, and assume the command. He demanded a few hours for consideration, and returning, informed them that he had very little confidence in the then commanders of the North, and that he did not think that he could be useful with the army; but if they would raise as many men as they could, to hang on the Vermont wing and rear of the enemy, with condition that he should not be amenable to any other officer, and only accountable to their body, he would accept the appointment, and proceed immediately to the frontiers. They closed with the terms, and made out a commission and instructions accordingly. He was soon on the ground, and a considerable number of drafts and volunteers enabled him to form a small army of observation.

General Gates, who had succeeded to the command of the northern army, having learned that this body was encamped at Bennington, sent Major-general Lincoln and suite to assume the command, and conduct them to head-quarters on the North River. Lincoln presented his letter from General Gates, and his instructions, and proposed an immediate march. He was candidly informed of the objections, and wrote a statement to General Gates, who informed General Washington and Congress, urging reinforcements, as he had been pressed so close by Burgoyne as to take post on the south side of the Mohawk River. General Lincoln, after tarrying a few days in a private capacity at Bennington,

returned to the main army to consult with General Gates on the critical state of affairs. In the mean time Burgoyne (probably apprised of these jarrings) detached Colonel Baum to conciliate the inhabitants, and obtain provisions in Vermont. General Stark was apprised of the advance on the 14th of August, and prepared for battle on the following morning. The 15th proved very rainy, and prevented the intended attack; at the same time it enabled Colonel Baum to surround his camp with a log breast-work. The weather proving favorable on the 16th, Stark's troops were in motion at an early hour, and advanced to search for the enemy. He was found on an eminence forming a kind of sodded bluff, fronted by the Wollamsack on the south, and a gradual slope to the north and west. His position was reconnoitered at about a mile distance, and the plan of attack arranged. Two detachments, one to the right and the other to the left, were commanded to turn his rear and advance directly to the intrenchment or lines, and to reserve their fire until they were very near. Fortunately they both arrived at their stations almost at the same moment, and by a rapid step were at the works so soon that the enemy derived no advantage from their labor, and were pushed out of the fort with only firing a few shots, and driven directly on the reserve, which soon decided the battle. The prisoners were collected and hurried off as soon as possible. At this critical moment, information was brought that a reinforcement was close upon them. The large portion of the troops taken to guard the prisoners, and the dispersion for refreshments, plunder, and other purposes, left scarcely any men to resist them. Fortunately, just then Colonel Warner, with a small detachment of his regiment, having heard the guns of the first battle, was hastening to support them, and now was ordered to advance directly and commence an attack while other troops could be collected. These troops had been in service from the beginning of the war, and it was easy for their brave commander to bring them into action. They checked the enemy, and were continually reinforced by small squads until near sunset, when the enemy gave way at every point, abandoned their cannon,

and were pursued until dark. Many prisoners were taken, but the main body retreated so rapidly, that they escaped by favor of the night. Upon the advance of Burgoyne, General Stark approached near the main army at Bemis's Heights, and finally entered Gates's camp. On the 18th of September the term of his troops expired. Great influence was used to induce them to tarry a month, or even a fortnight, as it was seen that a battle must shortly take place, and General Gates was strongly impressed with the importance of these victorious troops to his camp; but all to no purpose. They began their march home on the evening of the same day, and on the morning of the 19th; and Stark's duty having been performed, he returned with them. No appearance was perceived of movements in Burgoyne's army until they had passed the North River, when it was seen in motion; and this militia had scarcely marched ten miles, when the battle began. Some of them turned about; but when the firing ceased, they pursued their march homeward. The news of the great battle of the 19th of September overtook them on the road. General Stark passed one night at home, and then proceeded to Exeter to make report to the Council, proclaiming that Burgoyne would certainly be taken if the people would turn out; and announced his determination to return immediately. Volunteers from all quarters flocked to his standard, and he soon joined the army with a more numerous and formidable command than before. He was zealous for attacking Burgoyne in his camp, and for that purpose had placed his little army in the rear, so as to cut off all communication by way of Lake George; but a capitulation took place, and Stark, who had now been made a brigadier-general by Congress, assisted as a member of the council to arrange the terms of Burgoyne's surrender.

The campaign being over in the northern department, Stark returned home, exerting all his influence to induce the people to furnish recruits and supplies for the next. He had hardly reached his house, when Congress ordered him to prepare a winter expedition for Canada, and to repair to Albany without delay to receive further instructions. He was there at the ap-

pointed time, and then departed to Vermont, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, to forward the preparations, and return to the general rendezvous at Albany at a given time. He performed his part, but Congress gave up the project.

Early in 1778, he was ordered to proceed to Albany and assume the command of the northern department. This was the most unpleasant of his public services. He had very few troops, two extensive frontier rivers to guard, and to cap his troubles, he was surrounded with a kind of licensed Tories, in the midst of spies, peculators, and public defaulters. He labored to reform the abuses in the department, and succeeded like most reformers. Those who were detected cursed him, and their friends complained, and he gladly received an order in October from General Washington to join General Gates in Rhode Island, who had previously requested his assistance. General Hand succeeded him at Albany, but left the command shortly after, for the same reasons and with the same pleasure.

On joining General Gates's head-quarters at Providence, Stark was ordered to take quarters at East Greenwich, principally on account of his popularity with the militia, and that he might gain better information of the plans of the enemy on Rhode Island, and guard against any invasion. Here he continued until all opportunity for action was over for the season; when he was ordered to proceed to New Hampshire by way of Boston, to urge at both places the necessity of recruits and supplies.

Early in the spring of 1779, he was ordered back to Providence, and instructed by General Gates to examine with close attention all the shores and avenues from Providence to Point Judith, as well as all the coast on the east side of the bay as far as Mount Hope. As there were but few troops on the station, more than common vigilance was required to prevent inroads or plunder, and to establish a regular espionage; this being the only instance in which he ever descended to that mode of warfare: by this means, at the close of autumn, indications were early discovered of a descent or some other movement. He removed his quarters to Point Judith, but took care not to rest more than one



or two nights in a place. Some time in October, the views of the enemy were unmasked, and for some days his command was on constant duty. About the 8th or 10th of November, the enemy decamped, and early next morning he entered the lower end of Newport, and took possession of the town. Guards were immediately placed in the different streets to prevent plunder or confusion and preserve order. At this time, General Washington, fearful that on the arrival of the reinforcement from Newport at New York, some attempt might be made on his army, ordered Stark's troops that had blockaded Newport (with the exception of a small garrison) immediately to join him in New Jersey. No such attempt being made by the enemy, General Washington requested Stark to proceed to New England and back his requisitions for men and supplies. This duty being discharged, he joined the army at Morristown in the early part of May, and was present on Short Hills, at the battle of Springfield, but not personally engaged. Soon after this action, General Washington required him to proceed with all dispatch to Massachusetts and New Hampshire, to urge a supply of men, money, and provisions; to muster as many militia as he could by drafts and voluntary enlistments, and to accompany them to West Point. He landed them on the Point, while General Washington and suite passed on to Hartford to confer with Count Rochambeau and other French officers a few days previous to the detection of Arnold's treachery, and the day following joined his division at Liberty-Pole, New Jersey. In the latter end of September, he was ordered to relieve the Pennsylvania troops under General St. Clair, which, on Arnold's desertion, had been ordered there. St. Clair marched his division the next day to Liberty-Pole.

About this time, General Washington, having formed a project to surprise Staten Island, to mask his intentions, ordered General Stark, with a detachment of twenty-five hundred men and a large train of wagons and teams, to advance on York Island and bring off all the corn and forage to be found, and to hover about New York until ordered back. Probably the British suspected some masked plan; but, be that as it

may, they suffered this detachment to pillage the country to the very verge of Morrisania and Kingsbridge for several days, and then quietly return to West Point and Peekskill with their booty. Soon after this the army withdrew from Liberty-Pole, and went into winter-quarters at West Point, New Windsor, and Fishkill. Here General Stark was visited with a severe fit of sickness, which left him very weak; and about the middle of January, 1781, he obtained leave to return to New Hampshire, with the standing order to press for men and supplies. He journeyed by short stages, and arrived at his house still more weak and feeble. His health returning with the approach of spring, he was ordered to Albany to take command of the northern department, and establish his head-quarters at Saratoga.

Some feeble detachments of militia from New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire were collected to protect the northern frontiers. It was soon discovered that the country was inundated with spies and traitors,—houses being robbed (on political principles), and inhabitants, *non-combatants*, carried prisoners to Canada. The house of General Schuyler was attacked, several articles stolen, and two or three of his servants and laborers carried to Canada. He only saved himself by retreating to a chamber, barricading the door that they could not force it, and firing through it when it was attempted to be broken. The firing raised the military, and the marauders fled with their prisoners and booty.

Bad as this region was in 1778, it was infinitely worse in 1781. Some few days after the military post was established at Saratoga, a detachment of tory plunderers was arrested within the lines. A British lieutenant's commission was found on the commander. He had been a refugee from that quarter, and was known. A board of officers, summoned to examine the case, pronounced him a spy, and gave their judgment for hanging. He was executed the next day. Complaints were made by the culprit's friends and connections in and about Albany of the danger of retaliation. Washington demanded a copy of the proceedings; it was sent, and no further notice was taken of it. The cure of the body



politic was radical; none of these parties ventured into the country again during the war.

Immediately after the reduction of Cornwallis, the danger of inroads from Canada was dissipated. Stark dismissed the militia, with thanks for their good conduct, and having secured the public stores, was ordered to retire by way of Albany, with instructions to continue his efforts to raise men, money, and supplies in New England for the next campaign.

In 1782, he was afflicted with rheumatism and various chronic complaints, and did not join the army; his complaints, however, yielded to repose, of which he immediately informed General Washington, and was ordered to join the army early in April, 1783, at West Point. He was on the spot on the day appointed, and received the hearty thanks of Washington for his punctuality. He aided and encouraged the army to separate without confusion, and not tarnish their laurels by any act of violence or indiscretion. Soon after this he returned home, and devoted the remainder of his patriarchal life to the various duties of patriot, friend, neighbor, and father to an extensive family. His long and useful life terminated on the 8th of May, 1822, at the age of 94.

The neighboring militia vied with each other for permission to render the last honorary duties to the departed patriot. Captain Eaton's light-infantry of Goffstown was selected from the numerous applicants, and performed the duty with great respect, and the most perfect order and discipline. At his own request, he was interred on his farm, on the banks of the Merrimack River.

[B.]

#### BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN BROOKS.

John Brooks was born in the village of Medford, near Boston, in the year 1752. His ancestors were among the earliest settlers of the country, and they had followed in succession the occupation of farming, in which Governor Brooks himself passed the earliest years of his life. He surmounted the difficulties that lay in the way of his receiving a good education, and acquired a sufficient knowledge of the ancient languages to commence his favorite study, that

of medicine. Having obtained his degree, he commenced the practice of his profession in the town of Reading, where he was found at the commencement of the Revolution, prepared to take arms in defence of his country. He became commander of a company of minute-men, whom he taught to train by observing the drilling of the British soldiery in Boston. Aroused by the news of the advance of the British upon Lexington, he led his company against them, posted them behind a stone wall commanding the road from Concord to Boston, at a place where it passed over a marsh by a bridge and causeway. From this point he annoyed them severely as they were retreating to Boston, and after they had passed, joined the American forces in pursuit. He became a major in Colonel Bridge's regiment, when the army was organized. Serving apart from his regiment, he took part in the battle of Bunker's Hill, going the rounds with Colonel Prescott, and working in the intrenchments during the night. At daylight in the morning, it became apparent that the enemy were about to make an attack, and Colonel Prescott desired that this should be made known to the general-in-chief, with a request for reinforcements. Major Brooks performed this duty, and, for want of a horse, he accomplished his mission on foot, but with promptitude and success. He was afterwards attached to Colonel Webb's regiment, in which he assisted in throwing up the intrenchments on Dorchester Heights, which compelled the evacuation of Boston. Major Brooks served under Washington on Long Island, and at the battle of White Plains his gallantry and the discipline of his soldiers gained him much credit. He was engaged in active service during the campaign in the Jerseys, and as a lieutenant-colonel, commanding a regiment, in the campaign against Burgoyne. In the battles preceding the surrender of that officer, Colonel Brooks bore a conspicuous part. He turned with his regiment the line of the enemy, and stormed successfully the redoubt occupied by the Germans in the decisive action of the 7th of October. Colonel Trumbull has given him a place among the principal actors in his celebrated painting of the surrender of Burgoyne.

Colonel Brooks was with his regiment at Valley Forge, where he assisted materially in bringing the new military system of Baron Steuben into use. As adjutant-general to General Lee, he took an active part in the battle of Monmouth. On the banks of the Hudson he was again employed in perfecting the discipline of the army. When the famous Newburg letters were published, and the commander-in-chief was involved in doubt and uncertainty as to the course the officers would pursue, he rode, according to an anecdote related by the late Chief-justice Parker, of Massachusetts, up to Colonel Brooks, to learn how he and his officers were affected. Finding him, as he expected, to be sound, he requested him to keep his officers in their quarters, to prevent them from attending the insurgent meeting. Brooks replied, "Sir, I have anticipated your wishes, and my orders are given." Washington, with tears in his eyes, took him by the hand and said, "Colonel Brooks, this is just what I should have expected from you."

Retiring in poverty from the service of his country, Colonel Brooks resumed the practice of his profession in Medford, with great success. He was made major-general of the third division of the Massachusetts militia, and frequently elected a member of the legislature of that State. He was a member of the convention which framed the constitution of the United States, and labored to secure the adoption, by his own State, of the new frame of government. In the organization of the army of the United States, in 1798, General Brooks received the tender from Washington of the command of a brigade, which, however, he declined. In 1816, General Brooks became governor of Massachusetts, and filled that office for six successive terms.

After his retirement from the gubernatorial chair, he continued his public services in various capacities. He continued till his death president of the Massachusetts Medical Society, of the Society of the Cincinnati, and other useful public bodies. During his life, he was honored by Harvard University with the degrees of master of arts and doctor of laws. On the 11th of February, 1825, he went from his home to attend the funeral of General Eustis, his revolu-

tionary associate, and successor in the governorship of Massachusetts. On the 2d of March, of the same year, he died himself, aged seventy-three. We cannot better close this sketch, than by quoting from Chief-justice Parker's memoir the following extract: "Though the style of his living was conformable to his limited means, yet the order and regularity of his household, the real comfort of his entertainments, the polite deportment of the host, struck strangers, even those accustomed to magnificence, as a happy specimen of republican simplicity, and of generous but economical hospitality. Bred in the best school of manners—a military association of high-minded, accomplished officers—his deportment, though grave and dignified like Washington's, was nevertheless warm and affectionate. On all ceremonious occasions, ceremony seemed to become him better than any one else. In the chair of state, when receiving the gratulations of a happy people on the birthday of their independence; on the spacious Common, paying honors to the President of the United States; on the military field, reviewing our national guard, the militia; at his own humble but honored mansion, taking to his breast his early friend, the nation's guest;—what young man of taste and feeling could be unmoved at his soldierly air, his graceful demeanor, covering but not impairing the generous feelings of a warm and affectionate heart! If the writer does not mistake, he was one of the last and best samples of that old school of manners, which, though it has given way to the ease and convenience of modern times, will be regretted by some as having carried away with it many of the finest and most delicate traits of social intercourse."

---

[C.]

MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON.

General Wilkinson was a native of Calvert county, Maryland, born about the year 1757. He was educated under the care of a private tutor, until he arrived at the age of seventeen, when he commenced the study of law at Philadelphia. At this time he seems to have imbibed a taste for military affairs; and at the



opening of the Revolution, he joined the army of General Washington, then besieging Boston. After the evacuation of that city, he joined Arnold's command, but was soon afterwards ordered to the main army, and fought in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. During the campaign against Burgoyne, he joined the staff of General Gates, by whom he was appointed adjutant-general. His advice is said to have been solicited and followed by the general in several important measures.

At the close of the Revolution, Wilkinson engaged in various speculative transactions which do not seem to have yielded a compensation equal to his wishes. During the prospect of war with France he again entered the army, and was employed at various military posts in the South and West. Afterwards he was one of the commissioners employed to negotiate the Louisiana treaty.

The command of the expedition fitted out by government against Montreal and Kingston, during the war of 1812, devolved on General Wilkinson. The overthrow of Proctor by General Harrison had rendered this a comparatively easy undertaking. He left Fort George, October 2d, 1813, and after attending to the depot at Sackett's Harbor, crossed Lake Ontario towards the St. Lawrence. He entered the river on the 2d of November, having encountered part of the British fleet on the previous day, and driven it back. The immediate command in this affair devolved on Brigadier-general Brown. On the 7th, he forwarded a summons to General Hampton, requesting him to join the expedition; but this was not obeyed. The British continued to annoy the boats during their descent down the river, until the debarkation of a part of the American forces at Chrystler's fields. During the greater part of this time, General Wilkinson was so unwell as to be totally unfit for duty, and the command devolved on General Boyd.

In the action at Chrystler's field, the British attacked in two sections. A party also threw themselves into Chrystler's house, and by firing from this secure position, repulsed a brigade of the Americans, with the loss of one cannon. Soon after, the whole British line were forced

to give ground. They then retired to their camp, and the Americans re-embarked.

In this action, which lasted two hours, the forces on each side were about equal, numbering seventeen hundred. But those of the Americans were but raw recruits, while the British were veterans. The loss of the former was three hundred and thirty-nine, of whom one hundred and two were killed.

In consequence of the refusal of General Hampton to join the expedition, General Wilkinson concluded that it would be useless to continue it, and accordingly crossed the St. Lawrence from Canada, and went into winter-quarters at French Mills.

Early in February, the general received orders from government to break up his encampment and retire to Plattsburg. On the 12th and 13th, he destroyed his flotilla, burned his barracks, and marched by divisions towards the place designated. In the following month, he made an unsuccessful attack upon La Colle mill, being obliged to retire with the loss of one hundred and forty men. Immediately after this affair he was recalled by government, and his conduct during the whole expedition made the subject of a court-martial. He was acquitted of all blame.

After the war, General Wilkinson removed to Mexico, where he owned much landed property. He died there December 28th, 1825.

---

[D.]

#### WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM.

William, the eldest son of Robert Pitt, of Bconnock, in the county of Cornwall, was born on the 15th of November, 1708, in the parish of St. James, Westminster. At an early age he was placed on the foundation of Eton, and in January, 1726, entered himself as a gentleman commoner at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he displayed much talent, and was particularly applauded for his skill in poetical composition. The tendency of his constitution to attacks of the gout, which was hereditary in his family, compelled him to quit the university without obtaining a degree, and subsequently to aban-



don the army, in which, for some time after his secession from college, he served as a cornet of dragoons. He then made the tour of France and part of Italy; and by employing every leisure moment while abroad in the cultivation of his mind, acquired, as Chesterfield states, "a great fund of premature and useful knowledge."

In 1735, he went into parliament as member for Old Sarum, and attached himself to the party then headed by the Prince of Wales. His exalted talents, his lofty spirit, and commanding eloquence, soon rendered him singularly conspicuous, and his opposition to the ministry in a short time became so annoying, that Sir Robert Walpole meanly deprived him of his commission. Horace Walpole also taunted him bitterly on account of his youth, although he was then thirty-two, and sneeringly observed that the discovery of truth was little promoted by pompous diction and theatrical emotion. "I will not attempt," replied Pitt, "to determine whether youth can be justly imputed to any man as a reproach; but I will affirm that the wretch who, after having seen the consequences of repeated errors, continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, is surely the object of either abhorrence or contempt, and deserves not that his gray head should secure him from insults. Much more is he to be abhorred, who, as he has advanced in age, has seceded from virtue, and become more wicked with less temptation; who prostitutes himself for money which he cannot enjoy, and spends the remains of his life in the ruin of his country."

Pitt gradually obtained the reputation of being one of the most vigilant and powerful opposers, in the House, to impolitic measures or unconstitutional innovations. In 1744, the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, by a codicil to her will, left him £10,000, expressly "for having defended the laws of his country, and endeavored to save it from ruin." In the following year, the Duke of Newcastle felt desirous of increasing the strength of the administration by procuring for Pitt the post of secretary at war; but was thwarted in his wishes by the king, who hated Pitt for having opposed and ridiculed his predilection towards the electorate. Shortly afterwards the duke and his friends resigned,

but they were speedily recalled to office; and in 1746, Pitt was appointed, in the first place, joint vice-treasurer of Ireland, and afterwards obtained the post of treasurer and paymaster of the army, with a seat in the privy-council. He was, however, still obnoxious to the monarch, who, on Pitt's attending to kiss hands on his appointment, is said to have turned aside and shed tears.

In 1754, he formed a connection with the Grenville party, through his marriage with Hester, the daughter of Richard Grenville, of Wotton, in Buckinghamshire. His avowed disapprobation of the treaties of alliance with Russia and Hesse Cassel, in defence of Hanover, procured his dismissal from office in the following year, and he once more appeared in the ranks of opposition. His popularity, however, soon made it prudent to invite him back to office, and in 1756 he achieved a political victory over his great rival, Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, and was constituted secretary of state for the southern department. His hostility to the war in Germany, or rather, perhaps, his objections to the command of the British troops on the continent being intrusted to the Duke of Cumberland, brought on him a renewal of the king's displeasure, and in April, 1757, he again received his dismissal; but so early as the month of June following, the popular clamor in favor of Pitt compelled the reluctant monarch not only to recall, but also to intrust him with the supreme direction of public affairs. He now, in fact, became premier of that celebrated war administration which raised Great Britain to a proud pre-eminence over the other nations of Europe. Shortly after his accession to power, he gave a striking proof of his high and honorable feelings. The Duke of Cumberland, with whom he had been long at variance, having entered into an unpopular convention with the French troops in Germany, the king protested that he had given his son no orders to do so. "But full powers," replied Pitt, firmly, "very full powers, sir."

The vigor of the new administration soon produced an extraordinary effect. The spirit, activity, and resolution of Pitt wrought miracles in the government offices. To those who told him that his orders could not be executed within

the time required, he peremptorily replied, "It must be done;" and alacrity ceased to be considered impossible. To foreign diplomatists he assumed a tone of determined energy, and avoided entering into any specious and protracted negotiations, by boldly stating how he meant to act, and bidding his opponents, in so many words, to do as they pleased. He infused new life and vigor into the army and navy, invariably providing commanders with the best means in his power to carry their instructions into effect. He once asked an officer who had been appointed to conduct a certain important expedition, how many men he should require. "Ten thousand," was the reply. "You shall have twelve," said the minister, "and then it will be your own fault if you do not succeed." Under his auspices the whole fortune of the war was changed: England triumphed in every quarter of the globe; the boldest attempts were made by her sea and land forces; and almost every enterprise they undertook was fortunate. In America, the French lost Quebec; in Africa, their chief settlements fell; in the East Indies, their power was abridged; in Europe, their armies suffered defeat; while their navy was nearly annihilated, and their commerce almost reduced to ruin.

On the accession of George the Third, Pitt, who felt strongly impressed with the policy of declaring war against Spain, was thwarted in his wishes by the influence of Lord Bute; and disdaining to be nominally at the head of a cabinet which he could not direct, he resigned his offices in October, 1761, and accepted a pension of three thousand pounds a year for the lives of himself, his son, and his wife, who was created Baroness of Chatham. He had written to a female relation some years before, severely reproaching her for "despicable meanness," of which she had been guilty, in accepting an annuity out of the public purse; the lady, on the present occasion, it is said, had her revenge by sending him a copy of his own letter.

In 1764, he greatly distinguished himself by his opposition to general warrants, which, with all his accustomed energy and eloquence, he stigmatized as being atrociously illegal. A search for papers, or a seizure of the person, without any specific charge, was, he contended, repug-

nant to every principle of true liberty. "By the British constitution," said he, "every man's house is his castle. Not that it is surrounded by walls and battlements; it may be a straw-built shed; every wind of heaven may whistle round it; all the elements of nature may enter it; but the king cannot—the king dare not!"

His patriotism had already been rewarded with a considerable legacy, it now gained him a very valuable estate,—Sir William Pynsent having about this time disinherited his own relatives, and bequeathed the bulk of his extensive property to Pitt, who, unlike Pliny, under similar circumstances, did not think proper to relinquish his legal rights in favor of the natural heirs.

At the latter end of 1766, he took office again as lord privy seal; and lost his enviable title of The Great Commoner, with some portion of his deserved popularity, by accepting a peerage, having been called to the House of Lords as Viscount Pitt, of Burton Pynsent, and Earl of Chatham. His views being but feebly supported in the cabinet, he resigned his place in November, 1768, and never took office again. But although an old man, and a martyr to the gout, few debates of importance occurred in which he did not still render himself conspicuous. He attacked Lord Mansfield's doctrine of libel with great power, and animadverted severely on the proceedings of the lower house, with regard to the Middlesex election. He had invariably opposed, with the whole force of his eloquence, the measures which led to the American war; and long after his retirement from office, had exerted himself most zealously to bring about a reconciliation between the mother country and her colonies. But when the Duke of Portland, in 1778, moved an address to the crown, on the necessity of acknowledging the independence of America, Lord Chatham, although he had but just left a sick-bed, opposed the motion with all the ardent eloquence of his younger days. "My lords," said he, "I lament that my infirmities have so long prevented my attendance here, at so awful a crisis. I have made an effort almost beyond my strength, to come down to this house on this day (*and perhaps it will be the last time I shall ever enter its walls*), to express my indignation at an idea which has gone forth, of yielding up



America. My lords, I rejoice that the grave has not yet closed upon me—that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by the hand of infirmity, I am little able to assist my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, my lords, while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the house of Brunswick of their fairest inheritance. Where is the man that will dare to advise such a measure? My lords, his majesty succeeded to an empire great in extent, as it was unsullied in reputation;—shall we tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and best possessions? Shall this great kingdom, which has survived, whole and entire, the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, and the Norman conquest,—that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish Armada,—now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon? Surely, my lords, this nation is no longer what it was! Shall a people, that seventeen years ago was the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell its ancient, inveterate enemy, ‘Take all we have, only give us peace?’ It is impossible! I wage war with no man, or set of men; I wish for none of their employment; nor would I co-operate with those who still persist in unretracted error; or who, instead of acting on a firm, decisive line of conduct, halt between two opinions, where there is no middle path. In God’s name, if it be absolutely necessary to declare either for peace or war, and the former cannot be preserved with honor, why is not the latter commenced without hesitation? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom, but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not. But, my lords, any state is better than despair. Let us at least make one effort; and, if we must fall, let us fall like men!”

The Duke of Richmond having replied to this speech, Lord Chatham attempted to rise again, but fainted, and fell into the arms of those who were near him. The House instantly adjourned, and the earl was conveyed home in a state of exhaustion, from which he never recovered. His death took place at Hayes, early in the fol-

lowing month—namely, on the 11th of May, 1778. The House of Commons voted the departed patriot, who had thus died gloriously at his post, a public funeral, and a monument in Westminster Abbey, at the national expense. An income of four thousand pounds per annum was annexed to the earldom of Chatham, and the sum of twenty thousand pounds cheerfully granted to liquidate his debts; for, instead of profiting by his public employments, he had wasted his property in sustaining their dignity, and died in embarrassed circumstances.

In figure, Lord Chatham was eminently dignified and commanding. “There was a grandeur in his personal appearance,” says a writer, who speaks of him when in his decline, “which produced awe and mute attention; and, though bowed by infirmity and age, his mind shone through the ruins of his body—armed his eye with lightning and clothed his lip with thunder.” Bodily pain never subdued the lofty daring or the extraordinary activity of his mind. He even used his crutch as a figure of rhetoric. “You talk, my lords,” said he, on one occasion, “of conquering America—of your numerous friends there—and your powerful forces to disperse her army. I might as well talk of driving them before me with this crutch!”

Sir Robert Walpole could not look upon or listen to him, without being alarmed; and told his friends that he should be glad, at any rate, to muzzle that terrible cornet of horse. “He was born an orator,” says Wilkes, “and from nature possessed every outward requisite to bespeak respect, and even awe: a manly figure, with the eagle eye of the great Condé, fixed your attention, and almost commanded reverence, the moment he appeared; and the keen lightning of his eye spoke the high respect of his soul, before his lips had pronounced a syllable. There was a kind of fascination in his look, when he eyed any one askance. Nothing could withstand the force of that contagion. The fluent Murray has faltered, and even Fox shrunk back appalled, from an adversary ‘fraught with fire unquenchable,’ if I may borrow an expression of our great Milton. He had not the correctness of language so striking in the great Roman orator, but he had the *verba ardentia*—the bold, glow-



ing words." Horace Walpole describes his language as having been amazingly fine and flowing; his voice admirable, his action most expressive, and his figure commanding. A more modern writer says, that Pitt was unequal as a speaker, and that the first time he heard him, nothing could be more commonplace than his language and manner; but that, on some contradiction in argument being given him, his real powers instantly burst forth, and he displayed all the wonderful eloquence for which he was so celebrated.

He felt impatient of contradiction in the cabinet, and reposed unlimited confidence in his own talents. It was his ambition to raise his native country above all other powers, and to elevate himself by her exaltation. He was sagacious, firm, and admirably patriotic. His opinions were liberal; his views lofty and enlightened; and his measures so eminently successful, that he has, perhaps, with truth been termed the greatest statesman of his country.

Walpole says that his conversation was affected and unnatural, his manner not engaging, nor his talents popular. Chesterfield describes him as being haughty, imperious, and overbearing; and yet, according to the latter authority, he was a most agreeable and lively companion in social life, and had such a versatility of wit, that he could adapt it to all sorts of conversation.

It is evident, from the tone of his letters, that he was fondly attached to his family. He had two daughters and three sons, one of whom became the successful rival of that celebrated statesman, Fox, over whom he had achieved a political supremacy. In his domestic circle, he frequently amused himself by reading the serious parts of Shakspeare's plays—the comic scenes being, on such occasions, invariably taken by some other person present. He would never suffer himself, if possible, it is said, to be seen, by his nearest friends, in undress; and that, while in office, he would not transact any public business until he had assumed his full official costume. He was, however, often compelled, on account of his hereditary complaint, to receive his colleagues in bed. One evening, in the depth of winter, the Duke of Newcastle, on

whom he frequently inflicted a lecture, had a consultation with him in his chamber. Pitt had so great a horror of heat, that he would never suffer a fire to be lighted in his room; the duke had an equal antipathy to cold; and the night being excessively severe, and his coadjutor's lecture unusually long, perceiving a second bed in the room (for the premier and his lady then slept apart), he seated himself upon it and covered his legs with a blanket. But still feeling insupportably cold, he gradually crept, full dressed as he was, into Mrs. Pitt's bed; and the two ministers lay, for a considerable time, at opposite ends of the room—the one warmly declaiming, and the other shivering, and submissively listening, with nothing but their heads visible above the bed-clothes.

---

[E.]

#### LIEUTENANT-GENERAL BURGOTNE.

John Burgoyne, the natural son of Lord Bingley, entered the British army at an early age; and, while quartered with his regiment at Preston, married Lady Charlotte Stanley, whose father, the Earl of Derby, was so incensed at the match, that he threatened utterly to discard her; but a reconciliation at length took place, and the earl allowed her three hundred pounds a year during his life, and, by his will, bequeathed her a legacy of twenty-five thousand pounds. The influence of the family to which Burgoyne had thus become allied, tended materially to accelerate his professional advance. In 1762, he acted as brigadier-general of the British forces which were sent out for the defence of Portugal against France and Spain. An advanced body of the enemy's troops being stationed at Valencia de Alcantara, a town situate on the frontiers, where it was supposed they had collected a quantity of warlike stores, Burgoyne was dispatched with orders, if possible, to surprise and storm the place. In this important enterprise he was completely successful; one of the best regiments in the Spanish service was destroyed, and twenty of the enemy's officers were taken, besides the general who was to have commanded in the meditated invasion of Portugal. Soon

afterwards, while posted near a camp at Villa Velha, composed of a considerable body of the French and Spanish cavalry, perceiving, it is said, "that they kept no very soldierly guard," he detached Colonel Lee, with a small force, to fall upon their rear during the night; Burgoyne himself at the same time made a feint attack upon another quarter, which prevented their being relieved by any of their adjacent posts. The whole operation appears to have been conducted with considerable skill; numbers of the enemy being slaughtered, and the remainder completely dispersed, with but a trifling loss on the part of the British. This advantage, obtained at a critical moment, compelled the Spaniards to fall back on their own frontiers, and terminated the campaign.

In 1775, Burgoyne was appointed to a command in America; whence he returned in the following year, and held a long conference with the king on colonial affairs. Resuming his post, in 1777, he addressed a proclamation to the native Indians, in which he invited them to his standard, but deprecated with due severity the cruel practice of scalping. The pompous turgidity of style in which this address was couched, excited the ridicule of the Americans, and procured for General Burgoyne the soubriquet of Chrononhotonthologos. His first operations were successful; he dislodged the enemy from Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and took one hundred and twenty-eight pieces of cannon, all their armed vessels and batteries, as well as a considerable part of their baggage, ammunition, provisions, and military stores. But his subsequent career was truly disastrous; his troops suffered much from bad roads, inclement weather, and a scarcity of provisions; the Indians, who had previously assisted him, deserted; and the Americans, under General Gates, surrounded him with a superior force, to which, although victorious in two engagements, he was at length compelled to capitulate, at Saratoga, with the whole of his army. This event, which rendered him equally odious to ministers and the people, was for some time the leading topic of the press; and numberless lampoons appeared, in which the general's conduct was most severely satirized. The punsters of the day, taking

advantage of the American general's name, amused themselves unmercifully at Burgoyne's expense; but of all their effusions, which for the most part were virulent rather than pointed, the following harmless epigram, poor as it is, appears to have been one of the best:

Burgoyne, unconscious of impending fates,  
Could cut his way thro' woods, but not thro' Gates.

Returning to England on his parole, in May, 1778, the opposition fearing that he would take part with ministers, and accuse those politicians who were violently adverse to the American war of having contributed, by their speeches in parliament, if not, as it is added, by other modes of encouragement, to the success of the Americans at Saratoga, Fox was dispatched to meet him on his way to town, for the purpose of inducing him to attribute his disaster to the misconduct of those in office. A long interview accordingly took place between them at Hounslow; and Fox is said to have achieved his object by insisting that ministers could not support the general without inculpating themselves; that the king was strongly prejudiced against him; that the party in power would not be able to retain office for more than twelve months; and by promising Burgoyne the protection of his party against government, and honorable employment whenever the opposition should return to power.

On his arrival in London, the prediction of Fox was so far verified, that the king refused to see him; and he in vain solicited a court-martial. An unsuccessful attempt was soon afterwards made by some of his friends to obtain a parliamentary investigation of his conduct. On this occasion, ministers took advantage of some disturbance in the gallery, which was excessively crowded, to move that strangers should withdraw. Burgoyne, who was member for Preston, strongly objected to such a proceeding, as it might, perhaps, defeat the object of his friends; who, as well as himself, were desirous of exposing every particular bearing on his capitulation at Saratoga to the people. The motion was, however, carried; and the order for excluding strangers was so rigidly enforced, that the speaker sent his own son out of the house; but Garrick,



by consent of all parties, obtained permission to remain.

The surrender of Burgoyne was brought in different shapes under the notice of parliament, on many subsequent occasions; but the general never could obtain the inquiry which he most ardently and pertinaciously sought to procure. In 1779, he was dismissed the service for refusing to return to America, pursuant to the terms of his convention; by which, in this particular it seems, he did not think himself bound in honor to abide. Three years afterwards he was, however, restored to his rank in the army, appointed commander-in-chief in Ireland, and sworn in of the privy-council of that kingdom. He died suddenly of a fit of the gout, at his house in Westford-street, on the 4th of August, 1792; and his remains were interred in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.

It would, perhaps, be rash to pronounce a positive opinion on the merits of Burgoyne as a commander. He boldly courted a scrutiny into the causes which led to his surrender at Saratoga, which ministers refused, because, as it has been insinuated, such a proceeding might expose the absurd imprudence and inefficiency of their own measures in regard to the American war. Prior to the capitulation, his military career, as well in America as in Portugal, had been rather brilliant; his misfortune was precisely similar to that which befell Cornwallis; but, unlike the latter, Burgoyne was not allowed an opportunity of redeeming his reputation.

In parliament, he was a frequent and fluent, but neither a sound nor impressive speaker. While in employment, he appears to have been a stanch advocate for the American war; which, however, he severely reprobated from the time that he ceased to hold a command. At the present day, he is better known as a dramatist than as a senator or a military man. His comic opera, entitled, the Lord of the Manor, partly taken from the French, has become a stock-piece; and a noble and fastidious critic describes his comedy of the Heiress, as being the most genteel production of its class in the English language. Both works undoubtedly possess considerable merit. Besides some fugitive pieces, and two or three pamphlets in defence of his public

conduct, he was also the author of *Richard Cœur de Lion*, a musical romance; and the *Maid of the Oaks*, an occasional vaudeville, composed and performed at the Oaks in honor of Lord Derby's marriage with Lady Elizabeth Hamilton.

By Junius he is described (it does not appear whether truly or otherwise) as sitting down, for the termination of his life, infatuated, and contented with the money received from the Duke of Grafton for the sale of a patent place in the customs; as drawing a regular and splendid subsistence from play; as taking his stand at a gaming table, and watching, with the soberest attention, for a fair opportunity of engaging a drunken young nobleman at piqueet.

---

[F.]

#### THE BARONESS RIEDESEL.

The house in which General Fraser died was still standing in 1846, upon the right bank of the Hudson, about three miles above Bemis's Heights, and exhibited the signs of a conflict there by numerous bullet-holes. It was, says Lossing,\* used by Burgoyne for quarters when he first pitched his camp there; and it was a shelter to several ladies attached to the British army, among whom were the Baroness Riedesel and Lady Harriet Ackland. The baroness gives the following account of this event, in her "Memoirs:"

"But severer trials awaited us, and on the 7th of October our misfortunes began. I was at breakfast with my husband, and heard that something was intended. On the same day I expected generals Burgoyne, Phillips, and Fraser to dine with us. I saw a great movement among the troops; my husband told me it was merely a reconnoissance, which gave me no concern, as it often happened. I walked out of the house, and met several Indians in their war-dresses, with guns in their hands. When I asked them where they were going, they cried out, 'War! war!' meaning they were going to battle. This filled me with apprehension, and I

---

\* Lossing, *Field-Book of the Revolution*.



had scarcely got home before I heard reports of cannon and musketry, which grew louder by degrees, till at last the noise became excessive.

"About four o'clock in the afternoon, instead of the guests whom I expected, General Fraser was brought in on a litter, mortally wounded. The table, which was already set, was instantly removed, and a bed placed in its stead for the wounded general. I sat trembling in a corner; the noise grew louder, and the alarm increased; the thought that my husband might, perhaps, be brought in wounded in the same manner, was terrible to me, and distressed me exceedingly. General Fraser said to the surgeon, 'Tell me if my wound is mortal; do not flatter me.' The ball had passed through his body; and, unhappily for the general, he had eaten a very hearty breakfast, by which the stomach was distended, and the ball, as the surgeon said, had passed through it. I heard him often exclaim, with a sigh, 'O fatal ambition! Poor General Burgoyne! Oh, my poor wife!' He was asked if he had any request to make, to which he replied, that, if General Burgoyne would permit it, he should like to be buried at six o'clock in the evening, on the top of a mountain, in a redoubt which had been built there. I did not know which way to turn; all the other rooms were full of sick. Towards evening I saw my husband coming; then I forgot all my sorrows, and thanked God that he was spared to me. He ate in great haste, with me and his aid-de-camp, behind the house. We had been told that we had the advantage over the enemy, but the sorrowful faces I beheld told a different tale; and before my husband went away, he took me aside, and said every thing was going very badly, and that I must keep myself in readiness to leave the place, but not to mention it to any one. I made the pretence that I would move the next morning into my new house, and had every thing packed up ready.

"I could not go to sleep, as I had General Fraser and all the other wounded gentlemen in my room; and I was sadly afraid my children would wake, and, by their crying, disturb the dying man in his last moments, who often addressed me and apologized 'for the trouble he gave me.' About three o'clock in the morning

I was told that he could not hold out much longer: I had desired to be informed of the near approach of this sad crisis, and went with them into the room below. About eight o'clock in the morning he died.

"After he was laid out, and his corpse wrapped up in a sheet, we came again into the room, and had this sorrowful sight before us the whole day; and, to add to the melancholy scene, almost every moment some officer of my acquaintance was brought in wounded. The cannonade commenced again; a retreat was spoken of, but not the smallest motion was made towards it. About four o'clock in the afternoon, I saw the house which had just been built for me in flames, and the enemy was now not far off. We knew that General Burgoyne would not refuse the last request of General Fraser, though, by his acceding to it, an unnecessary delay was occasioned, by which the inconvenience of the army was much increased. At six o'clock the corpse was brought out; and we saw all the generals attend it to the mountain. The chaplain, Mr. Brudenell, performed the funeral service, rendered unusually solemn and awful from its being accompanied by constant peals from the enemy's artillery. Many cannon-balls flew close by me, but I had my eyes directed towards the mountain where my husband was standing amidst the fire of the enemy, and of course I could not think of my own danger."

The Baroness Riedesel, in another passage of her Memoirs, presents another vivid picture of those memorable scenes at Saratoga:

"About two o'clock in the afternoon we again heard a firing of cannon and small-arms; instantly all was alarm, and every thing was in motion. My husband told me to go to a house not far off. I immediately seated myself in my caleche, with my children, and drove off; but scarcely had we reached it, before I discovered five or six armed men on the other side of the Hudson. Instinctively I threw my children down in the caleche, and then concealed myself with them. At this moment the fellows fired, and wounded an already wounded English soldier, who was behind me. Poor fellow! I pitied him exceedingly, but at this moment had no power to relieve him.

"A terrible cannonade was commenced by the enemy against the house in which I sought to obtain shelter for myself and children, under the mistaken idea that all the generals were in it. Alas! it contained none but wounded and women. We were at last obliged to resort to the cellar for refuge, and in one corner of this I remained the whole day, my children sleeping on the earth with their heads in my lap; and in the same situation I passed a sleepless night. Eleven cannon-balls passed through the house, and we could distinctly hear them roll away. One poor soldier, who was lying on a table for the purpose of having his leg amputated, was struck by a shot, which carried away his other; and when we went to his assistance, we found him in a corner of the room, into which he had crept, more dead than alive, scarcely breathing. My reflections on the danger to which my husband was exposed now agonized me exceedingly, and the thoughts of my children, and the necessity of struggling for their preservation, alone sustained me.

"The ladies of the army who were with me were Mrs. Harnage, a Mrs. Kennels, the widow of a lieutenant who was killed, and the lady of the commissary. Major Harnage, his wife, and Mrs. Kennels, made a little room in a corner with curtains to it, and wished to do the same for me; but I preferred being near the door, in case of fire. Not far off my women slept, and opposite to us three English officers, who, though wounded, were determined not to be left behind: one of them was Captain Green, an aid-de-camp to Major-general Phillips, a very valuable officer and most agreeable man. They each made me a most sacred promise not to leave me behind, and, in case of sudden retreat, that they would each of them take one of my children on his horse; and for myself, one of my husband's was in constant readiness. . . . The want of water distressed us much: at length we found a soldier's wife who had courage enough to fetch us some from the river, an office nobody else would undertake, as the Americans shot at every person who approached it; but, out of respect for her sex, they never molested her.

"I now occupied myself through the day in attending to the wounded; I made them tea

and coffee, and often shared my dinner with them, for which they offered me a thousand expressions of gratitude. One day a Canadian officer came to our cellar, who had scarcely the power of holding himself upright, and we concluded he was dying for want of nourishment: I was happy in offering him my dinner, which strengthened him, and procured me his friendship. I now undertook the care of Major Bloomfield, another aid-de-camp of General Phillips: he had received a musket-ball through both cheeks, which in its course had knocked out several of his teeth and cut his tongue; he could hold nothing in his mouth, the matter which ran from his wound almost choked him, and he was not able to take any nourishment except a little soup or something liquid. We had some Rhenish wine, and in the hope that the acidity of it would cleanse his wound, I gave him a bottle of it. He took a little now and then, and with such effect that his cure soon followed. Thus I added another to my stock of friends, and derived a satisfaction which, in the midst of sufferings, served to tranquillize me and diminish their acuteness.

"One day General Phillips accompanied my husband, at the risk of their lives, on a visit to us. The general, after having beheld our situation, said to him, 'I would not, for ten thousand guineas, come again to this place; my heart is almost broken.'

"In this horrid situation we remained six days: a cessation of hostilities was now spoken of, and eventually took place."

When her husband, by the surrender of Burgoyne, became a prisoner in the American camp, she joined him there. "My husband," she says, "sent a message to me to come over to him with my children. I seated myself once more in my dear caleche, and then rode through the American camp. As I passed on I observed, and this was a great consolation to me, that no one eyed me with looks of resentment, but they all greeted us, and even showed compassion in their countenances at the sight of a woman with small children. I was, I confess, afraid to go over to the enemy, as it was quite a new situation to me. When I drew near the tents, a handsome man approached and met me, took my children from







the caleche, and hugged and kissed them, which affected me almost to tears. 'You tremble,' said he, addressing himself to me; 'be not afraid.' 'No,' I answered, 'you seem so kind and tender to my children, it inspires me with courage.' He now led me to the tent of General Gates, where I found generals Burgoyne and Phillips, who were on a friendly footing with the former. Burgoyne said to me, 'Never mind; your sorrows have now an end.' I answered him that I should be reprehensible to have any cares, as he had none; and I was pleased to see him on such friendly footing with General Gates. All the generals remained to dine with General Gates.

"The same gentleman who received me so kindly, now came and said to me, 'You will be very much embarrassed to eat with all these gentlemen; come with your children to my tent, where I will prepare for you a frugal dinner, and give it with a free will.' I said, 'You are certainly a husband and a father, you have shown me so much kindness.' I now found that he was General Schuyler. He treated me with excellent smoked tongue, beef-steaks, potatoes, and good bread and butter. Never could I have wished to eat a better dinner: I was content; I saw all around me were so likewise; and, what was better than all, my husband was out of danger.

"When we had dined, he told me his residence was at Albany, and that General Burgoyne intended to honor him as his guest, and invited myself and children to do so likewise. I asked my husband how I should act; he told me to accept the invitation. As it was two days' journey there, he advised me to go to a place which was about three hours' ride distant.

"Some days after this we arrived at Albany, where we so often wished ourselves; but we did not enter it as we expected we should—victors. We were received by the good General Schuyler, his wife, and daughters, not as enemies, but kind friends; and they treated us with the most marked attention and politeness, as they did General Burgoyne, who had caused General Schuyler's beautifully finished house to be burned. In fact, they behaved like persons

of exalted minds, who determined to bury all recollections of their own injuries in the contemplation of our misfortunes. General Burgoyne was struck with General Schuyler's generosity, and said to him, 'You show me great kindness, though I have done you much injury.' 'That was the fate of war,' replied the brave man; 'let us say no more about it.'"

---

[G.]

LADY HARRIET ACKLAND.

Major Ackland belonged to the corps of grenadiers in the British army. His heroic wife, Lady Harriet Ackland, accompanied her husband to Canada, in 1776, and during that and the next campaign endured all the hardships of a soldier's wife. In common with other women, she was obliged, on the 8th of October, to take refuge with the dead and dying soldiers, as, when the British fell back after the battle of the 7th of October, the tents were struck, and hardly a shed left standing. Her husband was severely wounded, and a prisoner in the American camp. On hearing this intelligence, she, by the advice of the Baroness Riedesel, determined to go to him, and solicit permission to tend him. When Burgoyne received her request for permission to depart from the British camp, he readily granted it, though astonished at her bravery, in thus wishing to go to an enemy's camp. He says: "Though I was ready to believe that patience and fortitude in a supreme degree were to be found, as well as every other virtue, under the most tender forms, I was astonished at this proposal. After so long an agitation of spirits, exhausted not only for want of rest, but absolutely want of food, drenched in rains for twelve hours together, that a woman should be capable of such an undertaking as delivering herself to an enemy, probably in the night, and uncertain of what hands she might fall into, appeared an effort above human nature. The assistance I was enabled to give was small indeed; I had not even a cup of wine to offer her; but I was told she had found, from some kind and fortunate hand, a little rum and dirty water. All I could



furnish to her was an open boat, and a few lines, written upon dirty wet paper, to General Gates, recommending her to his protection."

Accompanied by Mr. Brudenell, the chaplain, who had officiated at General Fraser's funeral, Sarah Pollard, her waiting-maid, and Major Ackland's valet, she set out upon the Hudson in an open boat, at sunset. The sentinel at the American outposts at first refused to allow them to land, but sent for Major Dearborn, who invited them to his quarters and entertained them most hospitably. After a night passage in a violent storm of wind and rain, a cup of tea and other comforts set before the travellers, were luxuries not to be despised; but dearer than all to the faithful wife was the assurance of her husband's safety. General Gates, after receiving General Burgoyne's letter, treated her with great consideration, and sent her to General Poor's quarters, to Major Ackland, with whom she remained until he was removed to Albany. The letter upon "dirty wet paper," found among General Gates's papers, was as follows:

"SIR—Lady Harriet Ackland, a lady of the first distinction of family, rank, and personal virtues, is under such concern on account of Major Ackland, her husband, wounded, and a prisoner in your hands, that I cannot refuse her request to commit her to your protection. Whatever general impropriety there may be in persons in my situation and yours to solicit favors, I cannot see the uncommon perseverance in every female grace and exaltation of character of this lady, and her very hard fortune, without testifying that your attentions to her will lay me under obligations.

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"J. BURGoyNE."

Major Ackland never forgot the generous treatment he received at the hand of General Gates, and after his return to England, his warm defence of the Americans, in a dispute with Lieutenant Lloyd, was the cause of a duel in which he lost his life. Lady Harriet was insane for two years from the shock his death gave her, but recovered, and afterwards married Mr. Brudenell.

[II.]

GUY CARLETON, LORD DORCHESTER.

Guy Carleton was born at Strabane, in Ireland, in the year 1722, and at an early age entered the Guards, in which he continued until 1748, when he became lieutenant-colonel of the seventy-second regiment. In 1758, he served under Amherst, at the siege of Louisburg; in the following year, under Wolfe, at that of Quebec; and subsequently, under Hodgson, at that of Belleisle, where he acted as brigadier-general. In each of these expeditions his bravery and skill procured him the flattering notice of his superior officers; and, in February, 1762, he was promoted to the rank of colonel in the army. Shortly afterwards, he embarked in the expedition against Havana, where he displayed great spirit, and received a wound at the successful storming of a Spanish redoubt on the Moro Hill.

On the recall of Murray, he became lieutenant-governor, and ultimately, governor of Quebec. In 1772, he was made a major-general in the army, and colonel of the forty-seventh regiment of foot. Previously to the passing of the Quebec bill, he was examined at the bar of the House of Commons as to the expediency of the proposed measure, which, it is said, had been suggested by himself. Returning to his government, he endeavored to retake Ticonderoga and Crown Point (recently surprised and captured by the Americans), but the paucity of his forces rendered the design abortive. He was not only defeated, but found great difficulty in making his escape to Quebec; where, being now almost destitute of regular troops, and in expectation of an attack from the enemy, he judiciously trained the inhabitants to the use of arms, and put the place into so effective a state of defence, that the Americans, on attempting soon afterwards to carry it by storm, were repulsed.

Having received a reinforcement from England, he soon after marched against the enemy, drove them from the province, and prepared to act still more decidedly on the offensive. To forward his views, he engaged some of the Indian tribes to act with the British; but their savage enormities, when not under his personal



restraint, made him, ultimately, regret that he had ever solicited their aid. As soon as his arrangements were completed, he advanced with his army towards the lakes, where he attacked and totally defeated the American flotilla under the command of Arnold. He was soon afterwards superseded in his command, partly in compliance, it is to be supposed, with his own desire, and received a red riband for his exploits.

While at home, he acted as one of the commissioners of public accounts; and so high did he rank in the estimation of government, that, in 1781, he was appointed to the chief command of the forces in America. His conduct in that important office, which he retained until the termination of hostilities, appears to have been

disinterested, conciliatory, and, in all respects, judicious.

In 1790, he was promoted to the colonelcy of the 15th dragoons, and having previously been created Lord Dorchester, for several years acted as governor of all the British possessions, except Newfoundland, in North America. The close of his life was passed in retirement. He died in 1808, and was succeeded in his title and estate by his eldest son Thomas, a general in the army.

As a soldier, Lord Dorchester appears to have deservedly attained a high reputation for courage and skill. Misfortune animated him to redoubled exertion; he always made the utmost of his resources; and had the valuable quality of adapting small means to the achievement of great results.

## CHAPTER XIII.

1777, 1778.

### WASHINGTON AT VALLEY FORGE.

State of the army at Valley Forge.—Its employments during the winter.—Position of the detachments in Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Jersey.—Proposal to attack Howe's foragers.—Postponed for want of provisions.—Washington obtains provisions and harasses the foragers.—Derangement of the commissariat by Congress.—Colonel Trumbull retires in disgust.—Failure of provisions for the army.—Washington's exertions to obtain a supply.—Discontent of the officers.—The Conway Cabal.—Gates's conduct.—New Board of War.—Washington's letter to Conway.—His letter to Mr. Laurens.—His letter to Congress.—Its effect.—Washington's treatment of the Conway Cabal.—Condition of the army.—Position of the officers.—Congress sends a committee to the camp at Valley Forge.—Washington furnishes the committee with a plan of reform.—They adopt and recommend it to Congress.—Question of half-pay for life.—Compromise effected.—Attempt to surprise Captain Henry Lee defeated.—Proposed expedition to Canada.—Lafayette to command it.—His reluctance overcome by Washington.—The design abandoned.—Baron Steuben arrives at Valley Forge.—Conway abandons the service and returns to Europe.—Dispute about the prisoners captured at the surrender of Burgoyne.—Final disposition of the prisoners.—Effect of the news of Burgoyne's surrender in France.—In England.—Lord North's conciliatory bills.—Commissioners for carrying them into execution appointed.—Their failure.—Treaty with France signed.—Its terms.—Lord North's conciliatory bills received by Congress.—Criticised by a committee.—French treaty received in America.—Celebrated by the army at Valley Forge.—Religious features of the celebration.—British commissioners attempt a reconciliation.—Are unsuccessful.—Correspondence of Washington and Howe about the exchange of prisoners.—Vexatious interference of Congress and the Board of War.—Partial exchange effected.—Many Americans still left in captivity.

WE have already given some details of the sufferings endured by Washington and his brave soldiers at Valley Forge. One half the tale is not told—never will be told: their sufferings were unutterable. A review of this portion of Washington's life will show, that at Valley Forge not only was a great deal *suffered*, but a great deal was *done*. Here the army was hardened from the gristle of youth to the bone and muscle of manhood. It entered the tents of that dreary encampment a courageous but disorderly rabble: it left them a

disciplined army. But we must not anticipate events.

This army, which was under the immediate command of Washington, was engaged through the winter in endeavoring to stop the intercourse between Philadelphia and the country. To effect this object, General Smallwood was detached with one division to Wilmington; Colonel Morgan, who had been detached from Gates's army, was placed on the lines on the west side of the Schuylkill; and General Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania

1777.

militia, was stationed near the old camp at White Marsh. Major Jameson, with two troops of cavalry, and M'Lane's infantry, was directed to guard the east, and Captain Henry Lee, with his troop, the west side of that river. General Count Pulaski, who commanded the horse, led the residue of the cavalry to Trenton, where he trained them for the ensuing campaign.

One of the first operations meditated by Washington, after crossing the Schuylkill, was the destruction of a large quantity of hay which remained in the islands above the mouth of Darby Creek, within the power of the British. Early in the morning after his orders for this purpose had been given (December 22), Howe marched out in full force, and encamped between Darby and the middle ferry, so as completely to cover the islands, while a foraging party removed the hay. Washington, with the intention of disturbing this operation, gave orders for putting his army in motion, when the alarming fact was disclosed, that the commissary's stores were exhausted, and that the last ration had been delivered and consumed.

Accustomed as were the continental troops to privations of every sort, it would have been hazarding too much to move them, under these circumstances, against a powerful enemy. In a desert, or in a garrison where food is unattainable, courage, patriotism, and habits of discipline, enable the soldier to conquer wants which, in ordinary sit-

uations, would be deemed invincible. But to perish in a country abounding with provisions requires something more than fortitude; nor can soldiers readily submit, while in such a country, to the deprivation of food. It is not therefore surprising, that among a few of the troops some indications of a mutiny appeared. It is much more astonishing that the great body of the army bore a circumstance so irritating, and to them so unaccountable, without a murmur.

On receiving intelligence of the fact, Washington ordered the country to be scoured, and provisions, for supplying the pressing wants of the moment, to be seized wherever found. In the mean time, light parties were detached to harass the enemy about Darby, where Howe, with his accustomed circumspection, kept his army so compact, and his soldiers so within the lines, that an opportunity to annoy him was seldom afforded even to the vigilance of Morgan and Lee. After completing his forage, he returned, with inconsiderable loss, to Philadelphia.

That the American army, while the value still retained by paper bills placed ample funds in the hands of government, should be destitute of food, in the midst of a State so abounding with provisions as Pennsylvania, is one of those extraordinary facts which cannot fail to excite attention. A few words of explanation seem to be needed to account for such a fact. Early in the war, the office of commissary-general had been conferred on Colonel Trumbull, of Con-



necticut, a gentleman well fitted for that important station. Yet, from the difficulty of arranging so complicated a department, complaints were repeatedly made of the insufficiency of supplies. The subject was taken up by Congress; but the remedy administered served only to increase the disease. The system was not completed till near midsummer; and then its arrangements were such, that Colonel Trumbull refused the office assigned to him. The new plan contemplated a number of subordinate officers, all to be appointed by Congress, and neither accountable to, nor removable by, the head of the department. This arrangement, which was made in direct opposition to the opinion of the commander-in-chief, drove Colonel Trumbull from the army. Congress, however, persisted in the system, and its effects were not long in unfolding themselves. In every military division of the continent, loud complaints were made of the deficiency of supplies. The armies were greatly embarrassed, and their movements suspended, by the want of provisions. The present total failure of all supply was preceded by issuing meat unfit to be eaten. Representations on this subject had been made to the commander-in-chief, and communicated to Congress. That body had authorized him to seize provisions for the use of his army within seventy miles of head-quarters, and to pay for them in money or in certificates. The odium of this measure was increased by the failure of government to provide

funds to take up these certificates when presented. At the same time, the provisions carried into Philadelphia were paid for in specie at a fair price. The temptation was too great to be resisted. Such was the dexterity employed by the inhabitants in eluding the laws, that notwithstanding the vigilance of the troops stationed on the lines, they often succeeded in concealing their provisions from those authorized to impress for the army, and in conveying them to Philadelphia. Washington, urged on by Congress, issued a proclamation, requiring all the farmers within seventy miles of Valley Forge to thresh out one half of their grain by the 1st of February, and the rest by the 1st of March, under the penalty of having the whole seized as straw. Many farmers refused, defended their grain and cattle with muskets and rifle, and in some instances burnt what they could not defend.

It would seem that Washington had a sufficiently heavy burden upon his shoulders, in the harassing cares and anxieties of his position, and that he might have been spared from trials of another sort, to which he was exposed at this time; but Washington experienced what every great and good man must expect to meet with in an envious and malicious world. Thus far, apparently, little else than ill success had attended the military exploits of the commander-in-chief. He had been compelled to retreat continually before a powerful enemy. New York and Philadelphia had been lost; and there was

almost nothing of a brilliant or striking character in what had transpired during the war, under Washington's immediate direction. On the other hand, the victory at Saratoga had thrown a lustre around Gates's name, which far outshone, for the time, the solid and enduring light of Washington's noble and patriotic devotion to his country. It was the first great victory of the war, and it was a victory which necessarily had a most important effect upon the future prospects of the United States. No wonder, then, that restless and envious men should make invidious comparisons between the hero of Saratoga and the commander-in-chief. No wonder that Washington should suffer from detraction, and the intrigues of dissatisfied and scheming men, to whom his unsullied virtue, purity, and integrity were invincible obstacles to every design of theirs to promote selfish or ambitious ends.

A direct and systematic attempt was made to ruin the reputation of Washington, and from the name of the person principally concerned, this attempt is known by the title of *Conway's Cabal*. General Gates and General Mifflin, of the army, and Samuel Adams, and others in Congress, had more or less to do with this matter. Gates and Mifflin had taken offence at not receiving certain appointments during the siege of Boston, and were at no time well disposed towards Washington; Conway, a restless, boastful, and intriguing character, had always been distrusted by Wash-

ington, and he knew it. Some of the New England members, do not seem ever to have cordially liked Washington's appointment as commander-in-chief; and now, when the capture of Burgoyne had been effected by the northern army, without the intervention of Washington, the malcontents ventured to assume a bolder attitude. Anonymous letters were freely circulated, attributing the ill success of the American arms to the incapacity or vacillating policy of Washington, and filled with insinuations and exaggerated complaints against the commander-in-chief.\*

Washington was not unaware of what his enemies were attempting, but it was not till after the victory of Saratoga that the matter assumed a definite shape. The success of the northern army, which in fact was chiefly due to Schuyler, so elated Gates, that he seemed to adopt the views of those other members of the cabal who were disposed to favor his aspirations to the office of commander-in-chief. He even ventured to do, what few men ever dared, to treat Washington with disrespect. After the victory of the seventh of October had opened to him the prospect of subduing the army of Burgoyne, he not only omitted to communicate his success to Washington, but carried on a correspondence with Conway, in which that officer expressed great contempt for the commander-in-chief. When the purport of

---

\* Spencer, *History of the United States*.



this correspondence, which had been divulged by Wilkinson to Lord Stirling, became known to Washington, he exploded the whole affair by sending the offensive expressions directly to Conway, who communicated the information to Gates.\* Gates demanded the name of the informer in a letter to Washington, far from being conciliatory in its terms, which was accompanied with the very extraordinary circumstance of being passed through Congress. Washington's answer completely humbled him. It pointed out the inconsistencies and contradictions of Gates's defence, and showed him that Washington had penetrated his whole scheme, and regarded it with lofty contempt. In a subsequent letter, Gates besought him to bury the subject in oblivion.

Meantime, Washington's enemies in Congress were bold and active. A new Board of War was created, of which Gates was appointed the president; and Mifflin, who was of the party unfriendly to Washington, was one of its members. Conway, who was probably the only brigadier in the army that had joined this faction, was appointed inspector-general, and was promoted, above senior brigadiers, to the rank of major-general.

---

\* The cool contempt expressed in Washington's letter to Conway is one of the most curious features of this affair. It reads as follows: "TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL CONWAY: SIR—A letter which I received last night contained the following paragraph: 'In a letter from General Conway to General Gates, he says, "*Heaven has determined to save your country, or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it.*"' I am, sir, your humble servant."

These were evidences that, if the hold which the commander-in-chief had taken of the affections and confidence of the army and nation could be loosened, the party in Congress disposed to change their general was far from being contemptible in point of numbers. But to loosen this hold was impossible. The indignation with which the idea of such a change was received, even by the victorious troops who had conquered under Gates, forms the most conclusive proof of its strength. Even the northern army clung to Washington as the saviour of his country.

These machinations to diminish the well-earned reputation of Washington made no undue impression on his steady mind, nor did they change one of his measures. His sensibilities seem to have been those of patriotism, of apprehension for his country, rather than of wounded pride.† His desire to remain at the head of the army seemed to flow from the conviction that his retaining that station would be useful to his country, rather than from the gratification his high rank might furnish to ambition. When he unbosomed himself to his private friends, the feelings and sentiments he expressed were worthy of Washington. To Mr. Laurens,‡ the President of Congress, and his private friend, who, in an unofficial letter, had communi-

---

† Marshall.

‡ John Hancock, who succeeded Peyton Randolph as president of Congress, retired on the 29th of October, 1777. His successor was Henry Laurens, of South Carolina. See Document [A] at the end of this chapter.



cated an anonymous accusation made to him as president, containing heavy charges against the commander-in-chief, he said: "I cannot sufficiently express the obligation I feel towards you for your friendship and politeness upon an occasion in which I am deeply interested. I was not unapprised that a malignant faction had been for some time forming to my prejudice, which, conscious as I am of having ever done all in my power to answer the important purposes of the trusts reposed in me, could not but give me some pain on a personal account; but my chief concern arises from an apprehension of the dangerous consequences which intestine dissensions may produce to the common cause.

"As I have no other view than to promote the public good, and am unambitious of honors not founded in the approbation of my country, I would not desire, in the least degree, to suppress a free spirit of inquiry into any part of my conduct that even faction itself may deem reprehensible. The anonymous paper handed you exhibits many serious charges, and it is my wish that it may be submitted to Congress. This I am the more inclined to, as the suppression or concealment may possibly involve you in embarrassment hereafter, since it is uncertain how many, or who, may be privy to the contents.

"My enemies take an ungenerous advantage of me. They know the delicacy of my situation, and that motives of policy deprive me of the defence I

might otherwise make against their insidious attacks. They know I cannot combat their insinuations, however injurious, without disclosing secrets it is of the utmost moment to conceal. But why should I expect to be free from censure, the unfailing lot of an elevated station? Merit and talents which I cannot pretend to rival, have ever been subject to it. My heart tells me it has been my unremitted aim to do the best which circumstances would permit. Yet I may have been very often mistaken in my judgment of the means, and may in many instances deserve the imputation of error."

While Washington expressed himself in these modest terms to a personal friend, he assumed a much bolder and higher tone to the dastardly enemies who were continually thwarting his designs and injuring the public service by their malignity and incapacity. These were public enemies to be publicly arraigned. Seizing the occasion to which we have already referred, when the army was unable to march against the enemy for want of provisions, he sent to the President of Congress the following letter, which of course, like the rest of his correspondence, was to be read to the whole house. It is severer than any he had ever written:

"Full as I was in my representation of the matters in the commissary's department yesterday, fresh and more powerful reasons oblige me to add that I am now convinced beyond a doubt, that, unless some great and capital change

suddenly takes place in that line, this army must inevitably be reduced to one or other of these three things—to starve, dissolve, or disperse in order to obtain subsistence. Rest assured, sir, that this is not an exaggerated picture, and that I have abundant reason to suppose what I say.

“Saturday afternoon, receiving information that the enemy, in force, had left the city, and were advancing towards Darby with apparent design to forage, and draw subsistence from that part of the country, I ordered the troops to be in readiness, that I might give every opposition in my power; when, to my great mortification, I was not only informed, but convinced, that the men were unable to stir on account of a want of provisions; and that a dangerous mutiny, begun the night before, and which with difficulty was suppressed by the spirited exertions of some officers, was still much to be apprehended from the want of this article.

“This brought forth the only commissary in the purchasing line in this camp, and with him this melancholy and alarming truth, that he had not a single hoof of any kind to slaughter, and not more than twenty-five barrels of flour! From hence, form an opinion of our situation, when I add that he could not tell when to expect any.

“All I could do under these circumstances, was to send out a few light parties to watch and harass the enemy, whilst other parties were instantly detached different ways to collect, if pos-

sible, as much provisions as would satisfy the pressing wants of the soldiers; but will this answer? No, sir. Three or four days of bad weather would prove our destruction. What then is to become of the army this winter? And if we are now as often without provisions as with them, what is to become of us in the spring, when our force will be collected, with the aid perhaps of militia, to take advantage of an early campaign before the enemy can be reinforced? These are considerations of great magnitude, meriting the closest attention, and will, when my own reputation is so intimately connected with, and to be affected by the event, justify my saying, that the present commissaries are by no means equal to the execution of the office, or that the disaffection of the people surpasses all belief. The misfortune, however, does, in my opinion, proceed from both causes; and though I have been tender heretofore of giving any opinion, or of lodging complaints, as the change in that department took place contrary to my judgment, and the consequences thereof were predicted, yet, finding that the inactivity of the army, whether for want of provisions, clothes, or other essentials, is charged to my account, not only by the common vulgar, but by those in power, it is time to speak plain in exculpation of myself. With truth, then, I can declare that no man, in my opinion, ever had his measures more impeded than I have, by every department of the army. Since the month of July, we

have had no assistance from the quartermaster-general; and to want of assistance from this department, the commissary-general charges great part of his deficiency. To this I am to add, that, notwithstanding it is a standing order (often repeated) that the troops shall always have two days' provision by them, that they may be ready at any sudden call; yet scarcely any opportunity has ever offered of taking advantage of the enemy, that has not been either totally obstructed, or greatly impeded, on this account; and this, the great and crying evil, is not all. Soap, vinegar, and other articles allowed by Congress, we see none of, nor have we seen them, I believe, since the battle of Brandywine. The first, indeed, we have little occasion for—few men having more than one shirt, many only the moiety of one, and some none at all. In addition to which, as a proof of the little benefit from a clothier-general, and at the same time, as a further proof of the inability of an army under the circumstances of this to perform the common duties of soldiers, we have, by a field return this day made, besides a number of men confined to hospitals for want of shoes, and others in farmers' houses on the same account, no less than two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight men, now in camp, unfit for duty, because they are barefoot, and otherwise naked. By the same return, it appears that our whole strength in continental troops, including the eastern brigades, which have joined us since the surrender of

General Burgoyne, exclusive of the Maryland troops sent to Wilmington, amounts to no more than eight thousand two hundred in camp fit for duty; notwithstanding which, and that since the fourth instant, our number fit for duty, from the hardships and exposures they have undergone, particularly from the want of blankets, have decreased near two thousand men, we find gentlemen, without knowing whether the army was really going into winter-quarters or not (for I am sure no resolution of mine would warrant the remonstrance), reprobating the measure as much as if they thought the soldiers were made of stocks or stones, and equally insensible to frost and snow; and, moreover, as if they conceived it easily practicable for an inferior army, under the disadvantages I have described ours to be—which are by no means exaggerated—to confine a superior one, in all respects well appointed and provided for a winter's campaign, within the city of Philadelphia, and to cover from depredation and waste the States of Pennsylvania, Jersey, &c. But what makes this matter still more extraordinary in my eye is, that these very gentlemen, who were well apprised of the nakedness of the troops from ocular demonstration, who thought their own soldiers worse clad than others, and advised me, near a month ago, to postpone the execution of a plan I was about to adopt, in consequence of a resolve of Congress for seizing clothes, under strong assurances that an ample supply would be collected in ten days, agreeably to a



decree of the State (not one article of which, by the by, is yet come to hand), should think a winter's campaign, and the covering of their States from the invasion of an enemy, so easy and practicable a business. I can assure those gentlemen, that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room, by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow, without clothes or blankets. However, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly for them, and from my soul pity those miseries which it is not in my power either to relieve or to prevent."

This letter must have convinced Washington's implacable enemies in Congress that he had no thoughts of conciliating them. He despised and defied them. Its effect on those who were friendly to him, would necessarily be inspiring. His bold attitude justified their reliance on his moral courage, and enabled them to demand the enactment of those measures which were necessary for the preservation of the army, and the successful assertion of the country's independence.

It is probable that this letter gave the finishing stroke to the Conway Cabal. While Gates and Mifflin denied that they had ever desired or aimed at Washington's removal from the office of commander-in-chief, and sought to recover his confidence, Conway himself, who was still inspector-general, after

denying any design to remove Washington, still maintained an offensive attitude towards him, wrote impertinent letters to him, and persisted in intriguing against him with Congress. But he found himself foiled in all his ambitious and factious designs, and he had become excessively unpopular in the army. He felt, at last, that he was in a false position: we shall presently see how his career in this country terminated.

Washington's conduct through the whole period of the Conway Cabal, which lasted several months, is highly characteristic of the man. While he regarded it with contempt so far as he was personally concerned, he felt annoyed and distressed at the injury which it was inflicting on the public service. When the moment was come for unmasking the conspirators, by informing Conway that he was aware of their designs, he applied the match which was to explode the whole plot, and cover its originators with shame and confusion. This he did in a quiet, business-like way, because the public service required it. Congress, having committed itself by promoting his enemies, could not at once retract; but the officers themselves made haste to escape from public indignation by denials and apologies; and the final effect of the Conway Cabal was to establish Washington more firmly than ever in the confidence and affection of the whole country.\*

---

\* The correspondence relating to the Conway Cabal is given entire in the Appendix to the fifth volume of Sparks's Writings of Washington. It is very curious

His situation, however, was by no means enviable. His army was much attached to him; but, weakened by disease, and irritated by nakedness and hunger, it was almost on the point of dissolution. In the midst of the difficulties and dangers with which he was surrounded, Washington displayed a singular degree of steady perseverance, unshaken fortitude, and unwearied activity. Instead of manifesting irritable impatience under the malignant attacks made on his character, he behaved with magnanimity, and earnestly applied to Congress, and to the legislative bodies of the several States, for reinforcements to his army, in order that he might be prepared to act with vigor in the ensuing campaign.

But to recruit and equip the army was no easy task. The great depreciation of paper money rendered the pay of the soldiers inadequate to their support; and, consequently, it was not likely that voluntary enlistment would be successful, especially since the patriotic ardor of many had begun to cool by the continuance of the war, and all knew that great hardships and dangers were to be encountered by joining the army. The pay even of the officers, in the depreciated paper currency, was wholly unequal to the maintenance of their rank. Some of them who had small patrimonial estates found them

melting away, while their lives were unprofitably devoted to the service of their country; and they who had no private fortune could not appear in a manner becoming their station. A commission was a burden; and many considered the acceptance of one as conferring rather than receiving a favor,—a state of things highly disadvantageous to the service; for the duties of an office scarcely reckoned worth holding will seldom be zealously and actively discharged. There was reason to apprehend that many of the most meritorious officers would resign their commissions, and that they only who were less qualified for service would remain with the army.

Congress, moved by the remonstrances of Washington, and by the complaints with which they were assailed from every quarter, deputed a committee of their body to reside in camp during the winter; and, in concert with the general, to examine the state of the army, and report on the measures necessary to be taken for placing it in a more respectable condition. The members of this committee were Francis Dana, General Reed, Nathaniel Folsom, Charles Carroll, and Gouverneur Morris. On their arrival at Valley Forge, Washington submitted to them a memoir, filling fifty folio pages, exhibiting the existing state of the army, the deficiencies and disorders, and their causes, and suggesting such reforms as he deemed necessary. Upon this document the plan for improving the efficiency of the army

---

and interesting. Among other letters, are anonymous ones addressed to Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, and to Mr. Laurens, president of Congress, full of slanders against Washington



was formed, and communicated to Congress by the committee, who remained in camp nearly three months. Congress approved of their proceedings, and adopted their plan; but they legislated so slowly, that the effect of their proceedings was hardly felt before  
1778. the month of April.

Among the reforms recommended by the committee, called the "Committee of Arrangement," who were sent to the camp, none met with so much opposition in Congress as that which provided for increasing the pay of the officers and soldiers of the army. Hitherto there had been no provision made for officers after the war should end, and the pay which they were actually receiving, being in depreciated continental bills, was merely nominal. To the effect of this state of things in the army we have already adverted. It was most disastrous. Washington was desirous that Congress should make provision for giving officers half-pay for life, or some other permanent provision, and increasing the inducements for soldiers to enlist. A party in Congress opposed this, as having the appearance of a standing army, a pension list, and a privileged order in society.

In a letter to Congress, Washington said: "If my opinion is asked with respect to the necessity of making this provision for the officers, I am ready to declare, that I do most religiously believe the salvation of the cause depends upon it; and, without it, your officers will moulder to nothing, or be com-

posed of low and illiterate men, void of capacity for this or any other business.

"Personally, as an officer, I have no interest in their decision, because I have declared, and I now repeat it, that I never will receive the smallest benefit from the half-pay establishment; but, as a man, who fights under the weight of a proscription, and as a citizen, who wishes to see the liberty of his country established upon a permanent foundation, and whose property depends upon the success of our arms, I am deeply interested. But, all this apart, and justice out of the question, upon the single ground of economy and public saving, I will maintain the utility of it; for I have not the least doubt that, until officers consider their commissions in an honorable and interested point of view, and are afraid to endanger them by negligence and inattention, no order, regularity, or care, either of the men or public property, will prevail."

The following passages, from a letter addressed to a delegate in Congress from Virginia, exhibit the view Washington took, at the time, of public affairs, and the spirit and eloquence with which he pleaded the cause of the country and the army:

"Before I conclude, there are one or two points more upon which I will add an observation or two. The first is, the indecision of Congress, and the delay used in coming to determinations on matters referred to them. This is productive of a variety of inconveniences; and an early decision, in many cases,



though it should be against the measure submitted, would be attended with less pernicious effects. Some new plan might then be tried; but while the matter is held in suspense, nothing can be attempted. The other point is, the *jealousy* which Congress unhappily entertain of the army, and which, if reports are right, some members labor to establish. You may be assured, there is nothing more injurious or more unfounded. This jealousy stands upon the commonly received opinion, which under proper limitations is certainly true, that standing armies are dangerous to a State. The prejudices in other countries have only gone to them in time of *peace*, and these from their not having in general cases any of the ties, the concerns, or interests of citizens, or any other dependence, than what flowed from their military employ; in short, from their being mercenaries, hirelings. It is our policy to be prejudiced against them in time of *war*, though they are citizens, having all the ties and interests of citizens, and in most cases property totally unconnected with the military line.

“If we would pursue a right system of policy, in my opinion, there should be none of these distinctions. We should all, Congress and army, be considered as one people, embarked in one cause, in one interest; acting on the same principle, and to the same end. The distinction, the jealousies set up, or perhaps only incautiously let out, can answer not a single good purpose. They are im-

politic in the extreme. Among individuals, the most certain way to make a man your enemy, is to tell him you esteem him such. So with public bodies; and the very jealousy which the narrow politics of some may affect to entertain of the army, in order to a due subordination to the supreme civil authority, is a likely means to produce a contrary effect—to incline it to the pursuit of those measures which they may wish it to avoid. It is unjust, because no order of men in the thirteen States has paid a more sacred regard to the proceedings of Congress than the army; for without arrogance or the smallest deviation from truth it may be said, that no history now extant can furnish an instance of an army’s suffering such uncommon hardships as ours has done, and bearing them with the same patience and fortitude. To see men, without clothes to cover their nakedness, without blankets to lie on, without shoes (for the want of which their marches might be traced by the blood from their feet), and almost as often without provisions as with them, marching through the frost and snow, and at Christmas taking up their winter-quarters within a day’s march of the enemy, without a house or hut to cover them till they could be built, and submitting without a murmur, is a proof of patience and obedience which in my opinion can scarce be paralleled.”

Such representations as these could not fail to produce some effect even on the minds of those who were opposed

to the measures which Washington proposed. Still, the action of Congress was, as usual, dilatory. After a great deal of discussion, a vote was passed by a small majority to give the officers half-pay for life. This vote was reconsidered, and it was finally agreed that the officers should receive half-pay for seven years after the close of the war; or that each non-commissioned officer and soldier, who should continue in the army till the close of the war, should receive a bounty of eighty dollars.

We have anticipated the order of time in order to dispose finally of this matter, which was not terminated till the spring of 1778.

During the winter, Howe confined his operations to those small excursions that were calculated to enlarge the comforts of his own soldiers, who, notwithstanding the favorable dispositions of the neighboring country, were much distressed for fuel, and often in great want of forage and fresh provisions. The vigilance of the parties on the lines, especially on the south side of the Schuylkill, intercepted a large portion of the supplies intended for the Philadelphia market; and corporal punishment was frequently inflicted on those who were detected in attempting this infraction of the laws. As Captain Henry Lee, called in the army "Light Horse Harry,"\* was particularly active, a plan was formed, late in January, to surprise and capture him in his quarters.

An extensive circuit was made by a large body of cavalry, who seized four of his patrols without communicating an alarm. About break of day the British horse appeared; upon which Captain Lee placed his troopers that were in the house at the doors and windows, who behaved so gallantly as to repulse the assailants without losing a horse or man. Only Lieutenant Lindsay and one private were wounded. The whole number in the house did not exceed ten. That of the assailants was said to amount to two hundred. They lost a sergeant and three men, with several horses, killed; and an officer and three men wounded.†

The result of this skirmish gave great pleasure to Washington, who had formed a high opinion of Lee's talents as a partisan. He mentioned the affair in his orders with strong marks of approbation; and, in a private letter to the captain, testified the satisfaction he felt. For his merit through the preceding campaign, Congress promoted him to the rank of major, and gave him an independent partisan corps, to consist of three troops of horse.

While the deficiency of the public resources, arising from the alarming depreciation of the bills of credit, manifested itself in all the military departments, a plan was matured in Congress, and in the Board of War, without consulting the commander-in-chief, for a second ir-

\* See Document [B] at the end of this chapter.

† Previous to this affair, Captain Lee, in his frequent skirmishes with the enemy, had already captured at least a hundred of their men.



ruption into Canada. It was proposed to place the Marquis de Lafayette at the head of this expedition, and to employ Generals Conway and Stark as the second and third in command.

This was a measure planned by those who were not friendly to Washington; and one of its objects was to detach Lafayette from his best and dearest friend, and bring him over to the Conway party. Lafayette would have declined the appointment. But Washington advised him to accept it; probably foreseeing how the affair would terminate.

The first intimation to Washington that the expedition was contemplated, was given in a letter from the president of the Board of War of the 24th of January, inclosing one of the same date to the marquis, requiring his attendance on Congress to receive his instructions. Washington was requested to furnish Colonel Hazen's regiment, chiefly composed of Canadians, for the expedition; and in the same letter, his advice and opinion were asked respecting it. The Northern States were to furnish the necessary troops.

Without noticing the manner in which this business had been conducted, and the marked want of confidence it betrayed, Washington ordered Hazen's regiment to march towards Albany; and Lafayette proceeded immediately to the seat of Congress at Yorktown. At his request, he was to be considered as an officer detached from the army of Washington, to remain under his orders,

and Major-general the Baron de Kalb\* was added to the expedition; after which Lafayette repaired in person to Albany to take charge of the troops who were to assemble at that place in order to cross the lakes on the ice, and attack Montreal.

On arriving at Albany, he found no preparations made for the expedition. Nothing which had been promised being in readiness, he abandoned the enterprise as impracticable. Some time afterwards, Congress also determined to relinquish it; and Washington was authorized to recall both Lafayette and De Kalb.

While the army lay at Valley Forge, the Baron Steuben† arrived in camp. This gentleman was a Prussian officer, who came to the United States with ample recommendations. He had served many years in the armies of the great Frederick; had been one of his aids-de-camp; and had held the rank of lieutenant-general. He was well versed in the system of field exercise which the king of Prussia had introduced, and was qualified to teach it to raw troops. He claimed no rank, and offered his services as a volunteer. After holding a conference with Congress, he proceeded to Valley Forge.

Although the office of inspector-general had been bestowed on Conway, he had never entered on its duties; and his promotion to the rank of major-general had given much umbrage to the

\* See Document [C] at the end of this chapter.

† See Document [D] at the end of this chapter.



brigadiers, who had been his seniors. That circumstance, in addition to the knowledge of his being in a faction hostile to the commander-in-chief, rendered his situation in the army so uncomfortable, that he withdrew to Yorktown, in Pennsylvania, which was then the seat of Congress. When the expedition to Canada was abandoned, he was not directed, with Lafayette and De Kalb, to rejoin the army. Entertaining no hope of being permitted to exercise the functions of his new office, he resigned his commission about the last of April, and, some time afterwards, returned to France.\* On his resignation, the Baron Steuben, who had, as a volunteer, performed the duties of inspector-general, much to the satisfaction of the commander-in-chief and of the army, was, on the recommendation of Washington, appointed to that office

\* General Conway, after his resignation, frequently indulged in expressions of extreme hostility to the commander-in-chief. These indiscretions were offensive to the gentlemen of the army. In consequence of them, he was engaged in an altercation with General Cadwalader, which produced a duel, in which Conway received a wound supposed for some time to be mortal. While his recovery was despaired of, he addressed the following letter to General Washington.

PHILADELPHIA, *July 23d*, 1778.

SIR,—I find myself just able to hold the pen during a few minutes, and take this opportunity of expressing my sincere grief for having done, written, or said, any thing disagreeable to your excellency. My career will soon be over; therefore, justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are, in my eyes, the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of these States, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues.

I am, with the greatest respect, sir,

Your excellency's most obedient humble servant,

THOS. CONWAY.

with the rank of major-general, without exciting the slightest murmur.

This gentleman was of immense service to the American troops. He established one uniform system of field exercise; and, by his skill and persevering industry, effected important improvements through all ranks of the army during its continuance at Valley Forge.

While it was encamped at that place, several matters of great interest engaged the attention of Congress. 1777. Among them was the stipulation in the Convention of Saratoga for the return of the British army to England. Boston was named as the place of embarkation. At the time of the capitulation, the difficulty of making that port early in the winter was unknown to General Burgoyne. Consequently, as some time must elapse before a sufficient number of vessels for the transportation of his army could be collected, its embarkation might be delayed until the ensuing spring.

On being apprised of this circumstance, Burgoyne applied to Washington, desiring him to change the port of embarkation, and to appoint Newport, in Rhode Island, or some other place on the Sound, instead of Boston; and, in case this request should not be complied with, soliciting, on account of his health and private business, that the indulgence might be granted to himself and suite. Washington, not thinking himself authorized to decide on such an application, transmitted it to Congress,

which took no notice of the matter further than to pass a resolution, "That General Washington be directed to inform General Burgoyne, that Congress will not receive or consider any proposition for indulgence, or altering the terms of the Convention of Saratoga, unless immediately addressed to their own body." The application was accordingly made to Congress, who readily complied with the request in so far as it respected himself personally,\* but refused the indulgence to his troops, and ultimately forbade their embarkation.

Congress watched with a jealous eye every movement of the Convention army, and soon gave public indications of that jealousy. Early in November, they ordered General Heath, who commanded in Boston, "to take the name, rank, former place of abode, and description of every person comprehended in the Convention of Saratoga, in order that, if afterwards found in arms against the United States, they might be punished according to the law of nations." Burgoyne showed some reluctance to the execution of this order; and his reluctance was imputed to no honorable motives.

If the troops had been embarked in the Sound, they might have reached

Britain early in the winter, where, without any breach of faith, government might have employed them in garrison duty, and been enabled to send out a corresponding number of troops in time to take an active part in the next campaign. But if the port of Boston were adhered to as the place of embarkation, the convention troops could not, it was thought, sail before the spring; and consequently could not be replaced by the troops whose duties they might perform at home, till late in the year 1778. This circumstance, perhaps, determined Congress to abide by Boston as the port of embarkation; and in this their conduct was free from blame. But, by the injuries mutually inflicted and suffered in the course of the war, the minds of the contending parties were exasperated and filled with suspicion and distrust of each other. Congress placed no reliance on British faith and honor; and, on the subject under consideration, gave clear evidence that, on those points, they were not over-scrupulous themselves.

On arriving in Boston, the British officers found their quarters uncomfortable. This probably arose from the large number of persons to be provided for, and the scarcity of rooms, fuel, and provisions, arising from the presence of the whole captured army. But the officers were much dissatisfied; and, after a fruitless correspondence with Heath, Burgoyne addressed himself to Gates, and complained of the inconvenient quarters assigned his officers as a breach of the articles of capitulation. Congress

\* Gordon says: "May 13, 1778. General Burgoyne landed at Portsmouth. On his arrival at London, he soon discovered that he was no longer an object of court favor. He was refused admission to the royal presence; and from thence experienced all those marks of being in disgrace, which are so well understood, and so quickly observed by the retainers and followers of courts."



was highly offended at the imputation, and considered, or affected to consider, the charge as made with a view to justify a violation of the convention by his army, as soon as they escaped from captivity. A number of transports for carrying off the convention troops was collected in the Sound sooner than was expected; but that number, amounting only to twenty-six, the Americans thought insufficient for transporting such a number of men to Britain in the winter season; and inferred that the intention could only be to carry them to the Delaware, and incorporate them with Howe's army. They also alleged that a number of cartouche-boxes, and other accoutrements of war, belonging to the British army, had not been delivered up, agreeably to the convention; and argued that this violation on the part of the British released Congress from its obligations to fulfil the terms of that compact.

On the 8th of January, Congress resolved "to suspend the embarkation of the army, till a distinct and explicit ratification of the Convention of Saratoga shall be properly notified by the court of Great Britain to Congress." Afterwards the embarkation of the troops was delayed or refused for various reasons; and that part of the convention remained unfulfilled. The troops were long detained in Massachusetts; they were afterwards sent to the back parts of Virginia, and none of them were released but by exchange.

Mrs. Washington, as usual, visited her

illustrious consort in his quarters at Valley Forge during the winter. Writing from thence to a friend in Boston, she says: "I came to this place some time about the first of February, where I found the general very well. \* \* \* The general's apartment is very small; he has had a log cabin built to dine in, which has made our quarters much more tolerable than they were at first." To those American citizens who are now reaping the rich fruits of Washington's toils and sufferings in his country's cause, these few lines are very suggestive. One cannot help contrasting the luxurious habitations of the present generation with that log hut of the Father of his country, at Valley Forge, to which the addition of another log hut, to dine in, was considered by his consort a very comfortable appendage. We should remember these things.

The effect of the news of Burgoyne's surrender, which reached Europe in the autumn of 1777, could not be otherwise than highly favorable to the cause of American independence. Our envoys in France, Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, had long been soliciting an alliance with France. But the cautious ministers of Louis XVI., although secretly favoring our cause,\*

\* As early as the month of April, 1776, Turgot had said to the ministers of Louis XVI.—"The supposition of the absolute separation between Great Britain and her colonies seems to me infinitely probable. This will be the result of it: when the independence of the colonies shall be entire and recognized by the English themselves, a total revolution will follow in the political and commercial relations between Europe and America; and I firmly believe that every other mother-country will be







and permitting supplies to be forwarded by Beaumarchais, and the prizes of our ships to be brought into their ports and sold, had hitherto abstained from openly supporting us, lest our arms should finally prove unsuccessful. But the surrender of a large army to Gates, and the firm attitude of Washington's army besieging Howe in Philadelphia, as they had previously besieged him in Boston, gave a new turn to French policy, and disposed the ministry of Louis to treat for an alliance with the new republic.

On the other hand, the British court was in a state of utter consternation.

The war began to assume a more portentous aspect; and the British ministry, unable to execute their original purpose, lowered their tone and showed an inclination to treat with the colonies on any terms which did not imply their entire independence and complete separation from the British empire. In or-

forced to abandon all empire over her colonies, and to leave an entire freedom of commerce with all nations, to content herself with partaking with others in the advantages of a free trade, and with preserving the old ties of friendship and fraternity with her former colonists. If this is an evil, I believe that there exists no remedy or means of hindering it; that the only course to pursue is to submit to the inevitable necessity, and console ourselves as best we may under it. I must also observe, that there will be a very great danger to all such powers as obstinately attempt to resist this course of events; that after ruining themselves by efforts above their means, they will still see their colonies equally escape from them, and become their bitter enemies, instead of remaining their allies."\*

\* Mémoire de M. Turgot, à l'occasion du Mémoire remis par M. le Comte de Vergennes sur la manière dont la France et l'Espagne doivent envisager les suites de la querelle entre la Grande Bretagne et ses Colonies. In "Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe pendant les Règnes de Louis XV. et de Louis XVI." Par L. P. Segur l'aîné.

der to terminate the quarrel with America before the actual commencement of hostilities with France, Lord North introduced two bills into the House of Commons. The first declared that parliament would impose no tax or duty whatever, payable within any of the colonies of North America, except only such duties as it might be expedient to impose for the purposes of commerce, the net produce of which should always be paid and applied to and for the use of the colonies in which the same shall be respectively levied, in like manner as other duties collected under the authority of their respective legislatures are ordinarily paid and applied: the second authorized the appointment of commissioners by the crown, with power to treat with either the constituted authorities or with individuals in America; but that no stipulation entered into should have any effect till approved in parliament. It empowered the commissioners, however, to proclaim a cessation of hostilities in any of the colonies; to suspend the operation of the non-intercourse act; also to suspend, during the continuance of the act, so much of all or any of the acts of parliament which have passed since the 10th day of February, 1763, as relates to the colonies to grant pardons to any number or description of persons; and to appoint a governor in any colony in which his majesty had heretofore exercised the power of making such appointment. The duration of the act was limited to the 1st day of June, 1779.



These bills passed both houses of parliament; and as, about the time of their introduction, ministry received information of the conclusion of the treaty between France and the colonies, they sent off copies of them to America, even before they had gone through the usual formalities, in order to counteract the effects which the news of the French alliance might produce. Early in March, the Earl of Carlisle, George Johnstone, and William Eden, Esquires, were appointed commissioners for carrying the acts into execution; and the celebrated Dr. Adam Ferguson, then professor of moral philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, was nominated their secretary. The commissioners sailed without delay for America. But the present measure, like every other concession in the course of this protracted contest, came too late. What was now offered would at one time have been hailed in America with acclamations of joy, and secured the grateful affection of the colonists. But circumstances were now changed. The minds of the people were completely alienated from the parent state, and their spirits exasperated by the events of the war. Independence had been declared; victory had emblazoned the standards of Congress; and a treaty of alliance with France had been concluded.

On the 16th of December, the preliminaries of a treaty between France and America were agreed on; and the treaty itself was signed at Paris, on the 6th of February, 1778,—an event of

which the British ministry got information in little more than forty-eight hours after the signatures were affixed. The principal articles of the treaty were: that if Britain, in consequence of the alliance, should commence hostilities against France, the two countries should mutually assist each other; that the independence of America should be effectually maintained; that if any part of North America, still professing allegiance to the crown of Britain, should be reduced by the colonies, it should belong to the United States; that if France should conquer any of the British West India islands, they should be deemed its property; that the contracting parties should not lay down their arms till the independence of America was formally acknowledged, and that neither of them should conclude a peace without the consent of the other.

Lord North's conciliatory bills reached America before the news of the French treaty, and excited in Congress considerable alarm. There were a number of loyalists in each of the colonies; many, though not unfriendly to the American cause, had never entered cordially into the quarrel; and the heavy pressure of the war had begun to cool the zeal and exhaust the patience of some who had once been forward in their opposition to Britain. Congress became apprehensive lest a disposition should prevail to accept of the terms proposed by the British government, and the great body of the people be willing to resign the advantages of independ-

ence, in order to escape from present calamity.

The bills were referred to a committee, which, after an acute and severe examination, gave in a report, well calculated to counteract the effects which it was apprehended the terms offered would produce on the minds of the timid and wavering. They reported as their opinion, that it was the aim of those bills to create divisions in the States; and "that they were the sequel of that insidious plan, which, from the days of the Stamp-act down to the present time, hath involved this country in contention and bloodshed; and that, as in other cases, so in this, although circumstances may at times force them to recede from their unjustifiable claims, there can be no doubt but they will, as heretofore, upon the first favorable occasion, again display that lust of domination which hath rent in twain the mighty empire of Britain." They further reported it as their opinion, that any men, or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with commissioners under the crown of Great Britain, should be considered and treated as open and avowed enemies of the United States. The committee further gave it as their opinion, that the United States could not hold any conference with the British commissioners, unless Britain first withdrew her fleets and armies, or in positive and express terms acknowledged the independence of the States.

While these things were going on,

VOL. I.—87

Mr. Simeon Deane arrived from Paris, with the important and gratifying information that treaties of alliance and commerce had been concluded between France and the United States. This intelligence diffused a lively joy throughout America, and was received by the people as the harbinger of their independence. The alliance had been long expected; and the delays thrown in the way of its accomplishment had excited many uneasy apprehensions. But these were now dissipated; and, to the fond imaginations of the people, all the prospects of the United States appeared gilded with the cheering beams of prosperity.

Writing to the president of Congress on this occasion (May 4th, 1778), Washington says,—“Last night at eleven o'clock I was honored with your dispatches of the 3d. The contents afford me the most sensible pleasure. Mr. Simeon Deane had informed me by a line from Bethlehem, that he was the bearer of the articles of alliance between France and the States. I shall defer celebrating this happy event in a suitable manner, until I have liberty from Congress to announce it publicly. I will only say, that the army are anxious to manifest their joy upon the occasion.”

On the 7th of May, the great event referred to in the preceding extract was celebrated by the army at Valley Forge with the highest enthusiasm. The following general orders were issued by Washington on the day before.

“It having pleased the Almighty



Ruler of the universe to defend the cause of the United American States, and finally to raise us up a powerful friend among the princes of the earth, to establish our liberty and independency upon a lasting foundation; it becomes us to set apart a day for gratefully acknowledging the Divine goodness, and celebrating the important event, which we owe to his divine interposition. The several brigades are to be assembled for this purpose at nine o'clock to-morrow morning, when their chaplains will communicate the intelligence contained in the postscript of the Pennsylvania Gazette of the 2d instant, and offer up thanksgiving, and deliver a discourse suitable to the occasion. At half after ten o'clock a cannon will be fired, which is to be a signal for the men to be under arms; the brigade-inspectors will then inspect their dress and arms, and form the battalions according to the instructions given them, and announce to the commanding officers of the brigade that the battalions are formed.

"The commanders of brigades will then appoint the field-officers to the battalions, after which each battalion will be ordered to load and ground their arms. At half-past eleven a second cannon will be fired as a signal for the march, upon which the several brigades will begin their march by wheeling to the right by platoons, and proceed by the nearest way to the left of their ground by the new position; this will be pointed out by the brigade-

inspectors. A third signal will then be given, on which there will be a discharge of thirteen cannon; after which a running fire of the infantry will begin on the right of Woodford's, and continue throughout the front line; it will then be taken upon the left of the second line and continue to the right. Upon a signal given, the whole army will huzza, *Long live the King of France!* The artillery then begins again and fires thirteen rounds; this will be succeeded by a second general discharge of the musketry in a running fire, and huzza, *Long live the friendly European Powers!* The last discharge of thirteen pieces of artillery will be given, followed by a general running fire, and huzza, *The American States!*"

An officer who was present describes the scene as follows:

"Last Wednesday was set apart as a day of general rejoicing, when we had a *feu de joie* conducted with the greatest order and regularity. The army made a most brilliant appearance; after which his excellency dined in public, with all the officers of his army, attended with a band of music. I never was present where there was such unfeigned and perfect joy, as was discovered in every countenance. The entertainment was concluded with a number of patriotic toasts, attended with huzzas. When the general took his leave, there was a universal clap, with loud huzzas, which continued till he had proceeded a quarter of a mile, during which time there were a thousand hats tossed in the air.



His excellency turned round with his retinue, and huzzaed several times."

Dr. Thacher, in his "Military Journal," mentions the presence of "Washington's lady and suite, Lord Stirling and the Countess of Stirling, with other general officers and ladies," at this fête. Our readers, after passing with us through the dismal scenes of the preceding winter, will readily sympathize with the army in the feelings attending this celebration. It is worthy of special notice that in his general order, Washington was careful to give the religious feature of the scene a prominent place, by distinctly acknowledging the Divine interposition in favor of the country. This was his invariable habit on all occasions. Religion with him was not merely an opinion, a creed, or a sentiment. It was a deep-rooted, all-pervading feeling, governing his life, and imparting earnestness, dignity, and power to all his actions. Hence the reverence and affection which was the voluntary homage of all who knew him.

Lord North's conciliatory bills, as we have seen, were not acceptable to Congress. Washington's views in relation to them are given in the following letter, written to a member of that body two days after he had learned the terms proposed by the British government:

"Nothing short of independence, it appears to me, can possibly do. A peace on other terms would, if I may be allowed the expression, be a peace of war. The injuries we have received from the British nation were so unpro-

voked, and have been so great and so many, that they can never be forgotten. Besides the feuds, the jealousies, the animosities, that would ever attend a union with them; besides the importance, the advantages, which we should derive from an unrestricted commerce, our fidelity as a people, our gratitude, our character as men, are opposed to a coalition with them, but in case of the last extremity. Were we easily to accede to terms of dependence, no nation, upon future occasions, let the oppression of Britain be ever so flagrant and unjust, would interpose for our relief; or, at most, they would do it with a cautious reluctance, and upon conditions most probably that would be hard, if not dishonorable to us."

Congress fully agreed in these views, and rejected the advances of the British government, refusing all terms of accommodation which did not begin with the withdrawal of the British fleets and armies, and the acknowledgment of American independence. At the same time the bills were published, together with the action of Congress on the subject, and dispersed throughout the country. This decisive stand was taken before it was known that a treaty had been concluded with France.

The British commissioners, Carlisle, Johnstone, and Eden, charged with negotiating and reconciliation on the basis of Lord North's bills, did not arrive until six weeks after drafts of the bills had been published by Governor Tryon, and rejected by Congress.

June,  
1778.

On their arrival at New York, Sir Henry Clinton,\* who had succeeded Howe as commander-in-chief, requested a passport for Dr. Ferguson, the secretary of the commissioners, to proceed to Yorktown, and lay certain papers before Congress. Washington, not deeming the matter within his province, declined, until he could have the instruction of Congress, who sustained him in refusing the passport. The commissioners, impatient of delay, sent on the papers through the ordinary medium of a flag, addressed to the President of Congress.

The commissioners offered, in their letter, to consent to an immediate cessation of hostilities by sea and land; to agree that no military force should be kept up in the colonies without the consent of Congress; and also both to give up the right of taxation, and to provide for a representation in parliament. They promised to sustain, and finally pay off, the paper money then in circulation. Every inducement, short of the recognition of independence, was held out, to lead the colonists to return to their allegiance. But if, when relying upon their own strength alone, they had refused to listen to such overtures, they were not likely to do so now that they were assured of the support of France. By order of Congress, the president of that body wrote as follows to the commissioners: "I have received the letter from your Excellencies, dated the 9th instant, with the inclosures, and

laid them before Congress. Nothing but an earnest desire to spare the further effusion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper containing expressions so disrespectful to his Most Christian Majesty, the good and great ally of these States, or to consider propositions so derogatory to the honor of an independent nation. The acts of the British parliament, the commission from your sovereign, and your letter, suppose the people of these States to be subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and are founded on the idea of dependence, which is utterly inadmissible. I am further directed to inform your Excellencies, that Congress are inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it hath been conducted. They will therefore be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the King of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only solid proof of this disposition will be an explicit acknowledgment of these States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies."

The British commissioners remained several months in the country,† and

\* See Document [E] at the end of this chapter.

† The commissioners published their final manifesto and proclamation to the Americans on the 3d of October, and on the 10th, Congress issued a cautionary declaration in reply. No overtures were made to the commissioners from any quarter, and not long after they embarked for England. Thacher, in his "Military Journal," states that "Governor Johnstone, one of the commissioners,



made many and various attempts to accomplish the objects of their mission, but without success. They were compelled to return to England baffled and disappointed. Thus the Americans—as an eloquent historian suggests—steady in their resolutions, chose rather to trust to their own fortune, which they had already proved, and to the hope they placed in that of France, than to link themselves anew to the tottering destiny of England: abandoning all idea of peace, war became the sole object of their solicitude. Such was the issue of the attempts to effect an accommodation, and thus were extinguished the hopes which the negotiation had given birth to in England. It was the misfortune of England to be governed by ministers who were never willing to do justice until they were compelled by main force. Their present concessions, as on all previous occasions, came too late. We have had frequent occasion to notice the embarrassments and mortifications to which Washington was subjected by the interference of Congress in those executive matters which should have been left

---

with inexcusable effrontery, offered a bribe to Mr. Reed, a member of Congress. In an interview with Mrs. Ferguson at Philadelphia, whose husband was a royalist, he desired she would mention to Mr. Reed, that if he would engage his interest to promote the object of their commission, he might have any *office in the colonies in the gift of his Britannic majesty, and ten thousand pounds in hand*. Having solicited an interview with Mr. Reed, Mrs. Ferguson made her communication. Spurning the idea of being purchased, he replied that he was not worth purchasing, but such as he was, the King of Great Britain was not rich enough to do it."

entirely under his own control. This was particularly injurious to the public service in their conduct with respect to the treatment and exchange of prisoners. Much correspondence on this subject took place between Washington and Howe during the winter when the army was at Valley Forge; and whenever the generals were on the eve of arranging an exchange, Congress would interfere and prevent it. Washington had been compelled, by his sense of justice and humanity, to censure Howe for his treatment of American prisoners. An order hastily given out by the Board of War exposed Washington himself, without any fault of his own, to a similar censure from Howe. The circumstances, as related by Marshall, were these:

General Washington had consented that a quartermaster, with a small escort, should come out of Philadelphia, with clothes and other comforts for the prisoners who were in possession of the United States. He had expressly stipulated for their security, and had given them a passport. While they were travelling through the country, information was given to the Board of War that General Howe had refused to permit provisions to be sent in to the American prisoners in Philadelphia by water. This information was not correct. General Howe had only requested that flags should not be sent up or down the river without previous permission obtained from himself. On this information, however, the Board ordered Lieu-



tenant-colonel Smith immediately to seize the officers, though protected by the passport of Washington, their horses, carriages, and the provisions destined for the relief of the British prisoners, and to secure them until further orders, either from the Board or from the commander-in-chief.

Washington, on hearing this circumstance, dispatched one of his aids with orders for the immediate release of the persons and property which had been confined; but the officers refused to proceed on their journey, and returned to Philadelphia.\*

This untoward event was much regretted by Washington. In a letter received some time afterwards, Howe, after expressing his willingness that the American prisoners should be visited by deputy commissaries, who should inspect their situation and supply their wants, required, as the condition on which this indulgence should be granted, "that a similar permit should be allowed to persons appointed by him, which should be accompanied with the assurance of General Washington, that his authority will have sufficient weight to prevent any interruption to their progress, and any insult to their persons." This demand was ascribed to the treatment to which officers under the protection of his passport had already been exposed.

Washington lamented the impediment to the exchange of prisoners,

which had hitherto appeared to be insuperable, and made repeated but ineffectual efforts to remove it. Howe had uniformly refused to proceed with any cartel, unless his right to claim for all the diseased and infirm, whom he had liberated, should be previously admitted.

At length, after all hope of inducing him to recede from that high ground had been abandoned, he suddenly relinquished it of his own accord, and acceded completely to the proposition of Washington for the meeting of commissioners, in order to settle equitably the number to which he should be entitled for those he had discharged in the preceding winter. This point being adjusted, commissioners were mutually appointed, who were to meet on the 10th of March, at Germantown, to arrange the details of a general cartel.

Washington had entertained no doubt of his authority to enter into this agreement. On the fourth of March, however, he had the mortification to perceive in a newspaper a resolution of Congress, calling on the several States for the amounts of supplies furnished the prisoners, that they might be adjusted according to the rule of the 10th of December, before the exchange should take place.

On seeing this embarrassing resolution, Washington addressed a letter to Howe, informing him that particular circumstances had rendered it inconvenient for the American commissioners to attend at the time appointed, and

\* They alleged that their horses had been disabled, and the clothing embezzled.

requesting that their meeting should be deferred from the 10th to the 21st of March. The interval was employed in obtaining a repeal of the resolution.

It would seem probable that the dispositions of Congress, on the subject of an exchange, did not correspond with those of Washington. From the fundamental principle of the military establishment of the United States at its commencement, an exchange of prisoners would necessarily strengthen the British much more than the American army. The war having been carried on by troops raised for short times, aided by militia, the American prisoners, when exchanged, returned to their homes as citizens, while those of the enemy again took the field.

Washington, who was governed by a policy more just, and more permanently beneficial, addressed himself seriously to Congress, urging as well the injury done the public faith and his own personal honor, by this infraction of a solemn engagement, as the cruelty and impolicy of a system which must cut off forever all hopes of an exchange, and render imprisonment as lasting as the war. He represented in strong terms the effect such a measure must have on the troops on whom they should thereafter be compelled chiefly to rely, and its impression on the friends of those already in captivity. These remonstrances produced the desired effect, and the resolutions were repealed. The commissioners met according to the second appointment; but, on examining their

powers, it appeared that those given by Washington were expressed to be in virtue of the authority vested in him, while those given by Howe contained no such declaration. This omission produced an objection on the part of Congress; but Howe refused to change the language, alleging that he designed the treaty to be of a personal nature, founded on the mutual confidence and honor of the contracting generals, and had no intention either to bind his government or to extend the cartel beyond the limits and duration of his own command.

This explanation being unsatisfactory to the American commissioners, and Howe persisting in his refusal to make the required alteration in his powers, the negotiation was broken off, and this fair prospect of terminating the distresses of the prisoners on both sides passed away without effecting the good it had promised.

Some time after the failure of this negotiation for a general cartel, Howe proposed that all prisoners actually exchangeable should be sent in to the nearest posts, and returns made of officer for officer of equal rank, and soldier for soldier, as far as numbers would admit; and that if a surplus of officers should remain, they should be exchanged for an equivalent in privates.

On the representations of Washington, Congress acceded to this proposition so far as related to the exchange of officer for officer and soldier for soldier, but rejected the part which admitted

an equivalent in privates for a surplus of officers, because the officers captured with Burgoyne were exchangeable with in the powers of Howe. Under this agreement an exchange took place to a considerable extent; but as the Americans had lost more prisoners than they had taken, unless the army of Burgoyne should be brought into computation, many of their troops were still detained in captivity.

The British army held possession of Philadelphia during the winter and the following spring; but they were watched and checked during the whole time by the Americans. They were not quite so closely besieged as in Boston, but they were quite as effectually prevented from accomplishing any military purpose. They sent out occasional foraging parties, who were fiercely attacked by Washington's detachments, and almost always purchased their supplies with blood. But Howe never made an

attack on Washington's camp. Doctor Franklin, when he heard in Paris that General Howe had taken Philadelphia, corrected his informant very justly. "Say, rather," said the acute philosopher, "that Philadelphia has taken General Howe." The capture of Philadelphia, as we have already taken occasion to remark, was perfectly useless—in fact, worse than useless—to the British arms. It only provided winter-quarters to an army which would have been more comfortable and secure in New York; and it held them beleaguered at a remote point when their services were greatly needed to aid Burgoyne, and save his army from capture. In point of fact, Philadelphia *did* take Howe; and Washington kept him out of the way, and fully employed, until Burgoyne had fallen, and by his fall had paved the way to the French alliance, and to the ruin of the British cause in America.







*Henry Laurens*

## DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATING CHAPTER XIII.

---

[A.]

HENRY LAURENS,

THIRD PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HENRY LAURENS was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in the year 1724. He took an early part in opposing the arbitrary claims of Great Britain, at the commencement of the American revolution. When the provincial Congress of Carolina met in June, 1775, he was appointed its president; in which capacity he drew up a form of association, to be signed by all the friends of liberty, which indicated a most determined spirit. Being a member of the general Congress, after the resignation of Hancock he was appointed president of that illustrious body in November, 1777. In 1780, he was deputed to solicit a loan from Holland, and to negotiate a treaty with the United Netherlands; but on his passage he was captured by a British vessel, on the Banks of Newfoundland. He threw his papers overboard, but they were recovered by a sailor. Being sent to England, he was committed to the Tower, on the 6th of October, as a State prisoner, upon a charge of high treason. Here he was confined more than a year, and was treated with great severity, being denied, for the most part, all intercourse with his friends, and forbidden the use of pen, ink, and paper. His capture occasioned no small embarrassment to the ministry. They dared not condemn him as a rebel, through fear of retaliation; and they were unwilling to release him, lest he should accomplish the object of his mission. The discoveries found in his papers led to a war between Great Britain and Holland, and Mr. Adams was appointed in his place to

carry on the negotiation with the United Provinces.

Many propositions were then made to him, which were repelled with indignation. At length, news being received that his eldest son, a youth of such uncommon talents, exalted sentiments, and prepossessing manners and appearance, that a romantic interest is still attached to his name, had been appointed the special minister of Congress to the French court, and was there urging the suit of his country with winning eloquence, the father was requested to write to his son, and urge his return to America; it being further hinted, that, as he was held a prisoner in the light of a rebel, his life should depend upon compliance. "My son is of age," replied the heroic father of an heroic son, "and has a will of his own. I know him to be a man of honor. He loves me dearly, and would lay down his life to save mine; but I am sure that he would not sacrifice his honor to save my life, and I applaud him." This veteran was, not many months after, released, with a request from Lord Shelburne that he would pass to the Continent, and assist in negotiating a peace between Great Britain and the free United States of America, and France their ally.

Towards the close of the year 1781, his sufferings, which had, by that time, become well known, excited not only the utmost sympathy for himself, but kindled the warmest indignation against the authors of his cruel confinement. Every attempt to draw concessions from this inflexible patriot having proved more than useless, his enlargement was resolved upon, but difficulties arose as to the mode of effecting it. Pursuing the same high-minded course which he had at first adopted, and influenced by the



noblest feelings of the heart, he obstinately refused his consent to any act which might imply a confession that he was a British subject; for as such he had been committed on a charge of high treason. It was finally proposed to take bail for his appearance at the Court of King's Bench; and when the words of recognizance, "our sovereign lord the king," were read to Mr. Laurens, he distinctly replied in open court, "Not my sovereign." With this declaration, he, with Messrs. Oswald and Anderson as his securities, was bound for his appearance at the next Court of King's Bench for Easter term, and for not departing without leave of the court, upon which he was immediately discharged. When the time for his trial approached, he was not only exonerated from obligation to attend, but solicited by Lord Shelburne to depart for the Continent, to assist in a scheme for the pacification of America. The idea of being released, gratuitously, by the British government sensibly moved him, for he had invariably considered himself as a prisoner of war. Possessed of a lofty sense of personal independence, and unwilling to be brought under the slightest obligation, he thus expressed himself: "I must not accept myself as a gift; and as Congress once offered General Burgoyne for me, I have no doubt of their now being willing to offer Earl Cornwallis for the same purpose."

Close confinement in the Tower for more than fourteen months had shattered his constitution, and he was ever afterwards a stranger to good health. As soon as his discharge was promulgated, he received from Congress a commission appointing him one of their ministers for negotiating a peace with Great Britain. Arriving in Paris, in conjunction with Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay, he signed the preliminaries of peace on the 30th of November, 1782, by which the independence of the United States was unequivocally acknowledged. Soon after this, Mr. Laurens returned to Carolina. Entirely satisfied with the whole course of his conduct while abroad, it will readily be imagined that his countrymen refused him no distinctions within their power to bestow; but every solicitation to suffer himself to be elected governor, member of Congress, or of the legislature of the

State, he positively withstood. When the project of a general convention for revising the federal bond of union was under consideration, he was chosen, without his knowledge, one of its members, but he refused to serve. Retired from the world and its concerns, he found delight in agricultural experiments, in advancing the welfare of his children and dependents, and in attentions to the interests of his friends and fellow-citizens.

He expired on the 8th of December, 1792, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

---

[B.]

BRIGADIER-GENERAL HENRY LEE.

This distinguished officer was born in Virginia, on the 29th of January, 1756, and completed his education at Princeton College, where he graduated in the year 1774. Two years afterwards he was appointed, at the instance of Patrick Henry, commander of one of six companies of cavalry, raised in his native State, under the command of Colonel Bland. As General Washington stood in much need of reinforcements, the Virginia legislature tendered the services of these companies to Congress, who accepted the offer, and they joined the army in September, 1777. The young captain, serving under the eye of the commander-in-chief, rapidly acquired his esteem and confidence by soldierly conduct, and the strict discipline maintained in his ranks. The constant attention which he bestowed upon the horses and equipments of his soldiers, enabled him at all times to move with celerity, which with cavalry is one of the first elements of success. Captain Lee's merit is sufficiently attested by the fact that Washington selected his company to be his body-guard in the battle of Germantown.

Being generally employed in the vicinity of the British lines, a plan was formed by the enemy to surprise and cut off him and his troop. In the latter part of January, 1778, he was surrounded in his quarters, a stone house, by two hundred of the enemy's cavalry. Ten of his men only were in the house with him, four who acted as patrols having been captured by the

enemy as he approached, and the others being absent in search of forage. He however defended the house resolutely, and the enemy was obliged to retreat, with the loss of four men killed, four wounded, and several horses. Captain Lee had only two of his men wounded, and the patrols, and a quarter-master sergeant, who was out of the house, made prisoners. Washington complimented and congratulated him upon his escape, in a private letter, and Congress rewarded him for his conduct upon this and other occasions with a commission as major. He was assigned the command of an independent partisan corps of two troops of horse, which was afterwards increased by the addition of another cavalry company and a body of infantry.

In command of this corps, on the 19th of July, 1779, he surprised the British post of Powles Hook, and captured the garrison of a hundred and sixty men, with the loss of only two killed and three wounded. The humanity of Major Lee was conspicuously displayed in the kindness shown to the prisoners at this time, when the cruel conduct of the enemy had given ample cause for retaliation. His "prudence, address, and bravery," in this affair, were rewarded by Congress with a gold medal.

In 1780, he was sent with his legion to the south, where he joined the army under General Greene. He had previously been raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. His legion formed the rear-guard of General Greene's army during the celebrated retreat of that officer before Lord Cornwallis. On one occasion, a sharp action took place between his corps and that of the British Colonel Tarleton. In his charge, Colonel Lee killed eighteen of Tarleton's dragoons, and made a captain and fifteen privates prisoners. Having effected his escape into Virginia, General Greene sent colonels Lee and Pickens into North Carolina, to encourage the patriots in that State, and to keep a watch upon the movements of Lord Cornwallis. In the performance of this duty, he formed a plan to surprise Colonel Tarleton. On the march to attack that officer, the legion encountered several messengers, sent by Colonel Pyle, a zealous tory, to apprise Tarleton of his situation, and his anxiety

to join him with four hundred royalists under his command. The dragoons mistook Colonel Lee's legion for that of Tarleton, and freely communicated their intelligence. Colonel Lee attempted to profit by the error, and would have captured the whole of the royalist force without bloodshed, had they not discovered some of the militia under Pickens, and commenced a fire. A short conflict ensued, in which ninety of the enemy were slain, many wounded, and the remainder dispersed. Colonel Lee particularly distinguished himself at the battle of Guilford Courthouse, repulsing with loss the onset of Tarleton's dragoons, and afterwards maintained a separate action on the American left, keeping the enemy at bay until ordered to retreat.

Between the time of this action and that at Camden he was very successful in capturing the enemy's forts. Afterwards he marched to aid Pickens in taking Augusta, in Georgia, whose commander, Colonel Brown, had rendered himself obnoxious to the Americans. The fort was taken, and Brown would have been made to expiate his offences with death, but for the precautions of Colonel Lee, who caused a company of his legion to guard him until he could be placed in safety. On his way to Augusta, Lee had surprised Fort Godolphin, and taken a large quantity of military stores. He now marched to join General Greene in besieging Ninety-Six, and when the approach of Lord Rawdon made it necessary to capture that place by storm or to raise the siege, he led one of the assaulting columns. He was completely successful, but the other column failed to accomplish its object, and the siege was ended by the retreat of General Greene. At Eutaw Springs he was conspicuous for his good conduct at the head of his infantry. He was sent directly afterwards on a special mission to the commander-in-chief, to request him to prevail on the Count de Grasse to co-operate in an attack upon Charleston. He arrived at Yorktown a few days before the surrender of Cornwallis, and returned to the south after witnessing that ceremony. He soon afterwards retired from the army, and married Matilda, the daughter of Philip Ludwell Lee, on whose estate in Westmoreland county he settled. He carried with him in his retirement the es-



teem and confidence of General Greene, who stated that his services had been greater than those of any one man attached to the southern army. From 1786 until the adoption of the federal constitution he represented Virginia in Congress; and he was a member of the convention of that State which ratified that constitution. He afterwards served as a member of the legislature of Virginia, and in 1792 was elected governor of that State. In 1795, he was sent by Washington to quell the formidable whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania, which he effected without bloodshed. He was honored by being appointed a general in the army organized by Washington in anticipation of the war with France. In 1799, he was again chosen as a representative to Congress; and while there, was selected to pronounce a funeral eulogium on Washington. In that production he originated the celebrated summary of the virtues of the deceased—"First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Pecuniary embarrassments, the result of his extravagant hospitality, greatly distressed him during the last years of his life. Confined within the bounds of Spottsylvania county on account of pecuniary obligations, in 1809, he produced his famous history of the Southern campaigns, a work of great value as the bold and manly record of an eye-witness and principal actor.

In 1814, General Lee happened to be in Baltimore, where he took part in the defence of a house, the publication office of an obnoxious paper, against the assaults of a mob. Fire-arms were employed by the defenders, and two of the assailants were killed and others wounded. The military arriving, a compromise was effected, and the defenders were placed for safety in the Baltimore jail. But the mob reassembled in the night, attacked the jail, forced the doors, and murdered or mangled its inmates. General Lee was severely wounded. Finding that his health decayed in consequence, he went to the West Indies in the hope of restoring it, but his expectations were not realized. He returned to the United States in 1818, and died on the 25th of March in that year, on Cumberland Island, near St. Mary's, Georgia, at the residence of General Greene's daughter, Mrs. Shaw.

## [C.]

## BARON DE KALB.

The Baron de Kalb was major-general in the American army during the Revolutionary War. He was a German by birth, a brave and meritorious officer. He had attained a high reputation in military service, and was a knight of the order of military merit, and a brigadier-general in the armies of France. He accompanied the Marquis de Lafayette to this country, and having proffered his services to Congress, he was appointed to the office of major-general. He repaired to the main army, in which he served at the head of the Maryland division, very much respected.

Having a stout frame, with excellent health, no officer was better able to encounter the toils of war. Moderate in mental powers, as in literary acquirements, he excelled chiefly in practical knowledge of men and things, gained by a close and accurate investigation of the cause and effect of passing events.

No man was better qualified for the undertaking. He was sober, drinking water only; abstemious to excess, living on bread, sometimes with beef soup, at other times with cold beef; industrious, it being his constant habit to rise at five in the morning, light his candle, devote himself to writing, which was never intermitted during the day but when interrupted by his short meals, or by attention to his official duty; and profoundly secret.

No man surpassed this gentleman in simplicity and condescension; which gave to his deportment a cast of amiability extremely ingratiating, exciting confidence and esteem.

At the battle of Camden, in South Carolina, the Baron de Kalb commanded the right wing of the American army. At the commencement of the action, the great body of the militia, who formed the left wing of the army, on being charged with fixed bayonets by the British infantry, threw down their arms, and with the utmost precipitation fled from the field. In this battle the Americans suffered a severe defeat and loss. The continental troops, who formed the right wing of the army, inferior as they were in numbers to the British, stood their ground, and







maintained the conflict with great resolution. Never did men acquit themselves better. The Americans lost the whole of their artillery, eight field-pieces, upwards of two hundred wagons, and the greater part of their baggage. The royal army fought with great bravery, but their victory was in a great measure owing to their superiority in cavalry, and the precipitate retreat of the American militia.

De Kalb, sustaining by his splendid example the courageous efforts of our inferior force, in his last resolute attempt to seize victory, received eleven wounds, and was made prisoner. His lingering life was rescued from immediate destruction by the interposition of Lieutenant-colonel du Buysson, one of his aids-de-camp, who, embracing the prostrate general, received into his own body the bayonets pointed at his friend. Chevalier du Buysson rushed through the clashing bayonets, and stretching his arms over the body of the fallen hero, exclaimed, "Save the Baron de Kalb! save the Baron de Kalb!" The British officer interposed and prevented his immediate destruction. He survived the action, however, but a few hours. To a British officer, who kindly consoled with him in his misfortune, he replied, "I thank you for your generous sympathy, but I die the death I always prayed for—the death of a soldier fighting for the rights of man."

The heroic veteran, though treated with every attention, survived but a few days. Never were the last moments of a soldier better employed. He dictated a letter to General Smallwood, who succeeded to the command of his division, breathing in every word his sincere and ardent affection for his officers and soldiers; expressing his admiration of their late noble, though unsuccessful, stand; reciting the eulogy which their bravery had extorted from the enemy; together with the lively delight such testimony of their valor had excited in his own mind, then hovering on the shadowy confines of life. Feeling the pressure of death, he stretched out his quivering hand to his friend and aid-de-camp, Chevalier du Buysson; proud of his generous wounds, he breathed his last in benedictions on his brave division. We lost, besides Major-general Baron de Kalb, many excellent officers, and among

them Lieutenant-colonel Porterfield, whose promise of future greatness had endeared him to the whole army.

General Washington, many years after, on a visit to Camden, inquired for the grave of De Kalb. After looking on it awhile, with a countenance marked with thought, he breathed a deep sigh, and exclaimed, "So there lies the brave De Kalb; the generous stranger who came from a distant land to fight our battles, and to water with his blood the tree of our liberty. Would to God he had lived to share its fruits!"

On the 14th of October, 1780, Congress resolved, that a monument should be erected to his memory, in the town of Annapolis, in the State of Maryland, with the following inscription:

Sacred to the memory of the  
 BARON DE KALB,  
 Knight of the royal order of military merit,  
 Brigadier of the armies of France,  
 and  
 MAJOR-GENERAL  
 in the service of the United States of America.  
 Having served with honor and reputation,  
 For three years,  
 He gave a last and glorious proof of his attachment to the liberties of mankind,  
 And the cause of America,  
 In the action near Camden, in the State of South Carolina,  
 On the 16th of August, 1780;  
 Where, leading on the troops of the  
 Maryland and Delaware lines,  
 Against superior numbers,  
 And animating them, by his example,  
 To deeds of valor,  
 He was pierced with many wounds,  
 And on the nineteenth following, expired,  
 In the 48th year of his age.  
 THE CONGRESS  
 Of the United States of America,  
 In gratitude to his zeal, services, and merit,  
 Have erected this monument.

---

[D.]

MAJOR-GENERAL STEUBEN.

Services such as those of the Baron Steuben, during our struggle with Great Britain, are justly considered as among the very highest that could be rendered by any officer in that trying period. In this light they were regarded



by Washington; and their best eulogy is a comparison of the condition of the American army at the close of the war with what it had been at its commencement.

Frederic William Augustus, Baron de Steuben, was born in Germany about the year 1730 or 1733. The history of his youth is unknown. He served with Frederic the Great in the Seven Years' War, possessed the entire confidence of that monarch, and became his aid-de-camp, and lieutenant-general in the Prussian army. This fact is sufficient to establish his military character and knowledge of tactics; and he was ever regarded by the Prussian government as one of their most able officers. After the close of the war, he filled various offices in Germany, principally under the smaller princes, and was tendered a command in the army of Austria, which he refused. At the commencement of the war between Great Britain and her colonies, he was in a condition of gentlemanly affluence.

In 1777, while on a visit to England, he stopped at Paris for the purpose of having an interview with the Count St. Germain, the French minister of war, and one of his intimate friends. Soon after he was waited on by Colonel Pagenstecher, on behalf of the count, who informed him that the latter desired a personal interview at the Paris arsenal, on matters of importance. It is well known that France was then secretly aiding the Americans both by advice and military stores; and it was with a view of enlisting the baron in the cause of freedom, that the proposed interview was sought. At the meeting, St. Germain represented the ultimate prospects of the colonists as flattering; that France, and probably Spain, would eventually aid them; but that their army needed disciplinarians, which want the baron could well supply. These proposals were seconded by the Spanish consul and two French noblemen; but the baron refused to give a decisive answer, until an interview could be obtained with the American envoys. The latter were unable to give the assurances required, and after abandoning his intention of visiting England, Steuben soon after returned to Germany. On his arrival at Rastadt he found letters from the count, informing him that a vessel was about sailing for America, in which he

could immediately embark, with a prospect of having every difficulty satisfactorily adjusted. Having received from Dr. Franklin letters of recommendation to General Washington and the President of Congress, he embarked on the 26th of September, 1777, under an assumed name, and after a rough voyage landed at Portsmouth, N. H., December 1st.

His first care was to address his recommendations to General Washington, at the same time requesting admission into the service. The close of his letter is worthy of preservation: "I could say moreover, were it not for the fear of offending your modesty, that your excellency is the only person under whom, after having served under the King of Prussia, I could wish to pursue an art to which I have wholly given up myself." Washington referred him to Congress, as the only body empowered to accept his services, and accordingly, in February, he laid his papers before that body. A committee of five was appointed to wait upon him. In his interview with them, the baron stated what he had left to engage in the American service, and offered them his services without any other remuneration than the amount of expenses; but that while he expected no reward should the final result be unsuccessful, yet in case of the Americans gaining their independence, he would expect an indemnity for the offices he had resigned in Europe, and a reward proportionate to his services. Congress returned him thanks for this disinterested offer, and requested him to join the army.

The American main body was at that time wintered near Valley Forge. The sufferings endured by the troops, their privations and diseases during that terrible winter, were long remembered as forming the darkest page of our revolutionary history. At sight of them, the astonishment of one who had been accustomed to the well-provided armies of Europe may be conceived; and Steuben declared that under such circumstances no foreign army could be kept together a single month. He was appointed inspector-general, and intrusted with the difficult task of forming from such materials an army disciplined after the European system. Disheartening as were these prospects, and

heightened, too, by Steuben's ignorance of the English language, he entered upon his duties with ardor. An interpreter was found, and the great work of giving efficiency to the army of Washington commenced. This was something new to the sufferers of Valley Forge; and the strictness of the old soldier, together with his perfect familiarity with the most difficult military movements, astonished even the commander himself. "The troops," says Dr. Thacher, "were paraded in a single line, with shouldered arms, every officer in his particular station. The baron first reviewed the line in this position, passing in front with a scrutinizing eye, after which he took into his hand the musket and accoutrements of every soldier, examining them with particular accuracy and precision, applauding or condemning according to the condition in which he found them. He required that the musket and bayonet should exhibit the brightest polish; not a spot of rust or defect in any part could elude his vigilance. He inquired also into the conduct of the officers towards their men, censuring every fault and applauding every meritorious action. Next, he required of me, as surgeon, a list of the sick, with a particular statement of their accommodations and mode of treatment, and even visited some of the sick in their cabins."

The great services rendered by the baron, as exhibited in the rapid improvement of the army, did not escape the notice of either Washington or Congress; and at the recommendation of the former, he was appointed permanent inspector-general, with the rank of major-general. By his great exertions he made this office respectable, establishing frugality and economy among the soldiers. In discipline, both of men and officers, he was entirely impartial, and never omitted an opportunity to praise merit or censure a fault. Washington speaks of him in the following manner: "Justice concurring with inclination, constrain me to testify that the baron has in every instance discharged the several trusts reposed in him with great zeal and ability, so as to give him the fullest title to my esteem as a brave, indefatigable, judicious, and experienced officer."

America was soon to witness the effects of the

new discipline upon the very army that had twice defeated hers. In June, 1778, the British army evacuated Philadelphia, and marched hastily for New York. They were led to this step through fear that a French fleet might block up the Delaware, while Washington attacked them by land, and thus they be forced to surrender. Washington pursued them, and ardently desired to give battle. Steuben's opinion coincided with the commander's, and on the morning of the 28th a detachment under General Lee advanced against the enemy, and commenced the battle of Monmouth. In the retreat and subsequent rally of the advance, the value of discipline was triumphantly displayed. The retiring troops were formed by Washington in the very face of the enemy, turned upon their pursuers, and regained the lost ground. Such a movement is justly considered the triumph of discipline; and the battle of Monmouth is one of the most remarkable of the war, not only as exhibiting the great talents of General Washington, but as a proof of the former invaluable though silent labors of the Baron Steuben.

Soon after this affair, the baron was ordered to Rhode Island, to assist in the operations of General Sullivan. He arrived too late, however, to be of essential service. In the latter part of 1778, he was employed to digest a system of Prussian tactics, modified and adapted to the American service. This was a work of no little difficulty, having to be written from memory, in the absence of any similar work which might serve as a guide, and in the French language. It received, however, the cordial approval of Washington, and was immediately adopted by resolution of Congress as the standard of military discipline.

When the first French fleet arrived in America, in 1780, sanguine hopes were entertained that the war was about to be speedily closed. Steuben had formerly presented to Congress a plan for the campaign, which was approved by Washington, and which promised to be eminently useful; but the arrival of a British naval force, and the unfortunate occurrences at Newport, frustrated these expectations, and rendered much of the baron's plan useless.

Steuben was one of the court-martial appoint-



ed to try Major André. It was a wise precaution to place such men as Steuben and Lafayette on this delicate duty, as both were foreigners, and the baron, at least, knew well the customs of war in such instances. He fully concurred in the sentence of the court.

After the defeat of the southern army at Camden, Steuben was appointed president of the court-martial for the trial of Gates; but the court never met, and he was thus relieved from an unpleasant duty. When Greene took command in that quarter, the baron accompanied him, in order to establish a system of discipline among the raw recruits. Greene determined to push for the Carolinas, but knowing the necessity of keeping some force in Virginia, in order to raise troops, he intrusted that care to Steuben, with full discretionary power to call on the authorities of the State, and, if possible, to attack the British under General Leslie. As soon as troops were raised, they were to be ordered to Greene's army in the South. This office was one of difficulty, and no little delicacy. Virginia was jealous of her rights, and fearful of an invasion from the Chesapeake; so that the utmost efforts of the baron, aided by those of Governor Jefferson, failed to answer fully the expectations of General Greene. Troops enlisted but slowly, and frequently only one half of those appointed to be raised by a certain time could be mustered.

In January, 1781, Arnold invaded Virginia. The command of the militia destined to oppose him devolved upon Steuben; but so insignificant was their number, and so greatly did they need the necessaries of an army, that the baron found it impossible to act in any other way but as a mere partisan. When the British reached Richmond, he received a note from Arnold, offering not to burn that town if the ships should be allowed to carry off some stores of tobacco unmolested. This proposition the baron rejected, and the public buildings and a variety of stores were consigned to the flames. Arnold then slowly retreated. Steuben pursued him with a small force, taking every opportunity to harass his detached parties and cut off his rear. Jefferson speaks thus of his services: "His vigilance has, in a great measure, supplied the want

of force, in preventing the enemy from crossing the river [James], the consequences of which might have been very fatal. He has been assiduously employed in preparing equipments for the militia as they assembled, pointing them to a proper object, and in other offices of a good commander."

After doing all the mischief in his power, and rendering his name still more detestable to the Americans than it had formerly been, Arnold established himself at Portsmouth, which he proceeded to fortify. At this place a plan was matured between Jefferson and Steuben to surprise him, and convey him to the American lines. A party of young men was organized for that purpose; but the scheme was frustrated by the extraordinary precautions used by General Arnold respecting the security of his person.

Meanwhile, Baron Steuben was involved in difficulties of another kind. His ardor in raising and equipping troops was not seconded by the authorities of Virginia; and when plans which had cost him much time and trouble to mature were executed tardily, or entirely rejected, his patience was severely tried. On such occasions he frequently became involved with public officers in groundless disputes and ill feeling. The baron was soothed, however, by letters from Greene and Washington, each of whom knew how to appreciate his services.

While matters were in this condition, the appearance of a small French force in the Chesapeake again inspired the hope of Arnold's capture; but the wily general moved to a shallow place up the river, and Steuben was again disappointed. Soon after, the whole French squadron reached the bay, and landed eleven hundred men. The raw militia were incapable of acting with this force; but aware of the importance of co-operating with it, Washington detached Lafayette from the main army with twelve hundred continental troops. The marquis was appointed commander of all the forces in Virginia; but, fearful of wounding the feelings of Steuben, he took command only in the field.

Lafayette reached the Elk River on the 3d of March, and wrote to Baron Steuben to confine the British by the militia, until opportunity should be afforded for a decisive blow. About



the middle of March, the English fleet under Arbuthnot met that of Admiral Destouches, and an indecisive engagement took place, which induced the French commander to return to Newport. This gave the British a decided superiority, and obliged Lafayette to return northward. A few days after, General Phillips reached Portsmouth with two thousand British troops, excellently equipped, and in a high state of discipline. As this force placed the State in imminent danger, Lafayette marched back with his troops, and assumed the command.

On the 18th of April, Phillips sailed up the James River, with twenty-five hundred men, to attack Petersburg. Baron Steuben was at this place with about one thousand militia. Notwithstanding this disparity of numbers, the American general marched against them, and, in an engagement which ensued, held their whole force at bay for more than two hours. He even succeeded in throwing their ranks into confusion, but at length retreated to a position on the river. An immense amount of goods was burned by the British, while some public vessels and a great deal of private property were destroyed in various ways.

On the 20th of May, Lord Cornwallis united his southern army with General Arnold at Petersburg. The latter officer had succeeded to the command in Virginia at the death of Phillips. Previous to this, Steuben had found his situation so irksome, that he had asked and obtained leave to join Greene in South Carolina; but he was prevented from doing so by the new invasion of Cornwallis. He therefore established himself, with six hundred men, at the State arsenal, near the source of James River.

Having ascertained the baron's position, Cornwallis detached Colonel Simcoe against him with five hundred regulars, who were to be joined in their march by Tarleton with two hundred and fifty horse. Steuben had no means of ascertaining his opponent's strength, and when the latter displayed an extended front, and built a large number of fires at night, he was led to believe that the whole force of Cornwallis had arrived. The Americans retreated, and Simcoe, after destroying the stores at the State arsenal, returned to Petersburg.

VOL. I.—89

On the 16th of June, Steuben joined Lafayette, who had been previously reinforced by the Pennsylvania troops under General Wayne. On the 16th of July, the marquis met Cornwallis near Jamestown, and a slight engagement took place, in which the Americans behaved remarkably well, notwithstanding their great inferiority of numbers. The enemy gained some advantage, but did not pursue it; and soon after the earl marched to Yorktown, which he began to fortify.

On the 28th of September, the main allied army of the French and Americans, under Rochambeau and Washington, aided by the fleet of De Grasse, sat down before this place. The siege lasted until the 18th of October, during which time Steuben bore his full share of toil and danger. His exact scientific knowledge rendered him extremely useful, and to atone in some measure for his former vexations, Washington assigned him a command in the line. His services are honorably noticed by that great man in the general orders subsequent to the capitulation.

After this happy affair, the baron returned with the main army to the Middle States, where he remained until the treaty of peace. In 1782, he informed Washington of the arrival of one of his former acquaintances, the Count Benyowzky or Bieniewsky, whom he introduced to the commander. He was a Prussian nobleman, allied by blood to the renowned Pulaski, and had experienced most romantic changes of fortune. He offered to hire, on certain conditions, a body of German troops, to be employed in the American army as a distinct legion, and each officer and soldier at the close of the war was to receive a tract of the public land. His plan was approved by Washington, after some alteration, and favorably reported by Congress; but the approach of peace prevented its adoption.

Baron Steuben was appointed to receive the surrender of the posts on the Canada frontier; but the incivility of the British general caused much contention, and Steuben returned to New York.

On the day that Washington resigned his office as commander-in-chief, he wrote to the baron the following noble and affectionate letter:

"Although I have taken frequent opportunities, in public and private, of acknowledging your great zeal, attention, and abilities, in performing the duties of your office, yet I wish to make use of this last moment of my public life to signify, in the strongest terms, my entire approbation of your conduct, and to express my sense of the obligations the public is under to you for your faithful and meritorious services.

"I beg you will be convinced, my dear sir, that I should rejoice, if it could ever be in my power, to serve you more essentially than by expressions of regard and affection; but, in the mean time, I am persuaded you will not be displeased with this farewell token of my sincere friendship and esteem for you.

"This is the last letter I shall write while I continue in the service of my country. The hour of my resignation is fixed at twelve to-day; after which I shall become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac, where I shall be glad to embrace you, and testify the great esteem and consideration with which

"I am, my dear baron, &c."

The neglect with which many of the brave men who had bled in our cause were treated by Congress, will ever remain as a stigma upon that body. Among these was Steuben: for seven years he made ineffectual efforts to obtain a notice of his claims, but in vain. He had left affluence and baronial dignity among the monarchs of Europe to waste his life in our struggle, and now, when the great object had been reached, he was poor, homeless, and unprovided for. At last, through the strenuous exertions of Washington and Hamilton, Congress was induced to acknowledge his claims. In 1790, they granted him an annual sum of twenty-five hundred dollars. Other grants, principally of land, had already been made by Virginia and New Jersey, and on the 5th of May, 1786, the New York Assembly voted him sixteen thousand acres. Determining not to revisit Europe, he built a log house on his land, rented a large portion of it to tenants, and, with a few domestics, lived there until his death, excepting during an annual visit to New York city in the winter. His time was spent in reading, gardening, and in cheerful conversations

with his faithful aids, Walker and North, who remained with him until death. Occasionally he amused himself by playing chess and hunting.

On the 25th of November, 1794, he was struck with paralysis, and on the 28th his long and active life closed. He died in full belief of the truths of Christianity, which for some time had been his consolation and support.

His body was buried in his military cloak, to which was attached the star of knighthood, always worn during life. His servants and a few neighbors buried him. His grave was in a deep forest, which being afterwards crossed by a road, occasioned its reinterment on a spot about a quarter of a mile north of his house. Walker performed this duty, and afterwards placed an iron railing round the grave. A stone, with the inscription, MAJOR-GENERAL FREDERIC WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, BARON DE STEUBEN, marks the hero's resting-place. A tablet in memory of him was placed in the Lutheran Church, Nassau-street, New York, where he always attended when in that city. This was done by his aid, Colonel North, who graced it with the following inscription:

Sacred to the memory of  
FREDERIC WILLIAM AUGUSTUS, BARON STEUBEN,  
A German Knight of the Order of Fidelity,  
Aid-de-Camp to Frederic the Great, King of Prussia,  
Major-general and Inspector-general  
In the Revolutionary War.  
Esteemed, respected, and supported by Washington,  
He gave military skill and discipline  
To the citizen-soldiers, who  
(Fulfilling the decrees of Heaven,) Achieved the independence of the United States.  
The highly polished manners of the Baron  
Were graced by the most noble feelings of the heart;  
His hand open as day to melting charity,  
Closed only in the grasp of death.  
This memorial is inscribed by an American, who  
Had the honor to be his aid-de-camp,  
The happiness to be his friend.  
1795.

By his will, the baron left his library and one thousand dollars to a young man of literary habits, named Mulligan, whom he had adopted, and nearly all the remainder of his property to North and Walker. What a proof of his firmness as a friend, and his gratitude for even the smallest favors!



[E.]

SIR HENRY CLINTON.

This celebrated commander, the grandson of Francis, sixth Earl of Lincoln, and son of George, second son of that nobleman, who died in 1761, governor of Newfoundland, and senior admiral of the white, was born about the year 1738. After having received a liberal education, he entered the army, and served for some time in Hanover. He became a captain in the first regiment of Guards in 1758, and, in 1775, obtained the rank of major-general, having in the interim distinguished himself by his skill and intrepidity during the early part of the Seven Years' War. He participated in the battle of Bunker's Hill; and after having assisted at the attack on New York, bore a share in the capture of Long Island, of which he was appointed commandant.

In 1777, he was made a knight of the Bath; and in January, 1778, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. On the 8th of May he arrived at Philadelphia, whence, on the approach of General Washington, about the middle of June, in obedience to orders which had previously arrived from England, he commenced his retreat to New York. At Monmouth he was defeated with considerable loss; on the 30th of June he arrived in the neighborhood of Sandy Hook, to which place he conducted his troops by means of a bridge of boats, on the 5th of July, a few days previously to the arrival of D'Estaing's squadron off the coast of Virginia; and shortly after, the forces under his command arrived in safety at New York.

In 1779, he became colonel of the seventh, or king's own, regiment; and in the course of the year undertook an expedition in New Jersey, where his troops behaved with great barbarity. He also, in conjunction with General Prevost, who commanded in East Florida, concerted and carried into effect an invasion of Georgia, which proved completely successful. A victory was obtained over the Americans at Savannah, in consequence of which the capital of the province, with a quantity of stores, ammunition, and shipping, fell into the hands of the British. Some minor advantages were subsequently obtained, and, on the whole, the loss of the Americans

during this expedition, was heavy. In January, 1780, he arrived with a body of troops in South Carolina, and shortly afterwards invested Charleston, which surrendered on the 11th of the following May. For his services on this occasion, he was honored with the thanks of parliament. He subsequently captured West Point and Stony Point, and meditated an attack on the French forces in Rhode Island, which, however, the approach of Washington compelled him to abandon.

Shortly afterwards, he seduced General Arnold to deliver up an American fort, with the command of which the latter had been intrusted, and employed emissaries to go among the American troops, and guarantee them full payment of all arrears of pay due to them by Congress, on condition of their deserting. He is also said to have offered protection to the American forces stationed at Morristown, when they revolted, in January, 1781; but they speedily returned to their duty, and the British emissaries were delivered up to the Congress. After having made an ineffectual attempt to succor Lord Cornwallis, who with the whole of his troops was compelled to capitulate, he commenced preparations, in 1782, for attacking the French settlements in the Antilles, but was superseded in his command before he could carry the project into effect.

On his return to England, a pamphlet war took place between him and Cornwallis, as to the surrender of the latter, the entire blame of which each party attributed to the other. In 1784, he published a letter in defence of his conduct, which had been censured by Stedman, in his *Observations on the History of the War with America*. He subsequently obtained the governorship of Limerick, and, in 1793, that of Gibraltar, in possession of which he died on the 23d of December, 1795. He had for some time been a member of parliament; first, for Newark, and afterwards for Launceston.

The merits of Sir Henry Clinton as a commander, have been variously estimated; and, as is usually the case, the truth seems to lie intermediate between the panegyric of his friends and the censure of his enemies. That he was endowed with bravery, and possessed a considerable share of military skill, cannot, in fairness,



be denied ; but he was decidedly unequal to the great difficulties of his situation ; and unfit to contend against so lofty a genius as Washington, supported by a people resolved on obtaining their independence, and fighting on their native soil. His failure to achieve success under such circum-

stances, is no great disgrace ; for it is doubtful if any contemporary commander in the British service could, with no greater force than that under his command, have brought the struggle in which he was engaged to a triumphant issue on the part of the mother country.



END OF VOLUME I.











RETURN TO the circulation desk of any  
University of California Library  
or to the

NORTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY  
Bldg. 400, Richmond Field Station  
University of California  
Richmond, CA 94804-4698

---

ALL BOOKS MAY BE RECALLED AFTER 7 DAYS

- 2-month loans may be renewed by calling (510) 642-6753
- 1-year loans may be recharged by bringing books to NRLF
- Renewals and recharges may be made 4 days prior to due date.

---

DUE AS STAMPED BELOW

---

**OCT 28 2001**

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

12.000 (11/95)

REC'D LD

APR 22 1958

LD 21-50m-1,'3



47948

E312  
S4  
V.1

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY



